Modern Monetary Theory - Week 1

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Henry George School of Social Science November 9 2020

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What Is Modern Monetary Theory?

- We'll answer that in the next five weeks
- But first, a charming story

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Once Upon a Time ...

• There was a hedge fund guy named Warren Mosler



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Warren Mosler and His Children

• Mosler who wanted his children to do chores around the house

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Warren Mosler and His Children

- Mosler who wanted his children to do chores around the house
- As an incentive, he offered them business cards when chores were done

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Warren Mosler and His Children

- Mosler who wanted his children to do chores around the house
- As an incentive, he offered them business cards when chores were done
- His children ignored him at first
 - o They had no use for his business cards

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Daddy Responds

- But Daddy was in charge
 - o In that house, he was the sovereign

continued...

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Daddy Responds

- But Daddy was in charge
 - o In that house, he was the sovereign
- Daddy imposed a tax, payable in his business cards

continued...

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Daddy Responds

- But Daddy was in charge
 - o In that house, he was the sovereign
- Daddy imposed a tax, payable in his business cards
 - Without chores, no business cards
 - Without business cards, no way to pay taxes
 - Without taxes, kids grounded

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The Children Ponder Their Situation

- Did the tasks, were rewarded with business cards
- Saturday was tax day
- But they had business cards left over after paying the tax
- Used them to trade among themselves
- Daddy tore up business cards after receiving them as taxes
 - Issued new cards each week

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• The kids grew up and lived happily ever after

continued...

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- The kids grew up and lived happily ever after
- Daddy went long on the Italian lira ...

continued...

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- The kids grew up and lived happily ever after
- Daddy went long on the Italian lira ...
 - o ... made a boatload of money

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- The kids grew up and lived happily ever after
- Daddy went long on the Italian lira ...
 - o ... made a boatload of money
 - ... invented Modern Monetary Theory (MMT)

continued...

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- The kids grew up and lived happily ever after
- Daddy went long on the Italian lira ...
 - o ... made a boatload of money
 - ... invented Modern Monetary Theory (MMT)
 - ... eventually retired to the Virgin Islands

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And Now, Back to Our Regularly Scheduled Presentation

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What Is Modern Monetary Theory?

- Better described as: "Modern Money Theory"
- Heterodox school of macroeconomic thought which asks:
 - To what degree is your country monetarily sovereign?
 - How does that impact the economic policies your country is able to pursue?

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What Is a "Monetarily Sovereign Nation"?

- Issues its own currency
- Does not peg currency's value to precious metal or any other currency
- Does not take on debt in any other currency

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Which Countries Are Monetarily Sovereign -- and Which Are Not?

- Sovereign: U.S., Canada, Australia, U.K., Japan
- Not: Eurozone countries (Germany, France, Italy, Greece, etc.)
- Not: CFA countries (Senegal, Ivory Coast, etc.)

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Why Is Monetary Sovereignty Important?

• Shapes how governments can respond to crises

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"We Just Don't Have the Money!"

• What politicians, economists, pundits say when government action is needed

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"We Just Don't Have the Money!"

- What politicians, economists, pundits say when government action is needed
- At end of course, you will be able to reject this as false

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Can We Go Have Dinner Now?

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What Will We Learn (1): Myth Busting

• We'll bust some myths, including as presented in Stephanie Kelton's new book:

The Deficit Myth: Modern Monetary Theory and the Birth of the People's Economy

'The tools we desperately need to build a safe future for all.

Read it - then put it to use' NAOMI KLEIN

DEFICIT MYTH



Modern Monetary Theory and How to Build a Better Economy

STEPHANIE KELTON

• Myth: The federal budget should budget like a household

continued...

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- Myth: The federal budget should budget like a household
- Myth: Federal government deficits are evidence of overspending

continued...

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- Myth: The federal budget should budget like a household
- Myth: Federal government deficits are evidence of overspending
- Myth: Federal government deficit spending will burden the next generation

continued...

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- Myth: The federal budget should budget like a household
- Myth: Federal government deficits are evidence of overspending
- Myth: Federal government deficit spending will burden the next generation
- Myth: Deficit spending will crowd out private investment and limit long-term growth

continued...

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- Myth: The federal budget should budget like a household
- Myth: Federal government deficits are evidence of overspending
- Myth: Federal government deficit spending will burden the next generation
- Myth: Deficit spending will crowd out private investment and limit long-term growth
- Myth: Deficit spending will make the U.S. dependent upon foreigners

continued...

