

The (Monetary and) Political Aspects of Full Employment: Eight decades after Kalecki

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Abstract: This paper seeks to revisit Michal Kalecki's eighty-years-old contribution on the political constraints to full employment and use it to analyze the rise of the current macroeconomic framework and its short-term dynamics, in which the political constraint to full employment occurs more through monetary means (rather than through fiscal means, as in the author's original contribution). It is argued that the post-war full-employment scenario led to political and social changes that resulted in the abandonment of the Keynesian theoretical framework in favor of the current one, based on Monetarism, which prioritizes monetary policy and relegates fiscal policy to a secondary role, subjected to austere logic. This hegemony of monetary policy, synthesized by mechanical rules, has led, in the long run, to lower growth rates and higher unemployment rates than in the previous period and an unequivocal process of income concentration.

1 - Introduction

It has been eight decades since Michał Kalecki wrote, in 1943, one of his most famous papers, "Political Aspects of Full Employment", in which he argued that while full employment is technically feasible through the use of fiscal policy, it is constrained by political factors.

A core element of the author's theoretical framework is the principle of effective demand, which Kalecki developed concurrently with Keynes in the early 1930s. Once it is recognized that the output levels are determined by effective demand and that governments –

not facing a shortage of foreign exchange – have the tools to stimulate demand, it follows that the problem of unemployment, a central concern for Kalecki, can be technically solved.

However, as highlighted in his 1943 paper, situations close to full employment tend to engender economic, political, and social changes favorable to the working class. As such, the capitalist class would resist the rebalancing of power and pressure the government into adopting contractionary fiscal austerity policies to curb growth and generate unemployment, resulting in an overall effort to reverse these changes. Indeed, along the same lines as Marx's (1867) industrial reserve army, the presence of unemployment would allow capitalists to curb the claims of employed workers by threatening to fire them and replace them with unemployed ones. Therefore, the existence of involuntary unemployment would be an instrument of discipline in the hands of the capitalists. Although it may be easy to conclude that workers' interests conflict with capitalists' interests, Kalecki argues that economic interests could meet despite political divergence, as we argue below.

While Keynes and Kalecki were formulating their theoretical frameworks, capitalist governments were dealing with the consequences of the Great Depression, increasingly using expansionary economic policies to boost production and employment levels. Given the threat of the spread of socialism worldwide, Keynesian policies were also implemented after the Second World War with the Bretton Woods agreements, of which Keynes was one of the architects. In this policy framework, with the help of capital controls, governments were autonomous and determined to pursue expansive fiscal and monetary policies to ensure lasting economic growth. Putting aside the obsession with price stability and the dominance of financial markets, Western capitalism reached situations close to full employment in the two decades following the end of the conflict. This can be called the Keynesian era.

This idyllic situation, referred to by historians as the "Golden Age of Capitalism" (Marglin and Schor, 1990), came to an end in the second half of the 1970s due to numerous economic, political, and social factors, such as the evolution in the balance of power among countries and social classes, the 'stagflation', the rise of Monetarism, and the process of financial liberalization that followed the collapse of Bretton Woods. Indeed, during this time, the rise of neoliberal policies coincided with the rise of conservative ideology and governments, led notably by Margaret Thatcher in the U.K. (1979) and Ronald Reagan in the U.S. (1981). This ushered in the neoliberal era dominated by fiscal and monetary austerity, predicated in many

ways on the ideas advocated by Chicago economists, notably Milton Friedman. These ideas, focused on laissez-faire doctrine, asserted that discretionary state intervention through fiscal and monetary instruments would be inefficient and would only generate more inflation. Moreover, on this basis, the heavy liberalizations of capital movements and labor markets that undermined the financial stability and welfare system that had characterized the Keynesian era were justified.

As a result, governments in capitalist countries avoided using active fiscal policies to generate full employment in favor of restrictive monetary policies primarily focused on inflation control (monetary austerity). The result was the reversal of the success of the Golden Age and the subsequent macroeconomic performance observed in the following decades: lower growth and higher unemployment rates. In this context, the abandonment of full employment policies resulted in permanent damage to the position in the income distribution of workers, with the wage share falling since the 1980s (IMF, ch. 3, April 2017).

