



Institute for International Political Economy at the Berlin School of Economics and Law (IPE)

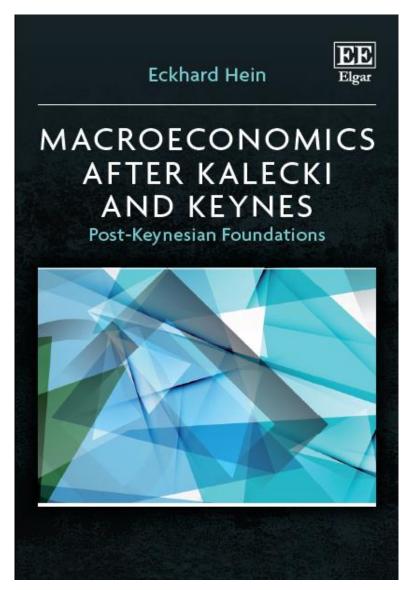
History and Fundamentals of Post-Keynesian Economics

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Content



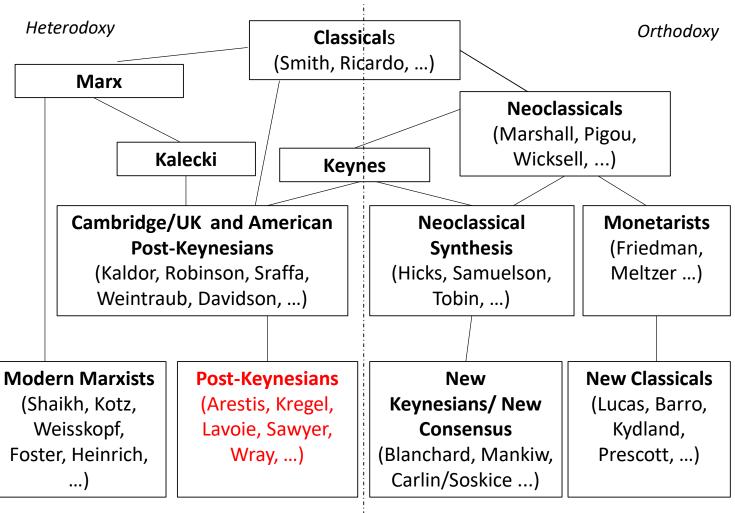
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2.1 INTRODUCTION



Figure 2.1 Heterodox and orthodox schools in macroeconomics



Source: Based on Hein (2019b, p. 240)



2.2 HETERODOX VS. ORTHODOX ECONOMICS a la Lavoie (2014, 2022)

Epistemology / Ontology



Heterodoxy: Realism

 Objective of economics is to tell relevant stories and to explain actual working of the economy in the real world

→ start with "stylized facts" (Kaldor) rather than hypothetical idealistic position or assumptions

Orthodoxy: Instrumentalism

- Economic hypothesis is sound, if it allows for calculation of equilibrium and accurate prediction (M. Friedman)
 - → start with first principles (utitility and profit maximisation, given endowments, perfect competition)

Rationality



Heterodoxy: Environment-consistent rationality, satisficing agent

- Individuals face severe limitations in their ability to acquire and process information, because the latter maybe simply non-existent (known unknowns, unknown unknowns)
 - → expectations based on radical uncertainty (different from probabilistic risk)
 - → norms/institutions (conventions, customs, rules of thumb) as rational responses

Orthodoxy: Hyper model-consistent rationality, optimising agent

 Individuals possess quasi-unlimited knowledge and ability to calculate economic outcomes applying the ,true' model (perfect information, rational expectations)

Method



Heterodoxy: Holism/organicism

- Individuals are social beings under the influence of their environment (culture, class, gender, institutions, history)
 - → micro-macro paradoxes

Orthodoxy: Individualism/atomicism

- Analysis starts from pre-social individual and his/her preferences
 - → representative agent as a utility and/or profit maximiser under constraints
 - → microfoundation of macroeconomics (and of institutions)

Economic core



Heterodoxy: Production and growth

 Creation of scarce resources by means of accumulation of (part of) the surplus and technical progress (classicals + Marx), reproduction prices, utilization of resources, because economy usually operates below full utilization (Kalecki, Keynes)