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- Myth: The federal budget should budget like a household
- Myth: Federal government deficits are evidence of overspending
- Myth: Federal government deficit spending will burden the next generation
- Myth: Deficit spending will crowd out private investment and limit long-term growth
- Myth: Deficit spending will make the U.S. dependent upon foreigners
- Myth: Entitlement spending poses a long-term fiscal crisis

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• U.S. government does not need to raise taxes or borrow before spending money

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- U.S. government does not need to raise taxes or borrow before spending money
- U.S. federal government needs to spend before people can pay taxes to the federal government
 - O Spending precedes taxation

continued...

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- U.S. government does not need to raise taxes or borrow before spending money
- U.S. federal government needs to spend before people can pay taxes to the federal government
 - O Spending precedes taxation
- U.S. government needs to spend before people can lend money to the government by buying Treasury bonds
 - O Spending precedes borrowing

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- U.S. government does not need to raise taxes or borrow before spending money
- U.S. federal government needs to spend before people can pay taxes to the federal government
 - O Spending precedes taxation
- U.S. government needs to spend before people can lend money to the government by buying Treasury bonds
 - O Spending precedes borrowing
- Taxation drives the currency

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- Given: non-government sector (households and firms) tends to not spend all its income ...
 - o Government sector must run a budget deficit

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What Will We Learn? (3)

- Given: non-government sector (households and firms) tends to not spend all its income ...
 - o Government sector must run a budget deficit
- Federal government is currency-issuer ...
 - ... not a currency-user
 - o Households, firms, state governments are currency users

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What Will We Learn? (4)

- U.S. government is monetarily sovereign
 - o ... as are Australia, Japan, U.K.
 - o ... but not Eurozone or CFA-zone

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What Will We Learn? (5)

• Federal Reserve cannot regulate the size of the money supply in the U.S. economy

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What Will We Learn? (5)

- Federal Reserve cannot regulate the size of the money supply in the U.S. economy
- Federal Reserve can regulate the "price" of the money supply -- interest rates

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What Will We Learn? (6)

• No "tradeoff" between unemployment and inflation on the "menu of policy choices."

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What Will We Learn? (6)

- No "tradeoff" between unemployment and inflation on the "menu of policy choices."
- Capitalist economies inherently tend to create unemployment, but ...
 - o Level of unemployment in a monetarily sovereign capitalist nation is policy choice

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What Will We Learn? (7)

• Government spending is no more inherently inflationary than spending by either consumers or businesses

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What Will We Learn? (8)

- Banks do not lend from their reserves
 - Lending is not constrained by volume of reserves
 - o Banks make loans when making loans looks profitable
 - Loans create deposits

continued...

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What Will We Learn? (8)

- Banks do not lend from their reserves
 - Lending is not constrained by volume of reserves
 - o Banks make loans when making loans looks profitable
 - Loans create deposits
- Banks are licensed by the government to make loans -- to extend credit
 - Bank loans create money
 - Repayment of bank loans destroys money

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How the Class Will Work

- Online; non-credit
- Low tech
 - Stay muted unless we're in a Q & A break
- Periodic breaks for questions
 - o Post questions in Zoom chat window
 - Raise hand in Zoom Participants window

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How the Class Will Work

- Online; non-credit
- Low tech
 - Stay muted unless we're in a Q & A break
- Periodic breaks for questions
 - o Post questions in Zoom chat window
 - Raise hand in Zoom Participants window
- How well will this work out?
 - Who knows?

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Learning Tools

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Learning Tools

- Email: lerner.minsky@gmail.com
- 2 Google Group mailing lists:
 - https://groups.google.com/forum/#!forum/mmt-at-hgsss-fall-2020
 - https://groups.google.com/forum/#!forum/modern-monetary-theory

MMT at HGSSS Fall 2020

Modern Monetary Theory

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Learning Tools

- Email: lerner.minsky@gmail.com
- 2 Google Group mailing lists:
 - https://groups.google.com/forum/#!forum/mmt-at-hgsss-fall-2020
 - https://groups.google.com/forum/#!forum/modern-monetary-theory

MMT at HGSSS Fall 2020

Modern Monetary Theory

- IRC (Internet Relay Chat):
 - O Network: irc.freenode.net
 - Channel: #mmt
 - My nick: kid51

Take Notes!

• Exercise your muscle memory!

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Review of Reading Materials

Reading List

• Malcolm Gaskill has written:

"Unlike other commodities and services, where typically the customer wants no involvement in the manufacture or delivery of their purchases, students get out of a degree what they put in."

