

# Contents

<i>Figures and Table</i>	vi
<i>Preface</i>	vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
<i>Abbreviations</i>	ix
1 Introduction	1
2 <i>The Economics of Imperfect Competition</i>	15
3 Joan Robinson and her Circle in the Run-up to and Aftermath of the Publication of <i>The General Theory</i>	23
4 Marx in Joan Robinson's Argument	33
5 Joan Robinson and Socialist Planning in the Years of High Theory	57
6 The Making of <i>The Accumulation of Capital</i>	76
7 The Choice of Technique in the Economy as a Whole and the Cambridge–Cambridge Debates in the Theory of Capital: Joan Robinson's Role	101
8 After <i>The Accumulation of Capital</i> : Defence and Development	118
9 Joan Robinson's Views on Development Economics as Political Economy	141
10 <i>An Introduction to Modern Economics</i> : A Light that Failed?	165
11 A Concerned Intellectual's Task: Joan Robinson's Three Popular Books	187
12 Conclusion: Joan Robinson's Legacy	203
<i>Notes</i>	228
<i>References</i>	245
<i>Index</i>	261

## 1

## Introduction

This volume is an intellectual biography of Joan Robinson (1903–83) who was undoubtedly one of the greatest economists of the twentieth century and the greatest woman economist.<sup>1</sup> In its pages we recount her intellectual development and her major contributions from her first publication in the early 1930s to her last, which was published posthumously in 1985. Her story is intricately entwined with the story of Cambridge economics in the twentieth century, taking in major changes in the way economics was thought about, done and taught, changes to which Joan Robinson and her circle, the first generation of what may loosely be called Keynes's pupils, made major contributions, from the 1920s until well into the post-war years. Most of the major players remained active until their deaths, most of which (apart from Keynes's, of course, who died in 1946) occurred in the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>2</sup>

With the intertwining of reason and identity, it seems pertinent to offer some glimpses into Joan Robinson's life. To understand the passion which she brought to the theoretical developments with which she was associated, we believe it is necessary to begin with a description of her background, of her forebears and upbringing. We discuss this in the next part of this chapter. We then present these glimpses which we hope will give some insight into the intellectual life of the woman who wrote the remarkable body of theory and analysis that forms the subject of this book. It is followed by a short outline of her career up until her death in August 1983, just over two months short of her eightieth birthday.<sup>3</sup>

Joan Robinson was born at Camberley, Surrey, on 31 October 1903, the third child in the family of four daughters and one son of Major General Sir Frederick Maurice and his wife, Helen Margaret Marsh. Joan Robinson came from a long line of radical dissenters (in a political,

not denominational sense). Her paternal great grandfather was F. D. Maurice, the Christian socialist. Her paternal grandfather and her father were both professional soldiers and military historians. Her father was the central figure in the infamous Maurice debates in the House of Commons in 1918 (see below). Her mother was the daughter of Frederick Marsh, a surgeon who became Professor of Surgery at Cambridge and Master of Downing College, Cambridge. Her uncle was Sir Edward 'Eddie' Marsh, art connoisseur, literary critic and private secretary to a succession of notable politicians, including Churchill. Joan Robinson's father was a man of high, if quixotic, principles, traits which he passed on to his daughter. He was an excellent professional soldier, passionately loyal to his fellow officers and his men. When he felt that the government, and especially Lloyd George, were trying to blame the military for some ghastly errors on the Western Front in early 1918, he wrote a letter to leading newspapers stating that ministerial statements were false and provided the evidence. The disagreement was over the strength of British forces in the face of a fierce German assault and also over who had decided the troop numbers, the politicians or the army commanders. Though Maurice's arguments and behaviour were on the whole vindicated (Lloyd George was never to admit this), he nevertheless had to leave the army in April 1918 – it was 'bad form' for a serving officer to 'whistle blow', as we would say now. He subsequently became the Principal of East London (later Queen Mary) College, London.<sup>4</sup> Joan Robinson has said that until, as a 14-year-old schoolchild, she became known as Maurice's daughter, her life in her mind was more real to her than life in reality.<sup>5</sup> She did a switch at this juncture and we conjecture that her childhood fantasy life may be one clue as to why she was such a powerful theorist and a remorselessly logical writer and critic.

Joan Robinson went to St. Paul's Girls' School (her father had been to the boys' equivalent) and then to Girton College, Cambridge, in 1922. She had studied history at school but she chose to read for the Economics Tripos at Cambridge because she wanted to understand the causes of poverty and unemployment. She did not think her teachers and especially her supervisor at Girton, Marjorie Tappan-Hollond (there was mutual intellectual dislike between teacher and student), provided satisfactory answers.<sup>6</sup> She obtained a 2.i in both parts of the Tripos in 1924 and 1925, respectively (see Turner, 1989, 17–18). She could not, though, be awarded a degree because this right did not come to women in Cambridge until 1948. She did say that getting a second was 'a great disappointment' and we suspect that the fact that John Hicks also got

a second in PPE at Oxford at about the same time was never of much comfort to her.

In 1926 she married Austin Robinson (E. A. G. Robinson) who was then a Fellow of Corpus Christi, its one unmarried fellow, having graduated in 1922. Shortly before his marriage Austin Robinson received an offer of a job as tutor to the Maharajah of Gwalior in India, a boy not yet ten years old, whose father had recently died. Cairncross (1993, 30) reports: 'Joan brought the proposed appointment to Austin's attention.' Joan was a close friend of the daughter of an associate of the Maharajah's family. Austin was offered a generous, tax-free stipend for an anticipated eight-to-ten-years appointment. Just two months after their marriage, Joan and Austin sailed for Bombay.