On the flip side of the coin, beyond the increase in the profit share of income, was the rise in financial wealth (partly due to higher interest rates) and its protection (resulting from lower inflation rates). In particular, referencing the wealth effect or Pigou effect (1943), numerous mainstream economists have highlighted policies aimed at curbing inflation could also positively impact levels of economic activity. Even deflation, characterized by a general decrease in the price level, as initially observed by Pigou (1943), could be advantageous for the economy. It could enhance individuals' real wealth and their spending capacity.

However, this perspective has faced challenges from various authors over the years. Kalecki (1944), as we will explore later, raised concerns about the severe consequences of a sharp increase in the real value of debt. Drawing on Fisher's (1933) theory of debt deflation, Kalecki argued that deflation could ultimately lead to the bankruptcy of numerous productive activities and trigger a crisis of confidence, pushing an economy's consumption and investment into a recessionary spiral. Recent events seem to affirm these doubts about the benefits of deflation. As in the 1929 crisis experienced by Fisher and Kalecki, it becomes apparent that, without decisive government intervention in major advanced countries, economies would not have successfully emerged from the recession that originated with the crisis of 2008 – or at least as well as they did.

One of the primary arguments put forth in this article is that policy constraints hindering full employment persist due to the implementation of not only fiscal austerity but also monetary austerity measures. With the ascendancy of neoliberalism, as exemplified by the prevailing New Consensus model, what was previously achieved through fiscal policy in Kalecki's analysis is now accomplished predominantly through monetary policy, almost mechanistically following Taylor's (1993) rule. In other words, Kalecki's "political factors" are built into the use of monetary policy in an inflation-first policy: when economies reach overheating levels with low unemployment rates, major central banks (including the Federal Reserve, the Bank of England, the European Central Bank, and the Bank of Canada) resort to monetary contraction to slow down economic activity and mitigate labor market pressures, through the deliberate creation of unemployment. Thus, through a contemporary reinterpretation of Kalecki's insights, one could argue that New Consensus monetary policies act as impediments to achieving full employment.

The objective of this paper is exactly to adapt Kalecki's discussion of political limitations on full employment to the current dominant macroeconomic framework, in which monetary policy plays a central role – what Rochon and Setterfield (2007) have called monetary policy dominance – relegating fiscal policy to a secondary position and subjected to austerity, in opposition to Keynesian principles. Given this objective, the paper has four additional sections. Section 2 introduces some theoretical elements from Kalecki's 1943 contribution. Section 3 contextualizes, using these elements, the transition from the post-war Keynesian regime to the Monetarist one observed from the mid-1970s. Section 4, in turn, explores some of Kalecki's ideas on monetary policy and analyzes how central banks' actions automatize the political constraint on full employment. Finally, the last section concludes the article, emphasizing the relevance of the author's ideas today.

2 – Some theoretical elements of Kalecki's contribution

To understand some of the central elements found in Kalecki's "Political Aspects of Full Employment", it is important to consider the context in which it was written. This occurred in the last years of World War II, during which central capitalist economies were largely planned given the war effort.

In the previous decade, due to the consequences of the Great Depression, the governments of these countries had already been intervening in the economy with public spending to stimulate aggregate demand, increasing production and employment levels to overcome the negative impacts of the 1929 crisis.¹ Central banks devoted themselves to supporting such fiscal policies by keeping interest rates on government bonds low, a move reinforced by the outbreak of war and the need to finance it. Keynes advised this policy to President Churchill in a 1933 letter:

I see no reason why you should not reduce the rate of interest on your long-term Government Bonds to 2.5 percent or less with favorable repercussions on the whole bond market, if only the Federal Reserve System would replace its present holdings of short-dated Treasury issues by purchasing long-dated issues in exchange. (Keynes, 1933)

Indeed, since 1941, in both the U.S. and the U.K., for about ten years, central banks imposed a cap on interest rate fluctuations on government bonds at 2.5 percent (see Amamiya, 2017). This would have minimized the cost of government debt and left room to finance government spending. The importance of this policy mechanism, which was crucial for maintaining the stability of the capitalist system, was also emphasized by President Truman, who, in a letter to Chairman McCabe of the Board of Governors, highlighted how the increase in the debt burden was "exactly what Mr. Stalin wants" (see Amamiya, 2017).

However, Keynes himself, while not denying the beneficial effects of low interest rates on both public debt and the euthanasia of rentiers, pointed out the ineffectiveness of monetary policy, later summarized in the literature with the famous aphorism "you could lead a horse to water, but you could not make him drink" (Friedman, 1968, p.3; Kriesler and Lavoie, 2007, p. 391) – an aphorism also used by Joan Robinson (1943, p. 25 in the same context: "But in general, in a slump, it is not lack of finance but poor prospects of profit which is the seat of the trouble. The most that the banks can do by easy lending is to take the horse to the water — it needs an assured future market to make him drink").