Malcolm Gaskill

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Pause for Questions

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Some Definitions

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Political Economy

- Study of social relationships human societies establish while producing and consuming things we need to stay alive
 - o ... not just the study of "markets"
 - Term preferred to "economics"

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Macroeconomics

- What determines a country's overall levels of:
 - o income
 - o output
 - o employment
 - o prices

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Macroeconomics

- What determines a country's overall levels of:
 - o income
 - o output
 - o employment
 - o prices
- versus "microeconomics"
 - Economic behavior of individual agents
 - o Prices of individual commodities

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Orthodox and Heterodox Economics

- MMT would be classified as "heterodox," which is the opposite of "orthodox"
- So what's orthodox economics?

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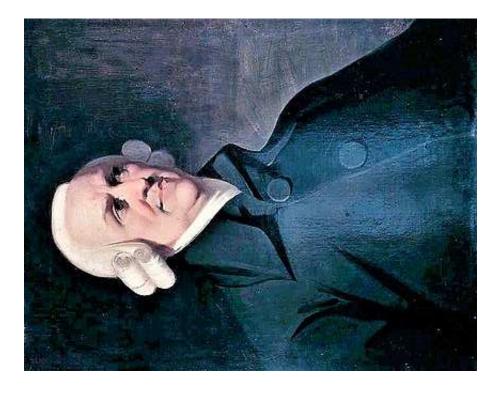
What Came Before Orthodox Economics?

• Classical political economy

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Adam Smith



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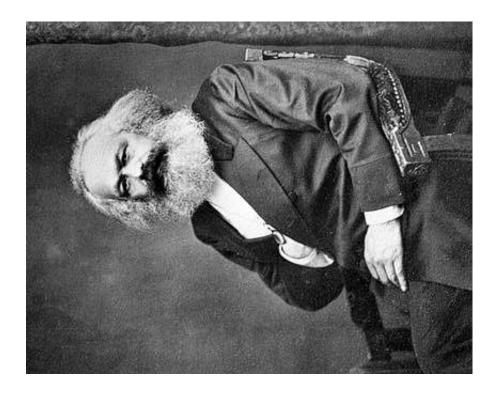
David Ricardo



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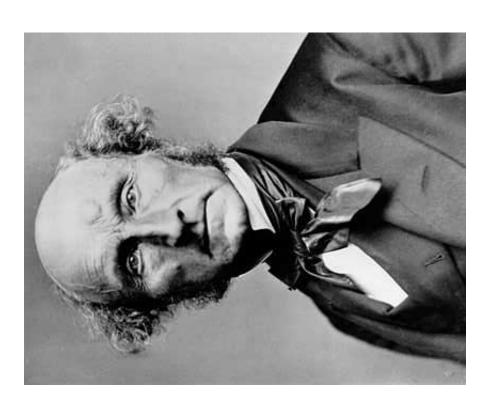
Karl Marx



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John Stuart Mill



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Orthodox Economics?

- "Economics" of late 19th century
 - o Alfred Marshall; William Jevons
 - Study of markets
 - Especially under "pure" competition
 - o Full-employment equilibrium
- Dominated academic economics up to Great Depression
 - o ... and in many ways still dominates economics today

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Heterodox Economics

- Other schools of thought:
 - Institutionalist
 - Marxist
 - o Post-Keynesian
 - MMT
 - Henry George

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John Maynard Keynes



- Most influential economist of the 20th century
 - Economic Consequences of the Peace (1920)
 - Treatise on Money (1930)

- $\circ\;$ General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money (1936)
- \circ How to Pay for the War (1940)

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Keynes' Focus

- Why did the Great Depression last so long?
 - Why did "market forces" restore the economy to "full-employment equilibrium"?
- Conclusion: capitalism was not self-healing

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How Keynes Was Received

• Orthodox economics attempted to "de-radicalize" Keynes' thought

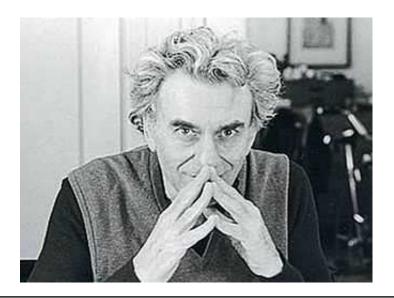
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How Keynes Was Received

- Orthodox economics attempted to "de-radicalize" Keynes' thought
- Heterodox economists valued what was radical in Keynes
 - o Hyman Minsky



Pause for Questions

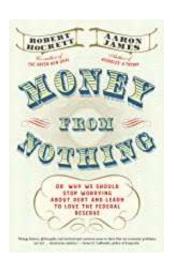
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Promises, Promises: The Nature of Money

• Robert Hockett and Aaron James: "Money from Nothing"

Money from Nothing



Basic Money

• Hockett and James write:

"Every relationship, whether in work, marriage, or friendship, in a village or a large society, comes with debts and obligations. We owe things to others, they owe things to us." (26)

- We make promises to one another
 - We incur obligations
 - o "I 'owe you one'"
 - o "I am in your debt"

continued...

