



Managing the UK economy Fiscal and monetary policy since 1945

Week 5 – 1952-67: Fiscal activism and macroeconomic fine-tuning

AY 2024-25

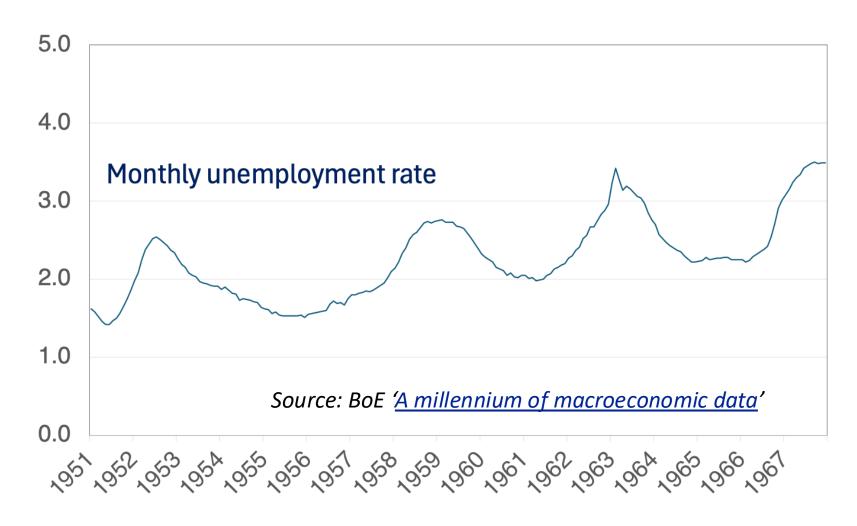
Department of Political Economy

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• Sustained growth, low unemployment, moderate inflation.

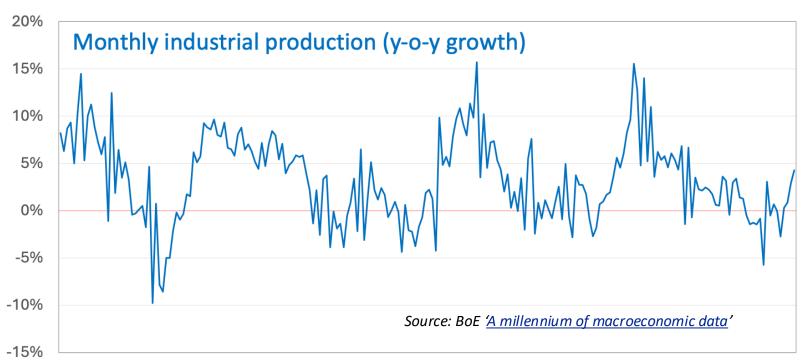
Change in	Avg. annual	Change in labour	Avg. annual
Real GDP	GDP growth	productivity	productivity growth
65%	3.2%	79%	3.7%
Real GDP per	Average	Max yearly	Average inflation
capita growth	unemployment	unemployment	rate
49%	2.3%	3.4%	3.6%

Source: BoE '<u>A millennium of macroeconomic data</u>'



- Very low unemployment throughout
- Although in retrospect it was on an increasing trend.

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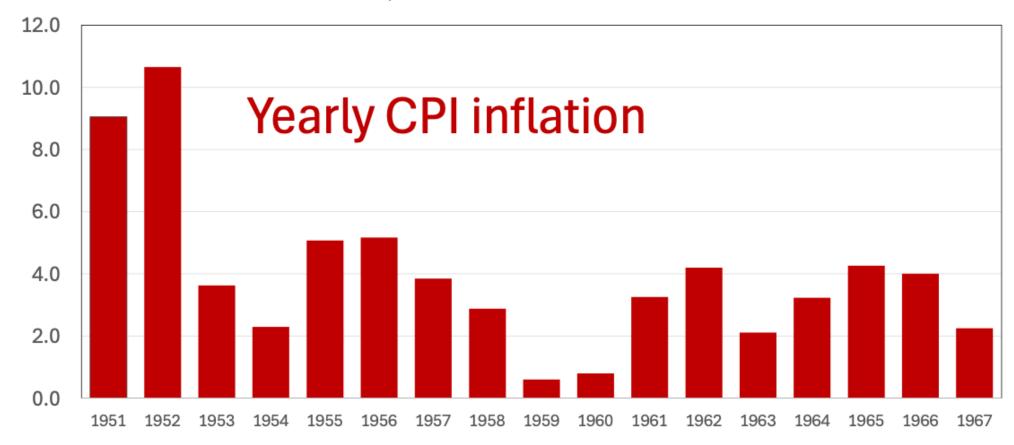