Their accounts of life in Gwalior reflect the privileges taken by the British in India at that time. Details of their life were recorded by both Joan and Austin in short memoirs of particular aspects of their daily routines. Austin records the day as beginning at around 6.30 a.m. with a tray of tea, followed immediately by him and Joan riding or perhaps driving through streets straggling with bullock carts, to the parade ground, where the Maharajah and his sister would be having their riding lesson and drill; Joan and Austin would ride as they pleased. At 7.30 a.m., everyone would assemble to ride back to the palace, with Joan and Austin and the four boys, who were educated with the Maharajah, trailing at the back. At home, after bathing in a tin bath, there would be breakfast and then Austin would go for three hours to the schoolroom. Joan occupied herself writing book reviews for the local papers (notes from a review of E. M. Forster's *A Passage to India* reveal a qualified assessment of the book), or critically reading Austin's writing; Austin was already writing analytical papers on the Indian experiences. After lunch together and a siesta, there were Hindi lessons, and then Austin played cricket with the boys and Joan took the girls to play badminton and another palace game at which she was not very skilled. They exercised themselves and the children for several hours. In the early evening, perhaps at 6.30 or 7 p.m., they motored to the Club where they met other expatriates; Joan would have a gin and lemonade, read out-of-date newspapers, socialise with the other members, perhaps take a swim or play a game of tennis. Austin notes that some 'conversation is conducted in a low tone as it savours of the intellectual and is therefore not really suitable for the Club' (EAGR 7/1/2/23). The Robinsons would return home and bathe and dress for dinner. Joan recounts a dinner one night at the palace. Her awkwardness and inability to generate small talk and her discomfort in such socially precious situations are apparent

even then. Joan describes her 'flagging spirits' at one dinner and her dismay 'when I take a bite, I find it is full of meat, which unluckily I dislike' (EAGR 7/1/2/41). She continues to say '[M]y brain is quite congealed. I cannot think of a word to say to anyone' and she politely waits until it is 'seemly for us to go' (EAGR 7/1/2/46).

While in Gwalior Austin drafted a substantial portion of a review of the relations between the Indian states and the British Crown for the Prince. Cairncross (1993, 30) reports: 'At the end of June [1928] the group acting for the Princes met in Delhi and came to the conclusion that there was "a lot more to the economic case than they had thought". They invited Joan, who had gone to Delhi to help finish the case on the spot, to accompany them to London to assist in its presentation, and she travelled with them early in July' (*ibid.*, p. 30). In London she helped with the presentation of the Princes' case. While she was in London, Austin resigned from his post and prepared to return to England (see also Tahir, 1990a, Ch. 1).

Austin and Joan also drafted substantial portions of a book on population. They discussed the optimal population of India, given the existence of alternatively diminishing, constant and increasing returns to industry. The optimum population was that at which there was maximum welfare per head and at which the various industry-types were in balance. Joan continued to work on the manuscript after she reached London while waiting for Austin to return. But once their new life in Cambridge began, she was distracted by new interests and the drafts were abandoned.

Cambridge became the base for both of them for the rest of their lives (Austin died in 1993). Austin Robinson was appointed to a university lectureship in 1929 and elected to a Fellowship in Sidney Sussex in 1931. Joan Robinson had to wait until 1934 for her first university post, as an Assistant lecturer. She was never a teaching fellow at any college but she did give supervisions to pupils from various colleges. She came to know Cambridge people – Keynes, and especially Richard Kahn, Keynes's favourite pupil who was elected to a Fellowship at King's in 1929; Piero Sraffa who came to Cambridge in 1927 and to whose lectures on advanced value theory she almost certainly went; Maurice Dobb who was to become the UK's foremost Marxist economist and who had graduated in the same year as Austin; Gerald Shove to whose lectures she had gone as an undergraduate; James Meade from Oxford who spent a year at Cambridge in 1930–1 and who was a member of the Cambridge 'Circus'; Dennis Robertson, again to whose lectures she had gone but with whom she had a hostile relationship, increasingly so from the 1930s on;

and, of course, the Professor of Political Economy, A. C. Pigou who we think liked Joan Robinson enough to vote her an 'honorary man' (his misogyny became marked after the First World War).

Joan Robinson's close relationships with her colleagues were intense and in some cases endured for the more than 50 years of her life in Cambridge. Her confidante and most trusted critic was Richard Kahn. To him she presented her ideas and work-in-progress which he read with an unsparing eye. In a planned but unpublished 'Introduction' drafted for a collection of Kahn's essays, she revealed: 'I remember in particular, as important steps, the recognition that there could be a self-sustaining short-period equilibrium at *any* level of employment and Kahn's suggestion of drawing cordons round the investment and consumption good industries and studying the interchange between them (of course, none of us had heard of Marx's schema of reproduction)' (JVR/i/8/4). Of him, she wrote: 'The question is bound to be raised, why such a powerful and energetic mind never expressed itself in any large-scale publication. The answer is partly to be found in the rare generosity with which Kahn gave his time, not only to Keynes and to me, but to innumerable pupils, colleagues, and strangers who submitted work to him' (JVR/i/8/6).

The other friendship dating from the late 1920s was with Piero Sraffa. 'Piero is my most precious jewel' (RFK/13/90/3/249). The two had an affectionate relationship which is reflected in his teasing letters to her while she was in hospital. In response to her pamphlet, *Economics is a Serious Subject*, in which she caricatured 'a continental economist', he replied: 'I know of course that you are pulling my leg, but it is nice to have it pulled that way'; and while she was in hospital convalescing, he wrote to her prior to a visit (31.1.39): 'We shall talk about history forecasts provided we keep clear of the prophets with whom I am sorry to hear you are getting so intimate' (JVR/vii/431/25). A few weeks later, Sraffa confides in her the agony he is in on being offered a fellowship at Trinity: 'I have failed to equate the marginal utilities [of the advantages and disadvantages], I wish I knew where they are' (JVR/vii/431/28). But Joan Robinson became aware of his reluctance to engage with her on analytical aspects of her written work. On her proofs on *The Economics of Imperfect Competition* (EIC) he wrote: 'I have avoided raising "broad issues" – it would be of no use to you at this stage, or indeed at any stage' (JVR/vii/431/6). And in 1953, when she had written the three essays, *On Re-reading Marx*, partly triggered and inspired by Sraffa's Introduction to Ricardo's *Principles*, (elsewhere she remarked how reading Sraffa's Introduction had suddenly enlightened her about the meaning and conceptualisation of the 'rate of profits' (C.E.P., vol. IV, 1973,

247)), she referred to the essays as 'ideas one has been brooding over for years [which] suddenly take shape. The quality of the thought depends on the early brooding but the quality of the *prose* depends on the flash of inspiration. The faster written the better. ... It will be very interesting to see Piero's reaction. Of course, the whole thing is really aimed at him' (RFK/13/90/5/378) (28.10.52). She also sent the essays to Isiah Berlin in Oxford<sup>7</sup> and was anxious about the opinions of David Champenowne and Eric Hobsbawm (RFK/30/90/5). She saw these essays as highly provocative to both Marxists and Bastard Keynesians and said: 'I want to have the family joke about Piero. I cannot pinch twenty years of his life's work without acknowledge[ment] and acknowledgement in a joke is the only way I can do it' (RFK/13/90/5/381). Yet '[Piero] very well may prefer to pretend that he has never read the stuff, as he does over my Marx book. His attitude to the whole thing is very complicated' (RFK/13/90/5/370)(1.11.52). She understood Sraffa (1960) as a critique of marginal productivity theory and, incidentally, a solution to the transformation problem. 'I must insist that this is only my own view. Piero has always stuck close to pure unadulterated Marx and regards my amendments with suspicion' (Robinson, 1977b, *C.E.P.*, vol. V, 1979, n2, 285). She recognised Sraffa's 'model' as an abstraction from social and historical forms, but seemed not to then identify its categories with the very basic requirements of a system of production and exchange underlying the productive systems she recommended for replacing orthodox theories. Her own abstractions were institutional or social, and her mode of thinking was to pursue all the logical possibilities of a situation at that level of abstraction in a deductive chain, thereby reaching implications which a less inquisitive mind would fail to find, meanwhile finding contradictions and logical limits. Sraffa's system was spare yet far-reaching.