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Basic Money

• Hockett and James write:

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"Every relationship, whether in work, marriage, or friendship, in a village or a large society, comes with debts and obligations. We owe things to others, they owe things to us." (26)
```

- We make promises to one another
 - We incur obligations
 - o "I 'owe you one'"
 - o "I am in your debt"
- We satisfy our promises
 - o "We're even. I no longer 'owe you one'"

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Debt and Credit

- Two sides of the same coin
 - o ... even many centuries before coins were invented
- We keep track of our obligations to others

```
"We hold each other and ourselves 'accountable,' keeping track of where things stand betweeen us by our best bookkeeping." (26)
```

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When the Relationships Become Many-sided

"Just agree that some item, which should be relatively easy to keep track of, counts as paying what's due or owed. Once enough people adopt the convenient arrangement, settling a wide range of debts and obligations in their daily business, they've got money." (27)

- Hence, money is a social relationship
 - ... which people establish amongst one another for resolution of obligations

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A Social Relationship -- Not an Object

- If money is a social relationship, it is not a tangible object
- But it can be represented by objects of varying degrees of tangibility

"[A]lmost anything can be money -- tokens, scrip, coins, paper, checks, or, these days, bank credits. What a community is doing is representing its IOUs -- whether in clay tablets, screawled-on napkins marked 'IOU,' or electronic marks on bank computers. ... [M]oney is 'that which pays' -- that which is counted as paying or settling debts, so as to facilitate a community's bookkeeping." (27)

"What is money, then? That thing, whatever it happens to be, that a community agrees to count as settling accounts between them. Whatever it is, that's their money." (27)

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Basic Money: Formally Defined

• Hockett and James formalize their definition:

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"A transferrable promissory claim or IOU that a large portion of
a community will accept as settling accounts in fulfillment of a
large share of market obligations, debts, or other liabilities." (27)
```

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Four Features of Money

- Promissory claim (IOU/promissory note)
- Transferable
 - o Bill or coin
 - o Endorsed bank check
 - o "negotiable promissory note"
- Widely accepted for settling accounts
- Fulfills large share of market obligations, debts, or other liabilities

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Modern Money

- Let's go back 6,000 years ...
 - Before then: tribal production; hunter/gatherers
- Now: large-scale agricultural production
 - Centered in river valleys
 - Need for large-scale irrigation
 - Need for more complex social organization to maintain production

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The State

- Emerged to organize irrigation and agriculture
- State was sovereign over its subjects
- State pursued the public purpose
 - o ... however defined ... or by whomever
- State mobilized resources in pursuit of public purpose

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State Mobilization of Resources

- Plunder is not sustainable
- State and subjects developed mutual obligations

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State Makes Promises to Its Subjects

- Issues tokens of promises to citizenry
 - o In exchange for goods and services which state needs to pursue the public purpose

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State Makes Promises to Its Subjects

- Issues tokens of promises to citizenry
 - o In exchange for goods and services which state needs to pursue the public purpose
- State then imposes tax on citizenry
 - o ... payable in the tokens the state just issued
 - State can do this because it is sovereign

continued...

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State Makes Promises to Its Subjects

- Issues tokens of promises to citizenry
 - o In exchange for goods and services which state needs to pursue the public purpose
- State then imposes tax on citizenry
 - o ... payable in the tokens the state just issued
 - State can do this because it is sovereign
- What's the promise?
 - o I, the state, promise to accept these tokens from you, the citizens, in fulfillment of your tax obligations
 - Tokens of promises are "tax vouchers"

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State Redeems Some of the Tokens of Its Promises

- State does not tax back all the tokens it emitted in purchasing resources
- Citizens can save or otherwise use the tokens not taxed back
 - o Tokens become "financial assets" of non-government sector

continued...