¹ In a paper written in the late 1960s, Kalecki and Kowalik ([1971]1991) refer to the process of increasing state intervention to address demand deficiencies, which began in the 1930s and was consolidated with the advent of World War II, as a "crucial reform" that would imply significant institutional changes. This idea had already been outlined in the 1943 article, in the concept of "fundamental reform," which suggests that a "full employment capitalism" would have to develop social and political institutions that reflected the increased power of workers.

In light of this, it is not surprising that a similar position was reached by Kalecki, who, partly because of its central role at the time, focused particularly on fiscal policy. Indeed, the Polish author discusses the use of lower interest rates to stimulate private investment but concludes similarly to Keynes and Robinson that this "does not provide an adequate method of preventing mass unemployment"² (Kalecki, 1943, p. 328).

Writing in 1943, Kalecki observes that the capitalist class's opposition to full employment through fiscal policy in normal times was mainly based on three points. Firstly, there would be general disapproval of government interference in the employment problem, as capitalists would view the expansion of state activity with suspicion, undermining their "state of confidence". This would be a key variable in determining economic performance, which they would use to compel the state to adopt the sound finance doctrine.

Secondly, there would be specific opposition to increased public spending, whether in investment or subsidies for consumption. In their view, public investment should focus on sectors that would not compete with private enterprises to avoid reducing their profitability; otherwise, its positive effect could be counterbalanced by reduced private investment. Subsidies for popular consumption, in turn, would be "*violently opposed*" as they undermine a moral principle of capitalist ethics related to meritocracy.

Finally, a situation of discomfort with the social changes resulting from maintaining full employment would be observed by the capitalists, as layoffs would cease to play their disciplinary role, and workers would gain self-confidence and class consciousness. In Marx's terms, reducing the industrial reserve army would increase workers' bargaining power, with political and social impacts – beyond the economic ones. While, on the one hand, at full employment, profits should be higher,³ on the other hand, capitalists would be more interested in labor discipline and political stability:

It is true that profits would be higher under a regime of full employment than they are on the average under *laissez-faire*; and even the rise in wages rates resulting from the stronger bargaining power of the workers is less likely to reduce profits

² The question will be addressed in section 4. In this regard, see also Rochon (2022).

³ Kalecki argues that wage increases would likely have a more significant impact on prices than on entrepreneurs' profits. It is important to highlight that in situations close to full employment, workers tend to achieve real wage gains. In this case, an increase in the profit rate is only possible if the positive effect resulting from increased capacity utilization (due to increased demand, given workers' higher propensity to consume) more than offsets the decline in the profit margin and share. It is precisely due to a critique of this necessarily cooperative regime – with wages raising with profits – that neo-Kaleckian models, like those by Bhaduri and Marglin (1990), emerge.

than to increase prices, and thus affects adversely only the rentier interests. But 'discipline in the factories' and 'political stability' are more appreciated by the business leader than profits. Their class instinct tells them that lasting full employment is unsound from their point of view and that unemployment is an integral part of the "normal" capitalist system (Kalecki, 1943, p. 326).

While the first two points act as obstacles to achieving full employment, the third point concerns the impracticality of maintaining such a situation even if the first two obstacles were surpassed.⁴

Back in the 1940s, the opposition to any state intervention had already been overcome, so it was a consensus that something needed to be done during a depression. However, capitalists would vehemently oppose policies to maintain full employment permanently. This is due to the third point: in addition to short-term economic changes favorable to workers (such as increasing wages and improvements in working conditions), in the medium term, the maintenance of such a situation would entail political and social changes as institutions were shaped (with the strengthening of unions, political parties, changes in legislation, etc.) in favor of the working class.⁵ In such a scenario, the capitalist class would pressure the government to adopt austerity, generate unemployment, and reverse these changes.

In this situation a powerful block is likely to be formed between big business and the rentier interests, and they would probably find more than one economist to declare that the situation was manifestly unsound. The pressure of all these forces, and in particular of big business – as a rule influential in Government departments – would most probably induce the government to return to the orthodox policy of cutting down the budget deficit. A slump would follow in which Government spending policy would come again into its own. (Kalecki, 1943, p. 330)

While in Kalecki's time, fiscal policy was the tool used both to achieve full employment and deviate from it, from the 1970s onwards, public spending has been increasingly restrained and subjected to contractionary monetary policies, which started to follow conduct rules focused on inflation control to the detriment of the employment level. This movement began in the 1970s, consolidated in the 1980s, and persists to this day.