Orthodoxy: Exchange, allocation + scarcity

 Efficient allocation of scarce resources (Robbins), prices reflect scarcity, exchange as the starting point of economic analysis, production + growth as an extensions

Political core



Heterodoxy: Regulated markets

 markets generate instabilities irrespective of price (in-) flexibility, unacceptable inequalities and inefficiencies; free markets are impossible, tendencies towards oligopoly + monopoly; market regulation and aggregate demand management by the state are required

Orthodoxy: Unfettered markets

 Perfect markets (perfect information, flexible prices) generate optimal results, state intervention generates inefficiencies, exception: external effects, natural monopolies, ...



2.3 STRANDS OF POST-KEYNESIAN ECONOMICS AND BROAD COMMONALITIES

Strands of post-Keynesian economics ('big tent') a la Lavoie (2014, 2022)



- Fundamentalist (Keynes, older J. Robinson, Davidson, Minsky, Shackle, Weintraub): fundamental uncertainty, the features of a monetary production economy, financial instability, method
- Kaleckians (Kalecki, Steindl, younger J. Robinson, Laski): cost-plus pricing, class conflict, effective demand, income distribution and growth
- Kaldorians (Kaldor, Harrod, Goodwin, Godley, Thirlwall): growth, productivity regimes, open economy constraints to growth, economic and the financial system
- Sraffians/neo-Ricardians (Sraffa, Garegnani): prices of production in multi-sectoral systems, choice of techniques, capital theory, longperiod positions of the economy, supermultiplier models
- Institutionalists (Veblen, J.K. Galbraith, Lerner, Eichner): pricing, the theory of the firm, monetary institutions, behavioural and labour economics

Core claims of PK economics



1. - 5. presuppositions of heterodox economics

+

- 6. non neutrality of money in the short and in the long runthe focus on a monetary theory of production (Keynes 1933) in which money is non-neutral in the short and the long run, i.e. money is not a veil;
- 7. the dominance of the **principle of effective demand in the short** (Kalecki 1932, 1933, 1935, 1939, Keynes 1933, 1936) **and the long run** (Kalecki 1943, 1954, Kaldor 1957, Robinson 1956, 1962, Steindl 1952), investment creates its corresponding saving via income, growth and/or distribution effects;

Core claims of PK economics



- 8. the importance of the notion of **fundamental uncertainty**, which is different from probabilistic risk ('we simply do not know', Keynes 1937);
- 9. the insistence that economic processes take place in **historical and irreversible time** (Robinson 1962)— and are thus largely **path dependent**, hence no pre-determined NAIRU or potential growth ('long run trend is but a slowly changing component of a chain of short-period situations', Kalecki 1971);
- 10. the importance of distributional issues and **distribution conflict** for economic outcomes (output, employment, inflation, growth).



Table 2.1 Ten main features of post-Keynesian economics		
Five pre-suppositions	Five core claims	
1. Epistemology/Ontology: Realism	6. Non-neutrality of money in the short and	
	in the long run	
2. Rationality: Environment consistent	7. Principle of effective demand in the short	
rationality and satisficing agents	and in the long run	
3. Method: Holism and organicism	8. Fundamental uncertainty	
4. Economic core: production and growth	9. Historical and irreversible time, path	
	dependence	
5. Political core: regulated markets	10. Distribution conflict	



2.4 STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT OF POST-KEYNESIAN ECONOMICS

2.4.1 The 1930s and 1940s



- Kalecki's (1932, 1933, 1935, 1939, 1943a) and Keynes's (1933, 1936)
 revolution in macroeconomics, determination of output and employment, involuntary unemployment and the trade cycle
- **Economic policies** to overcome short- and long-run effective demand failures, recessions, stagnation and involuntary unemployment (Kalecki 1943b, 1944, Keynes 1943)
- Future of the international currency system after World War II (Kalecki/Schumacher 1943, Keynes 1942)
- Harrod (1939) and Domar (1946): capacity effects of investment and their impact on long-run stability of growth, also Kalecki (1939, 1943, 1954)
- Lerner (1943) functional finance
- Domar (1944) stability condition for government debt dynamics