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November 9 2020 Modern Money Theory: Week 1 Back Next

State Redeems Some of the Tokens of Its Promises

- State does not tax back all the tokens it emitted in purchasing resources
- Citizens can save or otherwise use the tokens not taxed back
 - o Tokens become "financial assets" of non-government sector
- Everyone has to pay taxes
 - o ... so everyone has to acquire those tokens
 - o "that-in-which-you-can-pay-taxes"

continued...

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State Redeems Some of the Tokens of Its Promises

- State does not tax back all the tokens it emitted in purchasing resources
- Citizens can save or otherwise use the tokens not taxed back
 - o Tokens become "financial assets" of non-government sector
- Everyone has to pay taxes
 - ... so everyone has to acquire those tokens
 - o "that-in-which-you-can-pay-taxes"
- Citizens can use those tokens to satisfy obligations amongst each other
- Tokens can serve as medium of circulation

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Modern Money: 6,000 Years Ago!

- "Modern" money is money issued by the state ...
 - ... in exchange for resources and ...
 - o ... accepted back by the state in satisfaction of tax obligations

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Back to Warren Mosler, His Children and His Business Cards

- Were his business cards "money"?
- If so, were they "modern money"?

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Business Cards as Money

- Evaluate them against Hockett and James's 4 features of money
 - o Promissory claim
 - Mosler issues business cards to his children for chores
 - Promises to accept them back in satisfaction of taxes
 - o Transferable
 - Children trade with them
 - Widely accepted
 - Here, only within the Mosler household
 - o Fulfilled large share of obligations
 - Here again, only within the Mosler household

Business Cards Somewhat Like Modern Money

- Money within small part of society
- Modern money, because ...
 - Issued by sovereign in exchange for resources
 - o Accepted in settlement of taxes which sovereign imposes

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The U.S. Dollar

- Examine a "dollar bill"
 - o Assuming you haven't "gone cashless"
- Officially: a "Federal Reserve Note"
 - A representation of a promise
 - o Made by arm of U.S. government: Federal Reserve
 - o A promissory note

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Legal Tender for Public Debts

• Bill states:

This note is legal tender for all debts, public and private.

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Legal Tender for Public Debts

• Bill states:

This note is legal tender for all debts, public and private.

- "Public debts" are your tax obligations
 - o Government unconditionally promises to accept that note back for tax payments
 - Note is a tax voucher

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Legal Tender for Private Debts

- Extension of state sovereignty
- Not only will we, the government, accept this note to satisfy obligations ...
 - This note will satisfy any other private debts you may have within our territory
 - o Can be used as currency on a legally sanctioned and enforceable basis

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U.S. Dollar as Modern Money

- Modern money par excellence
 - o Promissory claim issued by sovereign in exchange for resources
 - Accepted back in satisfaction of tax obligations
 - Transferable among the population
 - It circulates
 - Mandated to be acceptable and capable of fulfilling debts and other obligations

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Pause for Questions

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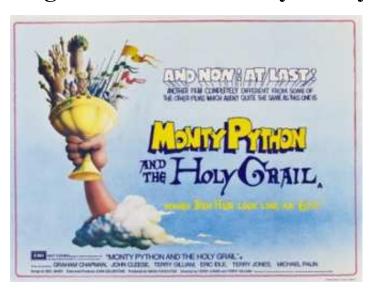
Two Stories about the Origin of Money

• Now, unconventional perspective: stories

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The Barter Myth (As It Might Have Been Told by Monty Python)



- The peasants have delivered meat, grain, produce to feudal lords
 - o Payment in kind, not in currency
- They gather to trade their surplus potatoes, chickens and leather handicrafts.

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- The peasants have delivered meat, grain, produce to feudal lords
 - Payment in kind, not in currency
- They gather to trade their surplus potatoes, chickens and leather handicrafts.
- I grow potatoes; I want to bring home some chickens
- You raise chickens; you want to bring home some potatoes

continued...

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- The peasants have delivered meat, grain, produce to feudal lords
 - o Payment in kind, not in currency
- They gather to trade their surplus potatoes, chickens and leather handicrafts.
- I grow potatoes; I want to bring home some chickens
- You raise chickens; you want to bring home some potatoes
- A Monty Python interlude riffing on "po-tay-toes" versus "po-tah-toes"

continued...