⁴ Since both the implementation of policies aimed at achieving full employment and their abandonment tend to result in situations below that point, capitalist societies would face what Harcourt (2006, pp. 147-149) calls the "Kaleckian dilemma".

⁵ Stirati (2001) highlights that the longer the low unemployment scenario is maintained, the greater the capacity of the working class to influence the evolution of the political and institutional framework, strengthening itself even more structurally.

3 – The rise of monetary policy dominance

The movement towards the eclipse of post-war full employment Keynesianism and the rise of Monetarism in the 1970s, with its consequences regarding economic policies and macroeconomic performance, have different causes that span different levels. However, as will be argued, this inflection can also be understood through the analysis put forth by Kalecki in "Political Aspects of Full Employment" (Barros, 2022a).

Internationally, it is important to highlight the relative weakening of the Soviet economy and the declining attractiveness of the socialist mode of production. Increasingly less threatened by the competing system, Western capitalism, led by the U.S., began to have fewer incentives to demonstrate its most prosperous and fair face. That is to say, in monetary, financial, commercial, and productive terms, there would be increasingly less room for the accelerated growth of other countries within the capitalist orbit, and the United States itself would slow down its economy.

The European and Japanese reconstruction efforts, strategic for the U.S. in the immediate post-war period, began to create growing discomfort for its government, which, pressured by its creditors, would break with the Bretton Woods system in the early 1970s and increasingly advocate for the free mobility of capital across the world. This, in turn, would imply fewer degrees of autonomy for national development strategies.

At national levels – and similarly to Kalecki's analysis developed in the previous section – the post-war prosperity itself generated a structural strengthening of the working class, with all its political (strikes, strengthening of unions and labor parties, shaping of institutions, etc.) and economic consequences (increase in direct and indirect wages and improvements in working conditions). Particularly, from the second half of the 1960s, with wages growing faster than productivity in the main capitalist central countries, countries witnessed a profit squeeze (Bhaduri and Marglin, 1990).

However, the acceleration of wages and the increases in unitary labor costs, partly passed on to prices, generated a tendency in these countries towards increasing inflation, a movement that preceded the oil shocks but would be catalyzed by them (Cavalieri et al., 2009). The reaction of Western economies, with stop-and-go policies, generated economic stagnation

associated with inflation (stagflation), and a general climate of discontent that would enable the rise of liberalism and Monetarism worldwide.

In the realm of ideas, the conservative movement had been organizing itself in the U.S. since the war's end and was already structured in various institutions such as Think Tanks, intellectual organizations, magazines, radio stations, etc.⁶ In this context, Friedman-led Monetarism not only "anticipated" the phenomenon of stagflation but also provided a simple diagnosis and clear propositions of what needed to be done⁷.

In broad terms, stagflation, in their view, would be caused by the government's attempt to bring unemployment levels below the natural unemployment rate, understood as the lowest unemployment rate compatible with inflation stability. This could only be achieved by accelerating the money supply, creating a continuous monetary illusion among agents. Given the dynamics between monetary policy and agents' reaction, a scenario of increasing inflation and a slowdown in growth would follow.

It is common to assert that the Keynesian theoretical framework faced a dilemma in this stagflation scenario. This is because, on the one hand, a stagnant economy would require, according to this approach, fiscal and monetary stimuli to influence demand and increase both production and employment levels. On the other hand, the necessary identification of inflation with excess demand (what we consider to be a mistaken interpretation of Keynes's contribution) would require adopting contractionary economic policies to cool down demand and combat rapid price increases.⁸

⁶ "The Think Tanks, radio stations, magazines, and intellectual organizations that were funded by business contributions during the 1950s helped to form the infrastructure for the rise of the conservative movement. From the Mont Pelerin Society to the National Review, from Spiritual Mobilization to the American Enterprise Association, from the Foundation for Economic Education to the Manion Forum, they produced the ideas, popularized the language, and built the support for conservative economic politics at the very height of postwar liberalism" (Phillips-Fein, 2009, p.81-82).