It is also telling of their relationship that Joan Robinson wrote to him: 'I have always been baffled because while your ideas are just what I want (apart from a few that are above my head) you do not like mine' (Sraffa/D3/12/111/337) (31.5.60). She subsequently wrote: 'All the work that I have been doing the last 10 years has been very much influenced by you – both our conversations in old days and by your Preface. ... I have a very deep feeling of gratitude to you. The fact that you reject it doesn't affect the case at all' (Sraffa/D3/12/111/340–1) (18.6.60).

Nicky Kaldor was a colleague from before the war but it was after the war, when Kaldor moved from LSE to Cambridge, that Joan Robinson became a good friend of the family. In 1941 the pair had submitted a proposal for a joint project to the National Institute of Economic and

Social Research (NK/3/10/118/30). The friendship had a sharp edge of rivalry, already in the 1930s (see King, 1998) but especially around the mid-1950s to the 1960s, when both were responding to Harrod (1939, 1948) and working out their respective Keynesian theories of growth and distribution. Joan Robinson was alert to the fact that Kaldor, although remarking that he was impressed with (the existence of) her manuscript (of 1956a), claimed not to have read it in order to keep his mind clear for his own ideas, but she was pleased to find that he subsequently studied her book (1956a) with his group of research students. A heated exchange of views took place through correspondence between the two as Kaldor and Joan Robinson worked on constructing a Keynesian treatment of the behaviour of an individual firm in the context of different sets of assumptions about the firm's decisions. One aim was to demonstrate that the choice of technique did not determine the real wage rate or the rate of profits. The letters reveal a rivalry which only became constructive later in the correspondence (NK/3/30/177).

Her attitude to the nature and dynamics of academic work was partly formed by her participation in the 'Circus'.<sup>8</sup> Referring to the 'Circus', she wrote: 'It would not have occurred to us at the time to think in those terms [of ownership of ideas]. Keynes, and all of us, thought that [it] was a great and serious importance to get the argument right; taking credit for it was quite a secondary matter. ... It did not need any motive of vanity or personal prestige for Kahn to contribute to the great task ...' (JVR/i/8/5). In 1962, she wrote to Kaldor: 'I value very much the work gang and I think that we all do each other more good working as a team than any one can by having "priority" or "all my own unaided work"' (NK 3/30/177/27). But otherwise there was a wide gulf between herself and Kahn in their approaches to publishing their ideas. She wrote to him (in 1952), 'I have not at all the same objection to you of making a fool of myself in what I believe is a good cause. Why should I care what people think? This is the profound disagreement between your and my reaction to life' (RFK/13/90/5/380).<sup>9</sup> At the same time, in November 1952, Joan Robinson wrote: 'I have realised more than ever after this [illness] how much one's whole personality is involved in one's "purely intellectual" work. I think the reason I have done so much more with a much weaker brain than any of us is because of my extremely simple-minded attitude' (RFK/13/90/5/354). She was known for her aversion to the formalisation of economic theory and earlier commented to Kahn: 'I did a bit of calculus but decided that it would be more painless to go through it all with you. ... We might sit on the hillside in Austria and do it' (RFK/13/90/3/130). She reacted to a letter

from Kaldor in response to her article 'What is perfect competition?' (Robinson, 1934): 'Of course the proof [of the distribution between industries of a factor to which the elasticity of supply differs] is very simple by Nightmare methods' and repeated this sentiment: '[Kaldor] is really weaving the conclusions of my Objections chapter into the Nightmare, which we omitted to do at the time' (RFK/13/90/2/72, 80). This does not mean that she also rejected the use of statistics: 'I have been talking to [Brian Reddaway] about the idea of having small high power discussion groups on particular projects with a view to evolving ideas about what can and cannot be done with figures getting the phoney-ness out of the statistical work and at the same time finding how to frame theory in terms that can be given meaning' (RFK/13/90/5/177). Her development work was based on examinations of (perhaps inadequate) statistics.

Joan Robinson started publishing papers in the early 1930s and wrote *EIC*, which was published in 1933. No doubt its reception was influential in her university appointment in 1934. She was made a university lecturer in 1937 in, it has to be said, a grudging and ungracious way (see below), a Reader in 1949 and a Professor in 1965, succeeding Austin. She 'retired' in 1971, remaining active into the last year of her life, despite poor health in her later years, a fact which her indomitable spirit always refused to accept.

Joan Robinson did not want to be known as a 'woman economist' (see note 1 to this chapter). But there were situations where her gender posed obstacles to her. In 1933, Gottfreid Haberler wrote to Kahn: 'Who is Joan Robinson who wrote [in the last *Economic Journal*]? The Christian name sounds like a woman's but the article seems to me much too clever for a woman. ...' (JVR/vii/171). In 1935, C. R. Fay expressed his hostility towards her to Pigou. He objected to her being given a one-year lectureship instead of a one-term position: 'Mrs Robinson should be definitely informed that we desire from her a course on money of one term only. ... The point that she would thereby not qualify as a fulltime lecturer is difficult, but this change in her status was sprung upon us, as has indeed every change [in her position] from the time when she asked permission to give occasional lectures. The assumption has always seemed to me to be that if she wants it, of course she can have it' (RFK/14/99/209 et seq; 2/3/35). Fay even 'wrote to [Austin] Robinson as an old friend and pupil [about] ... the necessity of ensuring that his wife's work should be supplementary and not rival to the third year course' (RFK/ 14/99/211). Pigou, who was in general supportive of Joan Robinson, nevertheless asked her not to be controversial in her lectures. Keynes supported

her: 'it would be very strong measures, even unprecedented, ... to veto a course which a lecturer greatly wanted to give in a case where there is no question as to the quality and popularity of the lectures. From what I hear, her lectures are exceedingly good and amongst the most successful with the men' (RFK/14/99/212).