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- The peasants have delivered meat, grain, produce to feudal lords
 - o Payment in kind, not in currency
- They gather to trade their surplus potatoes, chickens and leather handicrafts.
- I grow potatoes; I want to bring home some chickens
- You raise chickens; you want to bring home some potatoes
- A Monty Python interlude riffing on "po-tay-toes" versus "po-tah-toes"
- We each make mental calculations of how many potatoes we should exchange for chickens
- We make a deal

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A Classical Political Economy Interlude

- This being a Monty Python movie, we now have a little animated episode
- Narrator asks, "How did those two guys determine the rate at which potatoes exchange for chickens?"
- Responds:
 - According to orthodox economists,
 - ... it's all just subjective preferences
 - ... expressed in demand and supply curves

continued...

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A Classical Political Economy Interlude

- This being a Monty Python movie, we now have a little animated episode
- Narrator asks, "How did those two guys determine the rate at which potatoes exchange for chickens?"
- Responds:
 - According to orthodox economists,
 - ... it's all just subjective preferences
 - ... expressed in demand and supply curves
 - o But according to earlier classical economists,
 - ... it's the amount of labor, direct and indirect, that went into the production of the two goods being exchanged
 - The labor theory of value

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Back to the Village Fair

- I've still got more potatoes to trade
- I want leather booties for my little baby girl, Rosetta

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Back to the Village Fair

- I've still got more potatoes to trade
- I want leather booties for my little baby girl, Rosetta
- The woman selling leather booties -- "Etsy" -- doesn't need potatoes
- We lack the "double coincidence of wants" needed for barter

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A Cry Comes Out from the Other Side of the Marketplace

- "They've invented money!"
 - Now we can use little round metallic objects as medium of exchange
 - o I can give "coins" to Etsy and take booties home to Rosetta
 - Etsy can purchase a goat from Sam, the goatherd
 - o Sam wants to buy potatoes, which I can sell him for "coins"

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Money Sidesteps the Double Coincidence of Wants Needed for Barter

- Money "arises" to avoid limitations inherent in barter
- Sounds plausible, doesn't it?
 - And it's in all the economics textbooks!

continued...

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Money Sidesteps the Double Coincidence of Wants Needed for Barter

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continued...

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Money Sidesteps the Double Coincidence of Wants Needed for Barter

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- Sounds plausible, doesn't it?
 - And it's in all the economics textbooks!
- One problem: It just isn't true.
- More precisely ...
 - No strong evidence in historical/archeological record for this origin story

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The Part of the Story That Got Dropped on the Cutting Room Floor

- King Arthur sets out on his quest for the Holy Grail, accompanied by:
 - o Sir Bedevere the Wise
 - o Sir Lancelot the Brave
 - o Sir Galahad the Pure; and
 - o Sir Robin the Not-Quite-So-Brave-as-Sir-Lancelot
- They need horses and food for themselves and their horses

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The King and His Knights Encounter Three Peasants

• They encounter three peasants who have horses and food: Moe, Larry, Curly



The King Offers "Coins" for Provisions

• King Arthur offers to give them a dozen little round metallic objects with his picture engraved on them

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The King Offers "Coins" for Provisions

- King Arthur offers to give them a dozen little round metallic objects with his picture engraved on them
- Peasants have no use for the King's silly "coins"
 - Moe spurns the king. "We don't need your stinkin' 'coins'."

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Sir Robin Missteps

- Sir Robin the Not-Quite-So-Brave attempts to seize the food and horses by force
- Stumbles over a rock and falls on his sword.
 - His guts pore out in Technicolor.

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King Arthur and His Knights Restrategize

- Sir Bedevere the Wise whispers in the king's ear
- King Arthur re-approaches the peasants
 - o "Look here, you filthy peasants. I am the king"
 - o "I am the sovereign. I am imposing a tax on each of you"
 - o "Each of you must pay me three of those little round objects with my picture on it"
 - o "Or else -- off with your heads!"

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 - o "Or else -- off with your heads!"
- Peasants become frightened
 - They don't have any of those little round objects with the king's picture on it

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The Three Peasants Cut a Deal

- Larry says to Moe and Curly:
 - o "Let's take them up on their offer to give us a dozen of those coins in exchange for food and horses"
 - "He's taxing us 3 coins each -- a total of 9 coins."
 - o "We'll have 3 coins left over and still have our heads on our shoulders"
 - o "Take the deal; we'll figure out what to do with the remaining 3 coins later."

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The King and His Knights Proceed to the Next Village

- The deal is struck
- King and remaining knights go to next hamlet, realize they can work the same deal there
- Eventually, peasants throughout the kingdom have these "coins"
- King and knights are fully provisioned to pursue the Holy Grail
- Peasants can save leftover coins for future taxes -- or trade with them

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Pause for Questions

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