⁷ The term "anticipated" is in quotes because, in the post-Keynesian interpretation, his diagnosis for the inflation of the 1970s was essentially mistaken. While, for Friedman, it would have been caused by excess monetary expansion and growth, for post-Keynesian authors, it would have stemmed from supply shocks, particularly from the rise in wages and oil prices. Additionally, Friedman's timing was wrong, as he predicted the phenomenon of stagflation (which would occur in the mid-1970s) in 1966 for the following year: "Our record economic expansion will probably end sometime in the next year. If it does, prices will continue to rise while unemployment mounts. **There will be an inflationary recession.** Many will regard this prediction as a contradiction in terms, since it is widely believed that rising prices always go with expansion and falling prices with recession" (Friedman, 1966, p. 92, our emphasis).

⁸ Among those advocating this interpretation was Friedman himself: "The inflationary recession will present a dilemma to the Federal Reserve, the Treasury and the President. Rising prices will tempt them to step hard on the

Friedman and his followers, on the other hand, had very clear normative prescriptions about what needed to be done. Firstly, it would be necessary to abandon the discretionary use of economic policy, especially fiscal: "We cannot and should not use fiscal policy for fine-tuning the economy" (Friedman, 1978, p. 81). Regarding monetary policy, the ideal, in their view, would be to maintain a constant rate of growth of the money supply: "I and most other monetarists have long favored a policy of a steady and moderate rate of growth of the quantity of money. We have strongly opposed the Fed's trying to fine-tune the economy" (Friedman, 1972, p. 1).

Once Friedman and the monetarist authors adopted the concept of the natural unemployment rate, the prescription of stable monetary and fiscal policies followed to provide predictability to agents. Furthermore, the government should seek labor market flexibility to reduce the natural rate.

(...) we should adopt stable monetary and fiscal policies and seek to make the labor market as free as possible. Government measures are the primary cause of unnecessary unemployment—particularly minimum-wage laws and measures granting special immunities to trade unions. (Friedman, 1972, p.75)

Given the global geopolitical context, economic and political turbulence at the national level, and the re-articulation of the conservative movement, the 1970s proved to be the perfect moment for the theoretical and practical rise of Monetarism. It is important to reinforce this because the theoretical framework of Monetarism largely underpins the dominant economic approaches to this day (Fiebeger and Lavoie, 2020).

Once the concept of the natural rate of unemployment is adopted (which, after the advent of New Keynesianism, would be replaced by the concept of NAIRU)⁹, it is understood that the pursuit of full employment through the adoption of expansionary economic policies cannot bring unemployment below that rate without accelerating inflation. In this sense, efforts should aim at labor market flexibility to reduce the natural rate (or NAIRU), and economic policy

brake by slowing down monetary growth, raising taxes and reducing government spending. Rising unemployment will tempt them to step hard on the accelerator by speeding up monetary growth, cutting taxes and increasing spending" (Friedman, 1966, p. 93).

⁹ Non-Accelerating Inflation Rate of Unemployment, a concept analogous to Friedman's natural rate of unemployment, but applied to non-competitive markets and, therefore, compatible with the presence of involuntary unemployment.

should focus specifically on combating inflation, that is, to adjust the production levels to the potential output (or the unemployment rate to the natural one).

In this view, fiscal policy should be relegated to a secondary role, subjected to monetary policy, which, in turn (despite abandoning the attempt to control monetary aggregates rigidly), should adopt strict conduct rules. Following John Taylor's contribution (see Taylor, 1993), these rules became known as the "Taylor rule", stipulating that the interest rate should be adjusted whenever inflation (or output) deviated from a specific target. All these ideas have underpinned the predominant theoretical framework during the "monetary policy dominance" period that lasts until today (Rochon and Setterfield, 2007).

With the consolidation of this new theoretical framework, largely grounded in monetarist principles, and the consequent rise of monetary dominance, the political restriction on full employment, as described by Kalecki in 1943, continued to occur, but mainly through monetary channels, namely, through the manipulation of interest rates. As will be discussed in the next section, the latter started to perform a fundamental role and began to serve as an adjustment variable to shape the economic cycle according to the accumulation and distribution interests of the capitalist class in general and rentiers, specifically.