Joan Robinson, however, had 'modern' views on the roles of women. On their return from India, she wrote to her husband: 'Please I don't want you to earn money to send me round the world. I am a strong believer in the economic independence of married women, and only ask to be allowed to earn some myself' (EAGR/2/1/13/59). Nearly ten years later, at last appointed to a university lectureship, she remarked: '[I] now share a cheque book and pay my own bill[s,] I feel the shackles are finally removed' (RFK/13/90/3/230); she referred to Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*. But the process of academic women being acknowledged as equals was slow. Soon after the outbreak of war, Austin Robinson received a request from the Offices of the War Cabinet for the names of some 'highly educated women who might be taken on in a subordinate capacity' (EAGR/2/1/17/62). Many years later, George Catephores reported that 'Two secret policemen, assigned to cover the meeting where [Joan Robinson] spoke, were overheard to say, after talking between themselves, "Just imagine: such a respectable-looking old lady. How can she utter such things?"' (JVR/vii/94; 5.5.72). In contrast, she received a letter from a listener in response to a BBC debate in which she participated: s/he (the gender of the listener is not known), described the 'clear definition of all you had to say, in contrast to the deliberate "woolliness" of your opponent. ... It is sad, but true, that if you want to hear either the truth, or some Common Sense, spoken clearly in discussion, you have to wait until a woman speaks' (JVR vii/443/1-2) (January 1945).

Though Cambridge was her base, she never lost the schoolgirl enthusiasm for travel. She took a great joy in the people she met, from the high officials and the academics to the younger students, and her interpreters and 'nursemaids', in the political and economic organisation of the place she was visiting, particularly at the ground level, in the history of the place and its monuments, in the many cultural displays and sites and in the natural surroundings of the countryside. She remarked on the splendour of the Bolshoi Ballet performing Prokofiev in Moscow, and on the 'genius' of Piero della Francesca, whose paintings she saw as 'the only thing in European art that equals Buddhist sculptures' (RFK/13/90/5). In later years she spent part of each year in Kerala State in India; she visited China eight times in the post-war

years; and her first visit to America was in 1961, an event which is still remembered with awe – and sometimes with affection – by those at MIT and elsewhere at the time (see Turner, 1989, Ch. 14).

Over her professional life, she was incredibly productive. Cristina Marcuzzo, who has produced six versions of Joan Robinson's bibliography, records 444 items in its latest incarnation in volume 1 of the Archive editions of Joan Robinson's writings (Marcuzzo, 2002). She wrote many books, many articles in both brownie-point journals and obscure ones, and was a prolific reviewer, writing both review articles and often cryptic, critical shorter ones. She could also write favourable reviews, for example, her review in the *Economic Journal* of Luigi Pasinetti's 1974 volume of essays in economic theory (Robinson, 1975a). Initially she was a critical Marshallian, taking issue with the master's findings but content to adopt (and adapt) his methods and to work on what was then called value theory (see Ch. 2). But once *A Treatise on Money* (1930) was published and the Cambridge 'Circus' met to discuss and criticise it, she quickly became a pioneering Keynesian, contributing both articles and books which expounded and added to the new ideas that Keynes was developing. She not only wrote on employment theory in the short and long period but also contributed seminal ideas to the theories of money and international trade (see Ch. 5).

When Michal Kalecki came on the scene in the mid-1930s, they quickly became friends and a sea change occurred in her approach. She came to frame issues within a Marxist analytical setting increasingly, stressing the importance of history while not accepting his or the Marxist ideology. She was much more a democratic socialist finding a niche on the left of Labour Party politics and policies. Many of her writings in the 1930s and 1940s were directed towards the formation of Labour Party policies in the light of Keynes's and Kalecki's findings (see Ch. 5). During the Second World War she thoroughly investigated Marx's *Capital*, to see what his economic theory had to teach orthodox economists and Keynesians (see Ch. 4). In the post-war years, Kahn and Joan Robinson both wrote innovative papers on monetary theory in the light of Keynes's 1936 book. While Joan Robinson was to increasingly give pride of place to Kalecki's approach to analysis, she always conceded that Keynes's monetary analysis was the most fundamental and deep of all approaches.

In economic theory in the post-war years she was associated with two major developments: what she dubbed the generalisation of *The General Theory* to the long period (though again Marx and Kalecki dominated the framework she adopted) (see Ch. 6) and the parallel critique of

neoclassical theory of income distribution and of what she took to be its predominant method. Most of this latter development may be placed under the rubric of the Cambridge–Cambridge debates in capital theory (see Ch. 7). Opinions vary as to whether Joan Robinson or Piero Sraffa made the most fundamental critiques of the conceptual foundations of neoclassical theory. In our view their contributions are much more complementary than competitive, though it is doubtful if either of those authors would accept such a judgement; Joan Robinson suggested that Sraffa was appropriate for the long period while her contribution was for the short period.

A very large part of her post-war writing was concerned with development issues, not only those specifically concerning China, but also generally. Joan Robinson wanted to admire the Chinese experiment; it represented what seemed to her to be a relatively peaceful implementation of a planned economy, both rural and urban. She was observing and interpreting very complex events and translating them into an advocacy to offset what she believed to have been the unsympathetic critiques of Chinese policies which emanated from orthodox circles. She ultimately acknowledged her sometimes uncritical stance. Her last book, published in 1978, was titled *Aspects of Development and Underdevelopment* (Robinson, 1978c), in which she considered the development paths taken by both socialist and non-socialist developing countries and their difficulties in the face of increasingly globalised production (see Ch. 9). She also wrote three books for a more popular audience in which she explored the meaning of ‘economics’ (see Ch. 11), and with John Eatwell, an alternative textbook in which the authors tried to pass on to those beginning economics what she had learnt over her active writing and teaching life (see Ch. 10).