1950 1951 1952 1953 1954 1955 1956 1957 1958 1959 1960 1961 1962 1963 1964 1965 1966 1967

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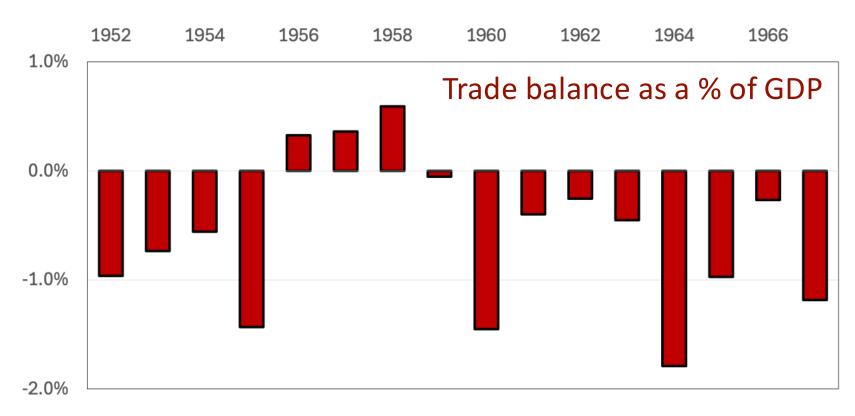
- Four cycles:
- 1. Peaked in 1950-51
- 2. Peaked in 1953-55
- 3. Peaked in 1960
- 4. Peaked in 1964

After the Korean-war boom, inflation was moderate.



Source: BoE 'A millennium of macroeconomic data'

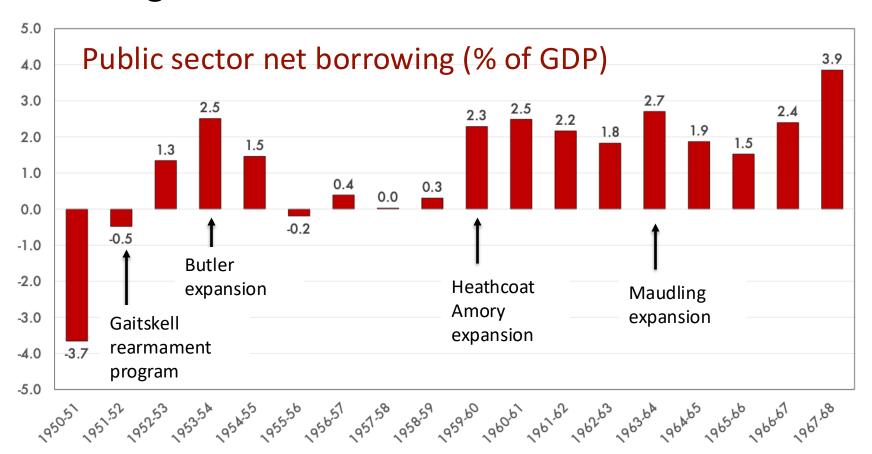
Key constraint to economic expansion: the balance of payments.



Policy dilemma: often the economy could withstand higher activity, but the balance of payment could not.