4 – Kalecki, central banking, and monetary policy

Once Kalecki's discussion over the political constraints to full employment has been introduced and how this discussion can be applied to the very inflection that overshadowed post-war Keynesianism in favor of the theoretical framework that is dominant until today, it is pertinent to present Kalecki's thoughts on monetary issues, and how, within this mainstream framework, the political constraint to full employment manifests itself through the monetary channel.¹⁰

Our analysis begins eight decades ago when Kalecki discussed the effectiveness of monetary policy. In various passages, Kalecki raised doubts about the efficacy of monetary policy intervention in lifting a depressed economy. First, referring to Pigou's work, he notes

¹⁰ While Sawyer (2001) offers an excellent analysis of various monetary aspects, ranging from the definition of money to the principle of increasing risk, the subsequent pages will specifically focus on certain considerations regarding monetary policies directly or indirectly derived from Kaleckian thought.

how both the Keynes and the so-called Pigou effects rely on the exogenous money hypothesis, in that the banking system would be assumed to be able to maintain the given money stock¹¹.

Such may be the situation in the initial position but the existence of unemployment causes - according to the assumption of unrestricted competition between the workers - a continuous fall in money wages, and consequently in prices. Now Professor Pigou makes the assumption that when incomes fall the banking system maintains the stock of money constant. (Kalecki, 1944, p.131)

Moreover, after clarifying that in a depression, there would be an excess supply of real money and a consequent lowering of interest rates, he discusses the Keynes effect and questions the influence of interest rates on investment.

The increase in the demand for cash in general affects only slightly the long-term rate of interest, which is the most important rate in the determination of the level of investment. Thus it seems quite justifiable to neglect this channel through which a wage reduction could influence the level of employment. (Kalecki, 1990, p. 283)

Kalecki (1990, p. 262-263) also discusses the influence of monetary policy on consumption, stating how it is difficult to think that interest rates can have a major influence on consumption decisions through the mechanism emphasized by neoclassical theory.

In classical economics the stimulating influence of a rise in the rate of interest upon the level of savings was strongly emphasized. It has, however, long been indicated that it is not at all certain whether consumption is really encouraged or discouraged by a higher rate of interest. (Kalecki, 1990, p. 262-263)

Regarding the Pigou effect, Kalecki¹² (1944) noted that only outside money and outside bonds could be considered macroeconomic net wealth. In contrast, this would not hold for inside money (bank deposits) and inside bonds (private debt bonds) since one individual's asset will be another's liability, and therefore in aggregate, they would elide. Thus, according to Kalecki, the Pigou effect could not refer to the entire financial wealth but only to outside money

¹¹ In fact, since Keynes' time, the centrality of monetary policy has been justified by its effectiveness due to the existence of two effects: the Keynes effect and the Pigou effect. If one assumes an increase in the central bank-controlled money supply or a deflation of prices and wages, the increase in the real money supply that will occur will lower interest rates and stimulate private investment (Keynes effect). However, as already noted by Pigou (1943), the increase in the real money supply will increase the wealth of individuals and their spending on consumer goods (Pigou effect).

¹² As Sau (2006) points out, Keynes had the opportunity to read Kalecki's arguments. He communicated his agreement to the Polish author. He also asked for a reply from Pigou, which, however, never came.

(currency in circulation and bank reserves) and outside bonds (public debt securities) and real capital, i.e., the only assets without a corresponding liability in aggregate.

The increase in the real value of the stock of money does not mean a rise in the total real value of possessions if all the money (cash and deposits) is "backed "by credits to persons and firms, i.e. if all the assets of the banking system consist of such credits. For in this case, to the gain of money holders there corresponds an equal loss of the bank debtors. The total real value of possessions increases only to the extent to which money is backed by gold. (Kalecki, 1944, p.133)

Moreover, Kalecki discussed the catastrophic effects of deflation, already pointed out by Fisher (1933) and later taken up by Minsky and various other heterodox authors. Indeed, the Pigou effect has also been used in the history of economic thought to justify the positive elements of deflation that would increase the wealth and consumption of individuals. However, for Kalecki, in such a scenario, individuals' real level of debt would also be increased, leading to a shift of wealth from debtors to creditors and causing a crisis of distrust and bankers.

The adjustment required would increase catastrophically the real value of debts, and would consequently lead to wholesale bankruptcy and a confidence crisis. (Kalecki, 1944, p. 132)

This would also favor a redistribution of income toward rentiers.