Table 2.2 Short biography of Michal Kalecki

- 22.6.1899: Born in Lodz, Poland
- 1917: Bachelor's degree in engineering
- 1921: Gdansk Polytechnic, studies in engineering, private studies on Tugan-Baranowsky and Luxemburg
- 1924: Left university without degree, work as a business journalist
- 1929: Research Institute of Business Cycles and Prices, Warszaw
- 1930: Marriage with Ada Szternfeld
- 1933: Essay on the Business Cycle Theory (in Polish)
- 1935: Publications in Revue d'Economie Politique and in Econometrica
- 1936: Scholarship to travel to Sweden and England
- 1937: Cambridge, first meeting with Keynes
- 1939: Essays in the Theory of Economic Fluctuations
- 1940: Researcher at the Oxford Institute of Statistics
- 1943: Studies in Economic Dynamics
- 1945: Paris, Montreal, New York: Economic Department of UN
- 1954: Theory of Economic Dynamics
- 1955: Return to Poland
- 1957: Chairman of the Committee for the Perspective Plan
- 1958: University professor and member of Polish Academy of Sciences
- 1963: Introduction to the Theory of Growth in A Socialist Economy (English in 1969)
- 1969: Studies in the Theory of Business Cycles
- 4.4.1970: Death in Warszaw
- 1970: Selected Essays on the Dynamics of the Capitalist Economy, 1933-1970
- 1972: Selected Essays on the Economic Growth of the Socialist and the Mixed Economy

Source: Based on information in Toporowski (2013, 2018)

Table 2.3: Short biography of John Maynard Keynes

- 5.6.1883: Born in Cambridge, UK
- 1897: School at Eton
- 1902: Student at King's College,
- 1905: Degree in mathematics
- 1905: Student of Marshall's
- 1906: Indian Office
- 1909: Fellow of King's College
- 1911: Editor of the *Economic Journal*
- 1913: Indian Currency and Finance
- 1915: Treasury, Member of the British delegation in Versailles
- 1919: The Economic Consequences of the Peace
- 1920: A Treatise on Probability
- 1922: A Revision of the Treaty
- 1923: A Tract on Monetary Reform
- 1925: Marriage with Lydia Lopokowa
- 1930: Member of the Economic Council of the Prime Minister
- 1930: A Treatise on Money, 2 volumes
- 1931: Essays in Persuasion
- 1933: Essays in Biography
- 1936: The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money
- 1939: Government advisor on war finance and currency issues, Member of British delegation in Bretton Woods
- 21.4.1946: Death in Tilton, Sussex, UK

Source: Based on information in Skidelsky (2003)

2.4.2 The 1950s and 1960s



- PK distribution and growth models of the first generation, Kaldor (1955/56, 1957), Pasinetti (1962, 1974) and Robinson (1956, 1962), in which saving adjusts to investment in long-run growth at normal capacity utilisation through changes in functional income distribution
- Kaldor (1966): applied export-led growth approach focussing on sectoral and regional divergences, dynamic returns to scale, cumulative causation and path dependence in economic development
- Critique of aggregate neoclassical theory in the 'Cambridge controversies in the theory of capital', starting with Robinson (1953/54), fundamentally challenging the theoretical consistency of an aggregate neoclassical production, and all the results derived from this, for a more than one-good-economy (Harcourt 1969, 1972)

2.4.3 The 1970s



- ,Romantic age' (Fontana 2009)
- Defining the **contours of a 'post-Keynesian' paradigm** in economics, Davidson (1972), Eichner/Kregel (1975), Eichner (1978)
- Robinson/Eatwell (1973): introductory textbook along Sraffian/post-Keynesian lines
- Foundation of journals: CJE (1977), JPKE (1978)
- Theory of the firm and pricing: Eichner (1976), Harcourt/Kenyon (1976), Wood (1975)
- Thirlwall's (1979) balance of payments constrained growth model (Thirlwall's law): long-run growth rate of an economy is limited or even determined by foreign income growth and by the income elasticities of exports and imports
- Minsky's (1975, 1977): **Financial instability theory**: tranquility is breeding instability