A theme which appeared often, particularly in her post-war work, is her intolerance of war and of the arms industry. The military sector is often drawn upon as an illustrative example of misplaced Keynesian expenditure and as an insidious use of aid expenditure. Perhaps her sensitivity to war was a response to the military nature of her family background. In 1938, she became very ill. She was vehemently opposed to Britain entering the war with Germany. Her father was being brought into Chamberlain’s scheme to try and negotiate with Hitler, while in conflict with this her sister was working through a group of conservative MPs to get the ultimatum to Hitler immediately (RFK/13/90/3/30–1, 33–6). Out of loyalty to her family, Joan Robinson was forced into impossible compromises where her own views regarding the proper position Britain should take towards Germany had no support. Austin Robinson told

Kahn that he too was in favour of war. Kahn wrote to Austin Robinson: 'I have been coming ... to the view ... that one is in danger of minimising the part played in all this by Joan's thoughts about the war. ... Bearing in mind Joan's acutely sensitive feelings about persecution and hypocrisy and bearing in mind the state of acute neurosis into which the whole country was driven [ten?] days ago, I am inclined now to grant more importance to the superficial view' (6.10.38) (RFK/13/90/3/106). Keynes echoed these views although he added an extra factor: 'The strain of combining babies with so much intellectual work is at the bottom of it. ... The *conflict* between the desire to avoid war and the desire to defeat fascism has torn many people's feelings to pieces' (RFK/13/90/3/101-2) (4.10.38). She, herself, identified as the cause underlying her illness, the 'deep rift between my political and my tribal loyalty [which] had been a continuous and growing strain all these years' (Keynes's emphasis) (RFK/13/90/3/226). In 1941 she gave a lecture against war to students which focused on their moral responsibility as relatively privileged in their distance from the effects of the war. She urged them not to hate the Germans: 'To hate them leads nowhere. ... The needs of the present moment were always sown in the past and if our nation had power in the past we cannot be free of responsibility for what happens now' (JVR/iii/1). Subsequently, she expressed her frustration and anger at both the waste and the destructive nature of armaments, as well as their opportunity costs, both of social infrastructure and private investment, and, particularly where developing countries, otherwise impoverished, used aid for building up a weapons arsenal and a military industry. Her last public lecture was a criticism of the nuclear arms race in which she argued in terms of economics but also appealed to the audience's morality (Robinson, 1982; Kerr, 2008; see Ch. 12). This appeal was evident in Robinson (1962b, 119-20):

The enormous strides made by production under the regime of international competition have brought us to the paradoxical situation that we are in today. Never before has communication been so complete. Never before has educated public opinion in every country been so conscious of the rest of the world. Never before was it worth while to think about poverty as a world problem; it is only now that it seems possible, by the application of science to health, birth control and production, to relieve the whole human race from its worst miseries.

Yet never before has so great a proportion of economic energy and scientific study been devoted to means of destruction.

Marjorie Turner records Joan Robinson as saying that 'I don't think that I am at all a suitable subject for a biography as the outward flow of my life has been conventional and uninteresting' ('Preface' in Turner, 1989). Yet here is a woman whose writing another reviewer (of *Economic Philosophy*) saw as 'provocative, deliberately outrageous, sometimes almost capricious, witty, irritating but penetrating' (JVR/xv/12.10). Her interests were wide-ranging and her reading strayed beyond her specialist areas. She published in *The Royal Society of Arts*, *The Royal Statistical Society*, *Fabian Quarterly*, *Time and Tide*, *The New York Review of Books* and many other publications, both prestigious and obscure, reaching an audience beyond her academic colleagues. She was generous in supporting new journals with articles for founding issues. And she supported, with her articles, journals from many countries including Brazil, Chile, Pakistan, India, Japan, USSR, Greece and others. She reviewed widely; in 1958, for example, while working on her Keynesian theory of growth, on development in USSR, and on Mao's approach to development in China as well as on the progress of planning in India; she published a review of Lionel Robbins, *Robert Torrens and the Evolution of Classical Economics*. She also took an interest in local, Cambridge, affairs and wrote articles for the *Cambridge Review* and the *Cambridge Quarterly*; she patronised the Cambridge Arts Theatre as well as student productions of Shakespeare in the colleges' gardens during the summer twilight. Her relationships were not all professional ones. Turner describes friendships Joan Robinson developed with three girls from a Settlement School while a pupil at Saint Paul's and whom she continued to meet well after they had left their schools. And her openness to society is evident in another encounter. Abroad, a girl in the embassy, also called Joan Robinson, invited her, as her namesake, for tea. She wrote to Kahn that she was quite 'pleasantly surprised ... [when] the embassy girls took me round to their digs and we had a nice chat about this and that. ...' (JVR/i/4). And in the 1940s, she referred to her 'normal after-lecture chat with Lydia' (RFK/13/90/4). Another insight into Joan Robinson is revealed in a correspondence to her from the poet and surgeon Altounyan E. H. Riddall who was working in Syria during the 1930s. In it he discusses his torment in writing his poetry and his despair at his circumstances; there are no letters from Joan Robinson in the collection but it is clear she kept up a weekly correspondence with him at that time. Perhaps her imaginative powers can be seen at an early age: in her later years at school Joan Robinson disclosed that 'I have been informed, on credible authority, that I used to spend my time with the greatest enjoyment, sitting on the bench of a greenhouse, pretending to be a flower pot ...

that delight of escape into an unexpected existence' (JVR/v/1). It has been rumoured sometimes that Joan Robinson was not a 'good' mother. Affectionate mention of her daughters appear at many places in her papers. At the end of a letter to Nicholas Kaldor, in 1937, after discussing an article about perfect competition, she couldn't resist adding: 'My second daughter is five weeks old and very fat' (NK/3/30/177-8). And to Kahn she wrote after an outing: '[the children] behaved extremely well and the whole visit passed off almost without a tear or a puddle. They really are extremely charming' (RFK/13/90/4/7).

During her life she sought to find, perhaps help to create, a more just and equitable society than the ones she had grown up and lived in. This led her to make some howlers in her assessments of actual societies, for example, North Korea and, for a time anyway, aspects of the Chinese experiment. She was critical of the excesses, wastages and injustices of modern capitalism. Nevertheless we concur with Paul Samuelson's judgement that her utopian idealism, a search for that 'true socialism [which] was her first and ever love, not the pretenders that took its name in vain [about which] who is to say that her value judgements were wrong, or other than noble' (Samuelson, 1989, 136).

In early 1983 Joan Robinson suffered a massive stroke; she went into a coma and died in August 1983. Joan and Austin had two daughters and five grandchildren. Though Joan said she was not a good mother but was a good grandmother, her family thought she was good at both roles (see Harcourt (1995d, 2001a) and Ch. 12).