When prices decline in the same proportion as wages, this will also be true of profits. But the money income of rentiers consisting of the interest on "old" debts does not change and therefore, their relative share in profits increases. (Kalecki, 1966, p. 49-50)

In this way, Kalecki (1944) showed how the empirical relevance of both Keynes and Pigou effects are highly questionable, and catastrophic conditions would have to occur in the economy for them to be effective, despite their distributive effects. Moreover, the sensitivity of aggregate consumption and investment in productive capacity to changes in short-term interest rates would be low – a conclusion reached by many post-Keynesian authors today (Cynamon, Fazzari, and Setterfield, 2013)

From this perspective, however, interest rates impact aggregate consumption through distributive changes (discussed below) that affect the economy's marginal propensity to consume. Also, interest rate changes would affect other aggregate demand components, such as residential investments and credit-financed consumption (Summa, 2016; Serrano et al., 2020). Furthermore, in an open economy, interest rate changes would tend — *ceteris paribus*

— to impact the exchange rate and thus exports. In this view, changes in interest rates would affect investments in productive capacity more indirectly, to the extent that they impact other components of aggregate demand whose trend would dictate the pace of expansion of such investments.

This said, it's necessary to highlight that the relationship between interest rates and aggregate demand is non-linear, in the sense that while it may not respond to incremental increases in interest rates, it will eventually respond to cumulative increases, and more often than not, when it is too late, and the economy collapses. It is in this sense that monetary policy has been called a 'blunt' instrument (Rochon, 1999; What, 1990).

Hence, precisely because of the interest-insensitive nature of consumption and investment, central banks will increase interest rates several times, the cumulative impact may produce a severe downturn in economic activity and increase unemployment¹³. This is how the monetary-political constraint on full employment presents itself in the current dominant framework.

Whenever unemployment is low, and workers start to get wage increases due to their increased bargaining power,¹⁴ the monetary authority is compelled to raise interest rates and restrain the economy due to its reaction function in the spirit of an inflation-first policy. After several increases, demand cools down, unemployment rises, and the situation reverses. In this sense, monetary policy 'automates' the political constraint on full employment.

As outlined in the previous section, in addition to largely providing a theoretical foundation for the current macroeconomic framework regarding the conduct of monetary policy, Monetarism and its successor schools of thought recommend labor market flexibility. This further structurally undermines workers' bargaining power, allowing for lower unemployment rates without significant wage increases. Not surprisingly, wages in the U.S.

¹³ There were 11 increases in the US interest rate in the post-pandemic era (to date). The story is somewhat more complicated in the US at the moment owing to the large fiscal stimulus under Biden.

¹⁴ This situation is defined by Abba Lerner as the point of low full employment, from which the reduction of unemployment through the expansion of aggregate demand, although possible, would generate an “inflationary spiral” due to the increase in the bargaining power of workers. The point of high full employment, in turn, corresponds to the lowest unemployment rate made possible by the expansion of effective demand. From this point, any policy that increases aggregate demand to increase output and employment would generate only inflation (Lerner, 1951).

didn't respond (as they did in the late 1960s) to the very low unemployment rates observed in the U.S. in the last ten years (Barros, 2022b).

The role of labor market flexibility implying greater worker insecurity and contributing to the fight against inflation was acknowledged by the president of the FED, Paul Volcker, in his address to Congress in 1997.

The performance of the U.S. economy over the past year has been quite favorable... Low inflation last year was both a symptom and a cause of the good economy... At the same time, continued low levels of inflation and inflation expectations have been a key support for healthy economic performance... But the rate of pay increase still was markedly less than historical relationships with labor market conditions would have predicted. *Atypical restraint on compensation increases has been evident for a few years now and appears to be mainly the consequence of greater worker insecurity.* In 1991, at the bottom of the recession, a survey of workers at large firms by International Survey Research Corporation indicated that 25 percent feared being laid off. In 1996, despite the sharply lower unemployment rate and the tighter labor market, the same survey organization found that 46 percent were fearful of a job layoff. *Thus, the willingness of workers in recent years to trade off smaller increases in wages for greater job security seems to be reasonably well documented.* (Greenspan, 1997a, italics added)

This situation of "traumatized workers" and its impact on inflation and on the macro performance of the end of the last century was also highlighted by another central banker, Edward W. Kelley Jr., who asserted at a 1995 meeting of Fed governors that:

I don't know how much, [sic] has to do with the so-called *traumatized worker*. How long is the American workforce going to remain quiescent without the compensation increases that it thinks it should get? When employment is as strong as it is right now, I don't think we can depend on having permanently favorable results in that area. *This has been a rather big key to the present happy macro situation where we have a high capacity utilization rate and a relatively low inflation rate. We all feel rather good about that.* (Kelley, 1995, Apud Perelman, 2012)

It is also important to note, yet, that the mere threat of interest rate hikes already functions as a means to reduce workers' wage aspirations. Seen from the perspective of an income policy, central banks can use increases in the interest rate as a way of disciplining workers and calming labor markets.