2.4.4 The 1980s and 1990s



- ,Age of uncertainty' (Fontana 2009)
- Work on methods, publication of some textbook-like monographs on post-Keynesian economics, Arestis (1992), Bhaduri (1986), Carvalho (1992), Chick (1983), Davidson (1982, 1994), Dutt/Amadeo (1990), Lavoie (1992), Lee (1998), Palley (1996), Reynolds (1987), and Sawyer (1985)
- Further **journals**: IRAE (1987), RoPE (1989)
- Theory of **endogenous money** (Kaldor 1982, 1985, Lavoie, 1984, 1996a, Moore 1988, 1989),
- 'Horizontalist versus structuralist' debate on interest rates, money and credit on the slope of money and credit supply curves (Lavoie 1996a, 1999, Moore1989, Palley 1994, Pollin 1991, Wray 1990)
- Second generation of post-Keynesian distribution of growth models, based on the works of Kalecki (1939, 1943, 1954) and Steindl (1952), by Dutt (1984, 1987) and Rowthorn (1981): rate of capacity utilisation as an endogenously adjusting variable also in the long run
- Bhaduri/Marglin (1990), Kurz (1990), Blecker (1989): possibility of wage- or profit-led growth

2.4.5 Since the early 2000s - 1



- Integration of distribution conflict into macro, theoretical and empirical/applied works: wage- vs. profit-led demand and growth; Kaleckians vs. Goodwinians (Blecker 2016a, Hein 2014b, Chapter 7, Lavoie 2017a, Lavoie/Stockhammer 2013a, 2013b, Stockhammer 2017)
- Kaleckian treatment of the rate of capacity utilisation as an endogenous variable beyond the short run, relevance of Harrodian instability in Kaleckian models (Hein/Lavoie/van Treeck 2011, 2012)
- Non-capacity creating autonomous demand growth, Sraffian supermultiplier process (Serrano 1995a, 1995b), in Kaleckian models (Allain 2015, Dutt 2019, Lavoie 2016a, Hein/Woodgate 2021)
- Wage dispersion and of household income inequality, household debt dynamics (Kapeller/Schütz 2015, Kim/Setterfield/Mei 2014, Prante 2017, Setterfield/Kim 2017)
- Gender and other types of segregation in post-Keynesian macroecomomics (Blecker/Seguino 2002, Braunstein et al 2011, 2020, Hein 2020, Onaran et al. 2022a, 2022b, Seguino 2019, 2020)

Since the early 2000s - 2



- Integrated analysis of money, finance, distribution conflict, effective demand, capital accumulation and growth and its application to changing institutional and historical circumstances, i.e. financialisation (Hein 2012a, Palley 2013, ...).
- Stock-flow consistent models (Godley/Lavoie 2007), both analytical (Hein 2008, 2012a, 2014b, Chapters 9-10) or numerical simulations in richer and more realistic large scale models (Belabed/Theobald/van Treeck 2018, Detzer 2018, Prante et al. 2022, ...)
- Different demand and growth regimes, both before and after the crisis, i.e. debt-led private demand boom, domestic demand-led (after the crisis stabilised by government deficits), weakly export-led and export-led mercantilist regimes (Hein 2012)
- Sources and drivers of regimes and regime changes, links with stagnation tendencies since the Global Financial Crisis and the Great Recession 2007-09 (Cynamon/Fazzari 2016, Hein 2019a)
- Several links with CPE and IPE (Hein 2023, Hein/Paternesi/Meloni 2021, Hein/Martschin 2021, Jungmann 2023, Köhler/Stockhammer 2021, Stockhammer 2022, 2023)

Since the early 2000s - 3



- Minskyan models on financial and economic crises (Charles 2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2016, Dafermos 2018, Kapeller/Schütz 2014, Lima/Meirelles 2007, Nikolaidi/Stockhammer 2017, Ryoo 2013, 2016, Stockhammer/Michell 2017)
- Ecological constraints and macroeconomic stability (Cahen-Fourot/Lavoie 2016, Fontana/Sawyer 2013, 2016, 2022, Hein/Jimenez 2022); stock-flow-fund ecological macroeconomic model (DEFINE) and socio-economic and –ecological transition (Dafermos/Nikolaidi/Galanis 2017, ...)
- International and development economics: further developments and applications of Thirlwall's (1979) Law (Blecker 2016b, McCombie 2011, 2019, Setterfield 2011, Thirlwall 2011, 2013, 2019)
- Currency hierarchy and development (Fritz/De Paula/Prates 2018, De Paula/Fritz/Prates 2017, Herr/Priewe 2006 Priewe/Herr 2005, Priewe 2008)
- The current stagflation crisis (SIs in EJEEP, IJPE, RoKE, RoPE, .,.)