## Index

- accumulation 84–5  
   and distribution 128  
   future rate 86  
   Golden Rule of 134  
   and prices 146–8  
   and profits 84  
   *see also* banana diagram; capital;  
   investment  
 accumulation theory 115  
 agriculture 155–6, 160  
   in China 145, 148  
   in development 183–4  
   in socialist states 142–3, 182–3  
   *see also* land  
 alienation at work 182  
 Ambrosi, G. Michael 30, 240  
*American Economic Review* 20, 121  
 animal spirits function 130–2  
 Araujo, J. 173, 234  
 armaments 159–60, 177–8  
 arms race 218–20, 223  
 Arrow, Kenneth J. 224  
 Asimakopulos, Athanasios (Tom) 81,  
   83, 93, 129, 131, 135, 166  
 Aslanbeigui, Nahid 196, 229  
 Australia 181  
 Ayers, Clarence 242  
  
 balance of payments 72–4, 192  
 banana diagram 128–31, 207  
   *see also* accumulation; profits  
 Bancor 73  
 Bank of England 69  
 Barna, Tibor 80  
 Bastard Golden Age 123, 128, 132  
 BBC 72  
 Bergson, H. 129  
 Berlin, Isiah 6  
 Bhaduri, Amit 19, 55, 102, 135, 223  
 Blankenburg, Stephanie 231  
 bliss 97  
 Bliss, Christopher J. 113, 241  
 Böhm Bawerk, E. von 109  
  
 Boianovsky, M. 231  
 boom, turning point 45  
 Boserup, Ester 207  
 ‘box of tools’ 18, 196, 197, 199  
 British Council 72  
 British Labour Party 57  
 budgeting 66–8  
 Bukharin, N. 173  
*Bulletin of the Oxford Institute of  
   Economics and Statistics* 141  
 butter economy 112–13  
  
 Cairncross, A. 3  
*Cambridge Journal of Economics* 29,  
   223  
*Cambridge Quarterly* 13  
*Cambridge Review* 13  
 Cambridge-Cambridge capital theory  
   debates 11, 79, 89, 101–17,  
   173, 214, 216  
 capital 136–137, 156–7  
   in China 146  
   circuits of 154  
   controls 72–3  
   incoherent nature of 32  
   and labour 52  
   meaning 21, 104, 117  
   measurement of 21, 104–8, 110,  
   111, 114  
   net flows 158  
   not scarce 48  
   overproduction of 45  
   social 111  
   as stock and flow 231–2  
   two definitions 102  
   variable 233  
   *see also* accumulation; banana  
   diagram  
 capital-reversing 107, 110, 111,  
   113  
 Catephores, George 9  
 Chakravarty, Sukhamoy 225  
 Chamberlin, Edward H. 11, 21

- Champernowne, David G. 6, 105–6,  
110, 231, 239
- China 56, 141, 142–53, 158  
agriculture 145, 148  
capital accumulation 146  
Cultural Revolution 142, 145,  
221–2, 241  
industry 145  
mixed economy 181  
Rightist economic reform 145–6
- Chossudovsky, E. M. 50–1
- Churchill, Winston 2
- ‘Circus’ 22, 23, 59, 228
- Clark, Colin 66, 237
- Clark, John Bates 112, 117, 173, 239
- class analysis 170
- Clower, Robert 121
- Cohen, Avi 104
- Cohen, Ruth 89, 108, 226
- Cole, G. D. H. 232
- commercial policy 72–3
- comparative statics 125
- competition:  
imperfect 15–22, 58, 61–4, 74, 80  
international 179–80
- conservatism 62
- Corn Law debates 171
- Cournot, A. A. 172
- credit control 178
- crises 33, 44–5
- currency devaluation 179–80
- currency strategy 73
- cycles 96, 98, 234  
*see also* trade cycle
- Dainard Jars 24, 230
- Dalton, Hugh 60
- Dardi, Marco 19
- Davidson, Paul 25
- demand:  
consumer 176  
effective 33, 44, 95, 154, 210, 235,  
236
- distribution 69  
and accumulation 128  
and exchange 128  
and growth 115–16  
of income 64, 151, 152–3, 190  
law of 46
- marginal productivity theory  
of 18, 120
- market-based 143
- unequal 192
- distribution theory 213, 214
- Dixon, Robert 229, 238
- Dobb, Maurice H. 4, 33, 74–5, 132,  
184, 211, 237, 241  
collaboration with Sraffa 47, 51,  
76, 167  
on Marx 34–45, 69, 232  
‘poetry’ 36, 37, 187  
on theoretical analysis 199–200
- Domar, Evsey 124
- Dorfman, Robert 116
- Dougherty, Christopher 239
- Duesenberry, J. S. 98
- Durbin, E. 57, 74
- dynamic analysis 77–9  
*see also* history; time
- Eatwell, John L. 11, 29, 135, 156,  
158, 161, 165, 186, 204–6,  
223, 241
- economic development 11, 240–1  
and growth theory 141–3  
limits on pace of 147  
Third World 183–5
- economic growth 122–3, 180–1, 213  
and distribution 115–16  
steady 83  
theory 141–3  
underlying principles 84  
warranted rate 92
- Economic Journal* 16, 17, 20, 32, 79,  
121, 122, 138, 166, 208
- economic miracles 180
- economic philosophy 168, 188–91,  
222, 242–3
- Economica* 20, 24, 50, 122
- Econometrica* 216
- Edwards, Corwin 20
- efficiency, allocative 58
- employment:  
and demand 154  
full 30–1, 59, 63, 74, 80  
and inflation 192  
and output 59  
policy 72, 178, 192

- in socialist states 182
- theory 236
- equilibrium 104, 106, 116–17, 193
  - and history 114–15
  - long-period 173
  - orthodox analysis 215
  - path dependence 20
  - short- and long-period 78
  - a static concept 189–90, 208–9
- expectations 117, 130–1, 216
- exploitation 37–9, 41, 51, 52, 54, 155, 232
- exploratory behaviour 193–4
- Fabian Quarterly* 13
- factor ratios 99–100
- falsification 188
- Fay, C. R. 8, 48
- Federation of British Industries 61
- Feinstein, C. H. 132
- Feiwel, G. R. 223
- Ferguson, Charles E. 117, 137
- Fetherston, Martin 165
- finance 97–9, 156–7, 185–6
- Findlay, Ronald 124, 126–7
- fiscal policy 178
- Fisher, Franklin 113
- Fisher, Irving 112
- Flanders, Allen 51, 56
- Flatau, Paul 244
- foreign loans 185–6
- Forster, E. M. 3
- France 177
- Frearson, Keith 166
- Friedman, Milton 215
- Galbraith, J. K. 64, 189
- Galloway, Lowell 103
- Garegnani, Pierangelo 29, 103, 112, 165, 218, 238
- Golden Age 94, 96, 122–4, 128, 129, 132–4, 173, 213, 214
- Golden Age analysis 83–5, 88, 91–3
- Gomulka, W. 240
- Goodwin, R. M. 83, 96, 132, 133, 224–5, 226
- Gossen, H. H. 172
- government sector 121–2
- Gram, Harvey 81, 117, 239
- Gramsci, A. 16, 237
- gross domestic product (GDP) 154–5
- gross national product (GNP) 181
- Gurley, John G. 166, 241
- Haberler, Gottfreid 8
- Hahn, Frank H. 119, 137–138, 139, 210, 216, 224
- Harcourt, G. C. 12–14, 14–16, 20, 20–9, 32, 71, 80–1, 90, 92–3, 100–4, 106, 110–11, 113, 119, 129, 133, 138–9, 166, 170, 173, 184, 196, 203, 208–9, 211, 227, 234, 236–9, 241–2, 244
- Harris, Donald 128, 135, 232
- Harris-Todaro model 29
- Harrod, Roy F. 7, 17, 29, 32, 47, 49, 64–5, 76, 79, 105, 124, 128, 207, 210–11, 213, 236
  - on growth theory 84, 88, 92, 122, 128, 131
- Hawtrey, Ralph G. 26, 27, 29
- Hayek, F. A. von 24, 25, 28
- Heertje, Arnold 103, 115
- Hegel, G. W. F. 39, 212
- Helleiner, G. K. 158, 161
- Henderson, Hubert 27
- Hicks, John R. 2, 121, 134, 171, 216, 229
- history 233
  - of civilisations 193
  - in economic theory 41–2, 50, 53, 56, 190, 194, 211–12, 232
  - of economic thought 167–74
  - and equilibrium 114–15
  - and policy 174
  - see also dynamic analysis; time
- Hitler, A. 11
- Hobsbawn, Eric 6
- Howson, S. 69, 210
- Hume, David 169
- Hymer, S. 191
- identities 26, 84
- ideology:
  - and economic analysis 217
  - and rationality 194
  - and science 187–8, 195, 198–9, 200–2