What the central bank does, instead, is use its interest rate lever to get workers and firms to comply through an incomes policy of 'fear'... Indeed, if workers do not abide by the guideline, the central bank raises the income of one group, the recipients of investment income (or rentiers), through higher interest rates, while simultaneously seeking to

reduce the income growth of the others, both wage earners and even business profit income earners. (Rochon and Seccareccia, 2022, p. 25).

Through the impact of interest rates on the labor market and the level of unemployment, the rise in the interest rate reduces the wage share, negatively affecting income distribution (generating concentration), what Rochon and Seccareccia (2022) refer to as the indirect channel of monetary policy on distribution. The authors further discuss two other channels that reinforce this distributional impact: the direct channel, which increases bondholders' income, and the wealth channel, which involves the effects of interest rates on the financial market and asset prices.

Charles Goodhart (1988) formalized this non-neutral distributive nature of central banks in his "club theory." Indeed, the strategy of inflation targeting would be implemented by the central bank, the manager of the banking club, to defend lenders from inflation and strengthen the international position of the financial sector with a stronger currency–monetary policy done through Epstein's (2015, p. 106) 'finance-colored glasses' (see also Marshall and Rochon, 2024).

Hence, in line with Rochon and Setterfield (2007; 2008), restrictive monetary policies should be avoided, which, to fine-tune the economy, would end up favoring particular social interests (see also Rochon and Setterfield, 2022). Also, in light of the high values of fiscal multipliers, it would appear necessary to reaffirm a more central role for fiscal policy to ensure full employment in the economy that would benefit the poorer classes.

It is concluded that the theoretical framework inspired by Monetarism – on which the New Consensus in Macroeconomics, for the topics discussed here, largely relies – adopted after the political shift of the 1970s implies lower levels and rates of growth of product, automating Kalecki's "political business cycle" and leading to the unmistakable process of income concentration observed since then.

Conclusion

Throughout the paper, we sought to present Kalecki's (1943) analysis, according to which economists and governments, even knowing how to achieve full employment, do not do so for political reasons. In this analysis, the author addressed fiscal policy as a tool to achieve

this goal. The purpose of this article was to demonstrate how this limitation to full employment occurs today, due to the dominant theoretical framework, almost automatically through monetary policy.

Once the principle of effective demand is assumed and it is recognized that the government can expand its spending, it is concluded that achieving full employment is an option that societies should adopt or not. However, this point implies political and social changes that disadvantage the capitalist class that pressure the government to adopt contractionary economic policies to slow down the economy and reverse the situation.

As argued, the inflection observed in the 1970s – where Keynesianism focused on full employment with fiscal activism was replaced by Monetarism (and theoretical currents that are its heirs) primarily concerned with combating inflation through austerity – can be analyzed based on the same contribution from Kalecki. The post-war full employment engendered political and social changes in favor of the working class, so that in that decade, capitalists turned the tables, imposing an entirely new theoretical framework, Monetarism, that undoubtedly reversed this situation.

This framework recommends fiscal austerity and the adoption of strict rules for conducting monetary policy, essentially focusing on inflation. This implies lower growth rates and higher unemployment rates (compared to the post-war performance), which reduce workers' bargaining power and, through wage deceleration, tend to control inflation. This weakening of the working class is further reinforced by the normative recommendation of labor market flexibility, which, under the pretext of reducing the natural unemployment rate, implies another harsh blow to workers.

Adopting such rules basically automates the political restriction on full employment. Whenever the economy is heated and workers are strengthened, the monetary authority raises interest rates to reverse the situation. In addition to the negative impacts on output and employment, such a framework also implies perverse distributive consequences. It is no wonder that since the 1980s, lower growth rates and an unequivocal process of income concentration have been observed.

Thus, in conclusion, it is worth highlighting again the political bias of this theoretical framework and its inadequacy for societies that should have prosperity and social justice as

their goal. Above all, it is worth noting the relevance of Michal Kalecki's contribution, a giant of economics who, in our view, has received much less recognition than he deserves.

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