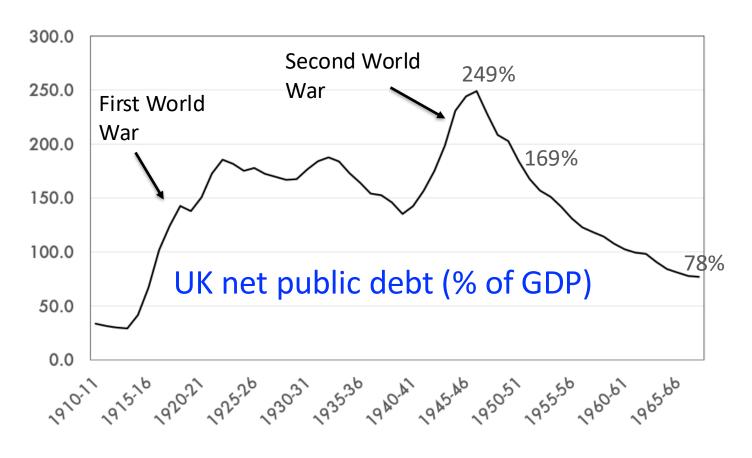
Source: BoE 'A millennium of macroeconomic data'

Budget balance switches to deficit in the 1960s



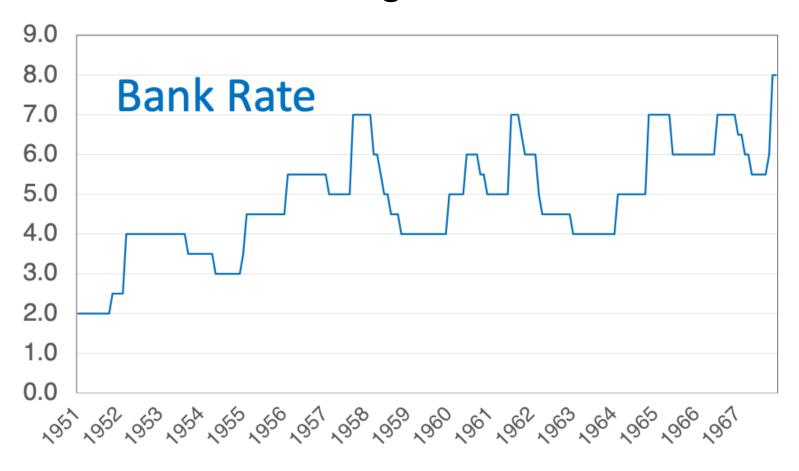
- Mainly due to the Conservatives' fiscal expansions
 - o Butler 1953-54
 - o Amory 1958
 - Maudling 1963
- 1966-68 worsening due to (relative) weakening of economy

Debt-to-GDP falls from post-war peak



- ➤ 1952: 169% → 1967: 78%.
- ➤ notwithstanding deficits in 15 years out of 17
- $> g + \pi > i$ did the trick
- Avg. yearly nominal growth $g + \pi \sim 7\%$
- Avg. 10-year nominal ratei ~ 5%