- income distribution 64, 151, 152–3, 190
- incomes and prices 176
- incomes policy 180
- indeterminacy 196
- index number problem 52
- India 9, 15, 142
- industrialisation 157
- industry:
- China 145
  - fuzzy concept 21
- inefficiency 63
- inequality, and private property 145
- inflation 80, 180
- and full employment 192
  - in socialist states 182
  - and unemployment 139
- inflation barrier 96–7
- interest rate 49–50, 80
- determination of 210–11
  - and profit 115
- International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* 203
- international payments 73
- international trade 182, 184–5
- international trade theory 217
- investment:
- centralised 63
  - determination 137
  - fluctuating 95–6
  - and profits 95
  - and saving 85, 122
  - social return on 112
  - see also accumulation
- Jackson, T. A. 50
- Japan 177
- Jevons, W. S. 172
- Johnson, Harry 100, 121, 205, 210
- Journal of Economic Literature* 81, 102, 103–4, 113
- Journal of Economic Perspectives* 104
- Journal of Political Economy* 20
- Kahn, Richard F. 28, 59, 92, 100, 126, 146, 208, 213, 229
- ‘Circus’ member 21, 23
  - on the Golden Age 83–4, 122–3
- JVR’s confidante and critic 4, 5, 7–8, 10, 12–14, 19, 27, 35, 176, 205, 220
- long and short period 19–20
- multiplier 26
- The Economics of the Short Period* 15, 19
- Kaldor, Nicky 64, 92, 97, 103, 122, 124, 140, 207, 213, 229, 230, 237
- on *The Economics of Imperfect Competition* 18, 20–1
  - friendship with JVR 6–7, 14, 225–6
  - on technical progress 90, 133, 134
- Kalecki, Michal 19, 48, 59, 70, 79, 82, 83, 114, 132, 133, 135, 141, 144, 175–6, 190, 221–2, 236–7, 241
- death of 240
- on effective demand 44, 199, 235
  - influence on JVR 10, 32, 44, 65, 76, 77, 85, 95–6, 128, 205–6, 211
  - on Marx 45–7, 54–6
- Kerr, P. 12, 20, 29, 32, 80–1, 93, 101, 103, 119, 121–3, 124, 129, 137–9, 166, 196, 208–9, 242
- Keynes, J. Maynard 4, 7, 33, 35, 49, 72, 74, 76–7, 82–3, 119, 121–2, 127–8, 166–7, 171, 175, 188, 197, 205–6, 209, 215, 220, 224, 229, 231
- A Treatise on Money* 21, 23–6
  - on *An Essay on Marxian Economics* 47–8
  - on budgeting 66–7
  - ‘Can Lloyd George do it?’ 27
  - death of 1
  - on distribution of income 190
  - effective demand 44, 64, 154, 199
  - on *The Economics of Imperfect Competition* 18–19
  - employment policy 30, 219
  - on equilibrium theory 114, 131–3, 211
  - on *laissez-faire* 60
  - misunderstood 192–3
  - monetary theory 58, 138

- on profits 130–2, 137
- supports JVR 8–9, 12
- The General Theory* 10, 22, 23, 24, 25–32, 59, 79, 136, 174, 207, 210, 213, 225
- Treatise on Money* 24, 135, 210
- Khrushchev, N. 152
- King, J. 7, 58, 186, 236, 237
- King's College Archives 121, 144
- Klein, Lawrence R. 224, 230, 238
- Kregel, Jan 29, 131, 135, 206
- labour:
  - and capital 52
  - and land 175
  - marginal productivity of 208
  - migration 159
- Labour Party 57–8, 59, 210
- Laibman, D. 238
- laissez-faire* 135–6, 137, 189–90, 191–2, 215, 236
- laissez-faire* capitalism 60–1, 64
- Lancaster, Kelvin 119, 124, 125
- land 99
  - and labour 175
  - reform 142, 184
  - tax 153
  - see also* agriculture
- Lange, O. 237
- Laski, Harold 48
- Latin America 142
- law of motion 47
- Lerner, Abba 28, 38, 68, 74, 80–1, 120, 230, 239
- Levhari, David 112
- Lewis, W. Arthur 178, 185
- liquidity preference 25
- Lloyd George, David 2
- long period 76, 94
  - analysis 19–20, 25, 28–9
  - cycle 46
  - equilibrium 78
  - theory 71
- Lucas, Robert 215
- Luxemburg, Rosa 51, 79, 213
- Lydall, Harold 203
- McKenzie, Lionel 242
- Macmillan, Harold 18, 209
- macroeconomics and
  - microeconomics 140, 217
- Maharajah of Gwalior 3
- Malthus, T. R. 167, 170, 171
- Mao 143, 145, 146, 222, 241
- Marcuzzo, M. Cristina 10, 15, 27, 28, 32, 208, 230, 231
- marginal revenue curve 18
- Marglin, Stephen 138
- market structure 60–4, 94
- Marris, Robin 237
- Marsh, Sir Edward 2
- Marsh, Frederick 2
- Marsh, Helen Margaret 1
- Marshall, Alfred 16, 24, 49, 65, 77, 79, 86, 93, 97, 101, 106, 117, 137, 139, 197, 236
  - JVR on 20, 172, 207–8
  - Principles* 19
- Marshall, Mary Paley 20, 228
- Marx, K. 32, 69, 77, 82, 91, 121, 124, 127–8, 167, 191, 197, 199, 206–7, 215
  - Capital* 10
  - class analysis 170–1
  - JVR on 33–56, 76, 79, 87, 92, 114, 135, 141, 150, 154, 159, 211–13
  - on value and distribution 16, 81
- mathematics 189, 194, 199, 204
- Matthews, Robin C. O. 98, 243
- Maurice, F. D. 2
- Maurice, Major General Sir
  - Frederick 1–2
- Meade, James E. 4, 21, 23, 28, 60, 70, 72–4, 92, 102, 121, 134, 210, 237
- Meade, Margaret 23
- Meccano sets 102, 110
- Meek, Ronald 53
- Menger, A. 172
- Mercantilists 168–9
- metaphysical 168
- methodology 77–8, 188–91, 196
  - mathematics 189, 194, 199, 204
  - models 174
  - testable hypotheses 190
- microeconomics 140, 175, 217
- migration 29, 181
- Mill, John Stuart 170, 174