Since the early 2000s - 4

(2007), Wray (2012).

- Further textbooks or textbook-like monographs/collected essays:
 Blecker/Setterfield (2019), Dimand/Hagemann (2019),
 Harcourt/Kriesler (2013), Hayes (2006), Hein (2014b, 2023),
 Hein/Stockhammer (2011a), Heine/Herr (2013), Holt/Pressman
 (2001), Jespersen (2009), King (2012a, 2015), Łaski (2019), Lavoie
 (2006a, 2022), Mitchell/Wray/Watts (2019),
 Prante/Bramucci/Hein/Truger (2020), Rochon/Rossi (2016, 2017b), Tily
- Several intellectual biographies: Lopez G./Assous (2010) and Toporowski (2013, 2018) on Michal Kalecki, Davidson (2007), Dostaler (2007), Hayes (2019) and Skidelsky (1983, 1992, 2000, 2003) on John Maynard Keynes, Harcourt/Kerr (2009) on Joan Robinson, King (2008a) on Nicholas Kaldor, Neilson (2019) on Hyman Minsky, Perez Caldentey (2019) on Roy Harrod, and Roncaglia (2009) on Piero Sraffa
- Books on the **history of post-Keynesian economics**: Harcourt (2006), King (2002), Pasinetti (2007).
- New journals: EJEEP: Intervention (2004 as Intervention: JoE),
 RoKE (2012).



2.5 THE CURRENT STATE OF POST-KEYNESIAN ECONOMICS

2.5.1 Macroeconomic policy relevance



PK alternative theories:

- Output, employment and unemployment, inflation;
- Distribution, growth and technical change;
- Money, credit and finance;
- International money and finance;
- Financialisation, financial instability and crisis;
- European economics and economic policies;
- Development and emerging market economics
- Ecological challenges and socio-ecological transition
- Foundations for critique of dominant mainstream NCM since the late 1990s/early 2000s, even well before the 2007-09 crises
- Full scale PK alternative model and policy mix (Arestis 2013, Hein/Stockhammer 2009, 2010, 2011b)
- ➤ Specified for the special conditions of the Eurozone (Arestis/Sawyer 2011, 2013, Hein 2018a, Hein/Detzer 2015a, 2015b, Hein/Martschin 2020, Hein/Truger/van Treeck 2012)
- ➤ US: MMT (Kelton 2020, Mitchell/Wray/Watts 2019, Wray 2012)



Table 2.4: Macroeconomic policy recommendations: New Consensus models (NCM) and post-Keynesian models (PKM) compared		
	NCM	PKM
Monetary policy	Inflation targeting by means of interest rate policies, which affects unemployment in the short run, but only inflation in the long run	Target low interest rateswhich mainly affect distribution, and stabilise monetary, financial and real sectors by applying other instruments (lender of last resort, credit controls,)
Fiscal policy	Supports monetary policy in achieving price stability by balancing the budget over the cycle	Real stabilisation in the short and in the long run with no autonomous deficit targets; affects distribution of disposable income
Labour market and wage/incomes policy	Determines the NAIRU in the long run and the speed of adjustment in the short run; focus should be on flexible nominal and real wages	Affects price level/inflation and distribution; focus should be on stable nominal wages, steady nominal unit labour cost growth and compressed wage structure
International economic policies	Free trade, free capital flows and flexible exchange rates	Regulated capital flows, managed exchange rates, infant industry protection, regional and industrial policies
Economic policy co-ordination	Clear assignment in the long run; co-ordination at best only in the short run	No clear assignment; economic policy co-ordination required in the short and the long run, both nationally and internationally