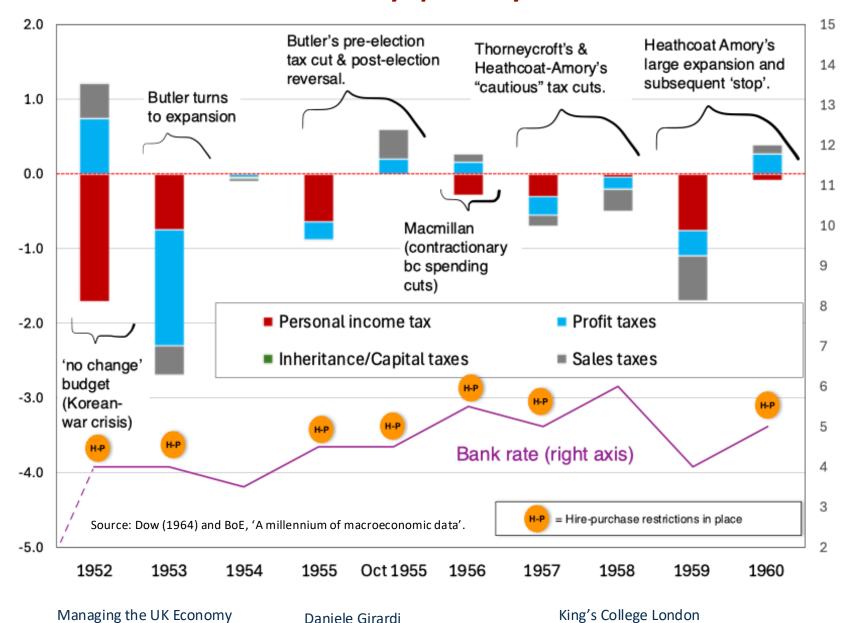
Short-term rates higher & more variable



- ➤ Nov 1951: Tories reactivate monetary policy
- Cuts coincide with fiscal expansions
 - o Butler 1953-54
 - Amory 1958
 - o Maudling 1963
- Increases were to cool down the economy & improve balance of payments.

- Continuities in policy ('Butskellism')
 - Welfare state & nationalized industries (except iron & steel) maintained
 - Demand management through counter-cyclical tax changes
 - Exception: re-activation of monetary policy
- "Stop & go" macroeconomic policy.
- Periodic balance of payments crises.
- Incomes policy.
- Attempts at economic planning.

Fiscal & monetary policy, 1952-1960



1951-52: Korean-war crisis

Import restrictions

1953-54: shift to expansion

Housing investment drive

1955: boom & overheating

- Inflation & trade deficit mount
- Apr 1955 budget makes things worse & gets reversed in Oct

Aug-Dec 1956: Suez crisis

- \supset run on £
- Macmillan 'promoted' PM

Dec 1958: £ convertibility

Jan 1958: Thorneycroft resigns over fiscal policy

1959-60: Again, pre-election tax cut & then reversal.

Special deposits scheme

1960-1962: Lloyd's Chancellorship

- July 1960: Selwin Lloyd Chancellor.
- Still feeling the aftermath of Amory's 1959-60 expansion
- Apr 1961 Budget: neutral (+£55m revenues)
 - 'Tax regulator': tax changes outside budgets
 - Increase in profit taxes & sales taxes
 - Personal income tax cuts
- July 1961 emergency measures: deflationary
 - Monetary: Bank rate hike $(4 \rightarrow 7\%)$ + more special deposits
 - Fiscal: sales taxes up + spending cuts (£300m)
- Apr 1962 budget: neutral
 - But monetary policy relaxed (bank rate down to 5%)



1962-1964: Maudling's "Dash for Growth"

- July 1962: Reginald Maudling Chancellor.
- Fateful decision: 'dash for growth' notwithstanding risks for the balance of payments.
 - Nov 1962: Sales tax on cars slashed (45-25%).
 - Jan 1963: Bank rate cut $(4.5 \rightarrow 4\%)$
 - Apr 1963 budget: large tax cuts (£638m in full year)
 & increased public investment.
 - "I absolutely reject the proposition that a vigorous economy and a strong pound are incompatible" [1963 Budget speech]
- Early 1964: balance of payments crisis starts.
- Apr 1964 budget: £100 increase in sales taxes.
- Oct 1964 election under a £800m BoP deficit
 & severe pressure on reserves.



1964-66: 1st Wilson government

Triumvirate in charge of the economy: Wilson, Callaghan & Brown.

 They inherit a booming economy & a severe BoP crisis but reject devaluation or deflation.

- Strategy: affect BoP directly
 & try to increase competitiveness
 - Import surcharge & export subsidies
 - Tighten exchange controls
 - Incomes policy & industrial policy
 - \$3 billion loan from foreign CBs