Macro-policy debates in post-Keynesian economics



- Monetary policy: ,activist' vs. ,parking it' approach to interest rate (Rochon/Setterfield 2007)? But agreement that QE is ,pushing on a string' and requires supporting fiscal policies
- Fiscal policy: functional finance? Limits to government debt? MMT (Wray 2012) and their critics (Palley 2015)
- Wage policy: Only nominal stabilisation? Or also re-distribution?
 Focus on wage structure instead of wage share?
- International economic policy: floating (Wray 2012) or managed/fixed exchange rates?
- Link PK macropolicies with supply-side challenges: socio-ecological transformation, industrial & reginonal policies

2.5.2 On micro and macro – and political economy



- Post-Keynesian microeconomics (King 2015, Chapter 5, Lavoie 2014, Chapters 2-3)
- Basic principles of post-Keynesian micro (King 2015):
- > decisions of firms are the driving force
- oligopolistic or monopolistic competition
- > Fundamental uncertainty, satisficing behaviour

Neither 'micro-foundation of macro' nor 'macro-foundation of macro':

'As Kalecki maintained, macroeconomics and microeconomics should be thought of as existing side by side, closely related to and influencing each other but also relatively autonomous and neither constituting the foundations of the other.' (King 2015, p. 45)

- Integration of changes in micro of firm and households into post-Keynesian macro models of financialisation
- > PKs have and should draw(n) on other schools of thought and social scienes: should provide macro for broader political economy

2.5.3 Post-Keynesian institutional academic infrastructure



PK survived as a **contested and embattled minority in economics**Managed to develop an **academic infrastructure** – as part of heterodox economics in general:

- Textbooks/Intellectual biographies (s. Section 2.4)
- Journals
- Networks/associations/conferences/summer schools
- Graduate programmes

Journals



- Cambridge Journal of Economics
- Journal of Post Keynesian Economics
- Review of Political Economy
- European Journal of Economics and Economic Policies: Intervention
- Review of Keynesian Economics
- Metroeconomica
- International Journal of Political Economy
- Journal of Economic Issues
- International Review of Applied Economics
- Review of Radical Political Economics
- Review of Evolutionary Political Economy
- PSL Quarterly Review
- Bulletin of Political Economy
- Brazilian Journal of Political Economy
- Contributions to Political Economy
- Panoeconomicus

• ...

Networks/ associations/conferences/ summer schools - 1



- North America: Levy Economics Institute, annual Hyman P. Minsky/PK conferences and Minsky summer seminars in Annandale-on-Hudson, NY
- **South America**: *Brazilian Keynes Association*, annual conferences, PK group in Argentina
- Australia: PKs as main organisers of and contributors to the Australian Society of Heterodox Economics (ASHE) conferences.
- Asia: Japanese Society for Post Keynesian Economics, seminars, conferences, Keynes Society Japan, annual conferences
- UK: Post-Keynesian Economics Society (PKES), annual workshops, PhD seminars and summer schools
- Denmark: Nordic post-Keynesian network (conferences)

Networks/ associations/conferences/ summer schools - 2



- **France**: PK conferences at the Universities of Dijon, Grenoble, Lille, partly co-organised by the French *Association pour le Developpement des Etudes Keynesiennes* (ADEK), French PKs heavily involved in the newly founded *Association Francaise d'Economie Politique* (AFEP), conferences and other activities
- Spain: University of the Basque Country in cooperation with the Cambridge Centre for Economic and Public Policy, annual conferences
- Germany: German Keynes Society, small annual conferences for German speaking participant, Forum Macroeconomics and Macroeconomic Policies (FMM), annual international conferences in Berlin, biennial summer schools
- Generall: post-Keynesians are actively involved in broader associations, as for example the Association for Heterodox Economics (AHE), the European Association for Evolutionary Political Economy (EAEPE) or the World Economics Association (WEA).