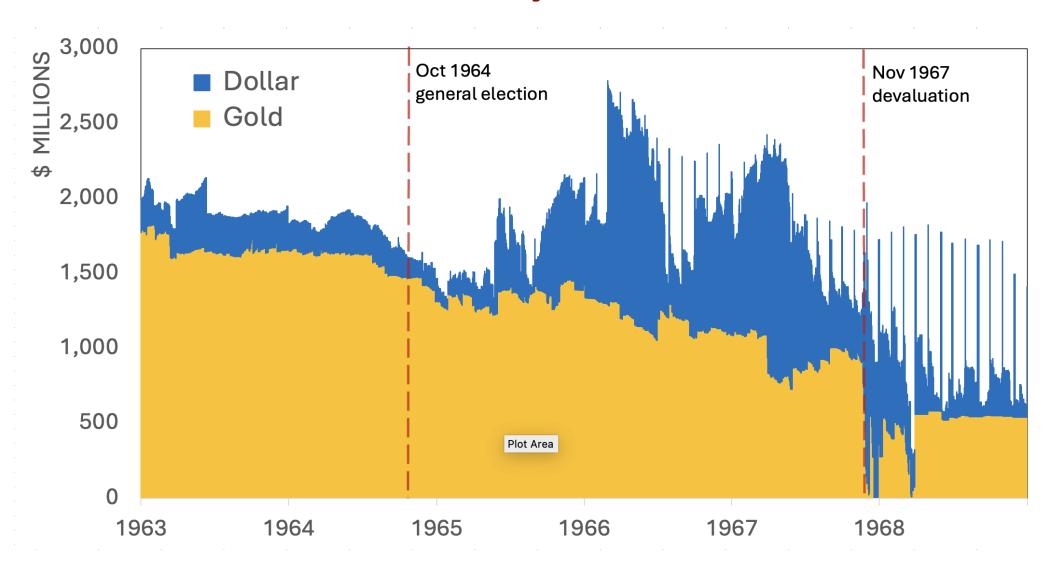
- Nov 1964 & Apr 1965 budgets: mild fiscal consolidation
 - Increase in direct & indirect taxes (~£164m, or 0.5% of GDP)

1966-67: Countdown to devaluation

- Mar 1966 election increases Labour majority
- Structural tax reforms
 - Corporate tax and capital gains tax (1965)
 - Selective Employment Tax (1966)
- Emergency measures July 1965 to July 1966
 - Further hire-purchase restrictions
 - Cuts in public investment (£200m)
 - Restrictions on new construction (excl. houses, schools, hospitals & industries)
 - 1966 freeze on wages and prices
- After temporary improvement, reserve drain restarts in Spring 1967
- November 1967 devaluation: $\$2.80 \rightarrow \$2.40 (15\%)$



EEA reserves, daily data, 1961-64



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Incomes policy

- How to prevent a booming economy from igniting inflation and undermining the balance of payments?
- Gov't wants to go beyond 'stop & go', act directly on wages and prices.
- "To keep the rate of increase of incomes within the long-term rate of growth of national production" [1962 White Paper "Incomes Policy: The Next Step"]
- 1948-49: Cripps demands (& largely obtains) wage restraint from unions.
- 1960s: attempts to institutionalize income policy
 - 1962 National Incomes Commission
 - 1965 National Board for Prices and Incomes

Attempts at planning

- In 1960s, increasing attention to economic growth.
- European peers (Germany, Italy, France) growing faster than UK and generally more competitive in international markets.
- Labour & Tories see economic planning as key to faster growth.
- The model was France's indicative planning.
- 1962: National Economic Development Council ('Neddy')
 - Tripartite body that would study ways to increase growth and competitiveness.
- 1964: Department of Economic Affairs (DEA)
 - New economic department, responsible for economic planning
 - A more growth-oriented counterweight to the Treasury.
 - The BoP crises undermines its 1964-65 National Plan from the start.

Concluding thoughts on 1952-67

- Easy to highlight the policy mistakes
 - Conservatives' reckless pre-election tax cuts.
 - Labour's foolishness in addressing the balance of payments crisis.
 - The Neddy and DEA fiascos.
- But it was also a period of ambition and experimentation
- The pursuit of full employment, the attempts at industrial policy, incomes policy, planning, the 300k houses a year....
- Never before and never since has the government been so ambitious in trying to steer the economy.





Thank you for your attention