Graduate programmes with relevant PK content - 1



- Brazil: several universities (Campinas, Rio de Janeiro, ...)
- **US**: American University, Washington, DC, the Colorado State University, the University of Massachusetts Amherst, the New School for Social Research, New York, the University of Missouri, Kansas City, and at the University of Utah, Salt Lake City,
- **UK**: Leeds University Business School, Greenwich University, SOAS London, University of the West of England, Bristol, ...
- France: Sorbonne Universite Paris Nord, Lille, Grenoble

Graduate programmes with relevant PK content - 2



- Italy: Rome 1, La Sapienza, Rome 3, ...
- Spain: University of the Basque Country, Bilbao,
- Germany: Berlin School of Economics and Law, the HTW University of Applied Sciences Berlin, University Duisburg-Essen, Technical University Chemnitz, ...
- Erasmus Mundus Master Programme on Economic Policies in the Age of Globalisation (EPOG1), Economic Policies or the Global Transition (EPoG+), Economic Policies for the Global Bifurcation (EPoG-JM) and International Master course Economic Policies in the Age of Globalisation (EPOG2): Universities in Paris, University Torino, University Rome 3, the Berlin School of Economics and Law, University of Economics and Business Vienna, University of Witwatersrand, several international associated partners.

https://www.epog.eu/ and https://epog.univ-paris13.fr/



2.6 PERSPECTIVES FOR POST-KEYNESIAN ECONOMICS



- Post-Keynesian economics has generated a considerable body of research in the areas of macroeconomics, employment and unemployment, distribution and growth, money, credit and finance, international money and finance, financialisation, financial instability and financial crises, the economics of European integration, as well as development and emerging-market economics, socio-ecological transformation
- > solid foundations for alternative macroeconomic policies
- But post-Keynesian economics since Kalecki and Keynes has only survived as a contested and embattled minority in economics
- ➤ **Perspectives** given the experiences of the 2007-09 Global Financial Crisis and Global Recession, the 2020 Covid-19 crisis, and the socioecological transformation needed in the face of the ecological crises?



- Perspectives and future tasks for post-Keynesian economics have been discussed intensively after the 2007-09 crises, as for example reviewed by Dequech (2012), King (2012c), Lavoie (2012), and Lee (2012)
- Colander (2009) and Fontana and Gerrard (2006): post-Keynesians should observe the developments within orthodox/mainstream economics more closely, avoid attacking a textbook 'strawman', use modelling methods which are acceptable to mainstream economists, engage in dialogue and cooperate with mainstream economists.
- Davidson (2009): post-Keynesians should actively fight orthodox economics, with the aim of convincing mainstream economists that their approach is wrong.



- Stockhammer and Ramskogler (2009): both strategies overestimate the potential for constructive dialogue or controversies, given the contradicting presuppositions of orthodox and heterodox economics, and they **overrate the willingness of mainstream economists to enter into such dialogues or controversies, given their power and superior access to university positions, financing funds, political influence, ...**
- King (2008b, 2012c): the developments and openness within mainstream macroeconomics should not be overrated, and PKs should avoid the risk of running into fundamental methodological debates and into 'sectarian intolerance'.



- PKs should sharpen their own research programme, which should focus on 'useful explanations of ongoing socioeconomic transformations' (Stockhammer and Ramskogler 2009, p. 228).
- Primary target should be too contribute to a change in attitudes and power relations in the economy and the society as a whole. Only if this is successful, will the power relations in academia have the potential to change, too.
- Engage with mainstream economists when possible, to have an impact on economic possibilities, dialogue with 'orthodox dissenters' (Lavoie 2012) could be helpful





- PKs should improve their research programme in those areas which are underdeveloped, without giving up strengths in macroeconomics and macroeconomic policies, i.e. ecology, gender, political economy.
- Cooperate with other heterodox schools, like ecological economics, institutional economics, Marxian economics, and with comparative political economy, and international political economy, in order to contribute to a pluralistic political economy research programme.

- Focus and concentrate on defending and improving the heterodox academic infrastructure, regarding university positions, research funding, graduate programmes, journals and appropriate journal rankings, associations and networks, conferences and summer schools.
- Maintain and improve cooperation with trade unions (f.e. FMM), social movements and progressive political parties, as well as with research institutes and think tanks outside the university sector.
- Make use of windows of opportunity in periods of crises when orthodox economics again and again proves its weaknesses (f.e. FESSUD, EPOG, MMT, ...)



THANK YOU