- Millmow, A. 186  
 Minsky, Hyman 98  
 Mirrlees, J. A. 90, 140  
 monetary policy 69–70  
 money 80  
   cheap 69–70  
   pursuit of 194  
   role of 138–9, 210  
   theory of 25  
 money rent 148, 153  
 monopoly 16, 58, 59, 62,  
   151, 235  
 moral code 151  
 morality, biological necessity  
   195–6  
 multiplier 26–7, 28, 65  
 Murphy, Rachel 241  
 Myrdal, Gunnar 200, 207, 243
- Naqvi, K. A. 112, 113  
 national accounts 67  
 National Investment Board (NIB) 63,  
   237  
 nationalisation 63  
 Nell, E. J. 238  
 New Fabian Research Bureau 58, 66  
 Nolan, Peter 240  
 Nuti, Mario 140
- Oakes, Guy 196, 229  
 Ohlin, B. 229  
 open economies 178–9  
 Organization of the Petroleum  
   Exporting Countries (OPEC)  
   156  
 orthodox doctrines 135–8, 161,  
   215  
 Orwell, George 236  
 O'Shaughnessy, Terry 29  
 Osiatynski, Jerzy 234  
 output:  
   and capital 102, 105–6, 112–14  
   in 'Circus' discussions 23–6, 30  
   in development economics 149,  
   152, 154–9  
   and distribution 59–60, 85  
   and employment 58–9, 67  
   per head 87–8, 108–9, 116, 148,  
   153, 183, 213  
   with imperfect competition 61–2,  
   64–5  
   in Marxian analysis 40, 46, 48,  
   55, 91  
*Oxford Economic Papers* 83, 100, 122,  
   123  
*Oxford Institute Bulletin* 207
- Pareto, V. 16  
 Pasinetti, Luigi L. 10, 54, 103, 106,  
   112–13, 213, 225, 244  
 path-dependence 20, 190  
 Perlman, Mark 102  
 Phillips, A. W. 139  
 Physiocrats 167, 169  
 Pigou, A. C. 5, 8, 15–16, 18–19, 27,  
   30, 59, 77, 97, 115, 134, 181,  
   207, 210  
 planning 65–6  
 poetic elements 36, 37, 187  
 Poland 144  
 politics 154, 177, 183, 201  
 pollution 181  
 price:  
   control 68–9  
   formation 25  
   index of scarcity 111  
   and profits 93–4  
   theory 235  
   and value 50  
 price system 68–9  
   in a planned economy 150–1  
 prices:  
   and accumulation 146–8  
   and commodities 175  
   and incomes 176  
   philosophy of 152  
   political 183  
   relative 40  
   and value 40  
   and wages 94–5  
 private property 145  
 production, factors of 18, 21, 26,  
   117, 122, 136, 173  
 production function:  
   pseudo 104, 109  
   surrogate 111  
 productivity, marginal 18, 120,  
   172–3, 208

- profits:  
 and accumulation 84  
 and interest 115  
 and investment 95  
 normal 34, 173  
 and price 93–4  
 rate of 34, 51, 77, 175–6, 232  
 shares 232  
 and surplus value 40, 43  
 theory of 49–50  
*see also* banana diagram
- protection 160–1
- pump-priming 178
- Quarterly Journal of Economics* 107, 112
- Ramsey, Frank P. 115, 117, 242
- realism 34
- Reddy, A. K. N. 160
- rentier class 98–9
- research and innovation 63
- reswitching 103–4, 107, 110, 111, 113, 114, 216
- Review of Economic Studies* 110, 111
- Revue d'Economie Politique* 103, 115
- Ricardo, David 5, 47, 51, 77, 101, 114, 167, 169–71, 175, 190, 206–7, 218
- Riddall, Altounyan E. H. 13
- Robbins, Lionel 13, 28
- Robertson, Dennis H. 4, 15, 27, 29, 106, 210
- Robinson, Austin (E. A. G.) 3, 4, 12, 15, 21, 23, 28, 60, 210
- Robinson, Joan Violet:  
 attitude to war 11–12  
 attitude to work 7  
 birth 1  
 in Cambridge 4, 15  
 death 223  
 education 2–3  
 fondness for travel 9  
 in India 3–4  
 influences on 205–7  
 lack of empirical work 220–1  
 lectures:  
 Arms Race 218–20  
*The New Mercantilism* 217, 239  
 to the American Economic Association 216  
 unpublished 144  
 legacy 226, 243–4  
 marriage 3  
 on Marx 5, 34–47, 51, 79, 211–13  
 as a mother 14, 227  
 political views 58  
 publications:  
*A passage from the autobiography of an analytical economist* 196  
*Accumulation of Capital* 118, 119–20, 122, 142, 175, 206, 213–14, 224  
*An Essay on Marxian Economics* 33–4, 39, 41, 45, 47–51, 52, 53  
*An Introduction to Modern Economics* 165–86  
*Aspects of Development and Underdevelopment* 11, 153–62  
 on China 162–4  
*Collected Economic Papers* 77, 79, 81, 103, 105–7, 113  
*Contributions to Modern Economics* 103  
 'Control of Monopoly' 62  
*Economic Heresies: Some Old-fashioned Questions in Economic Theory* 118, 135–40, 213, 216  
*Economic Philosophy* 168, 188–91, 222, 242–3  
*Economics: An Awkward Corner* 188, 191–3, 200, 222, 242–3  
*Economics is a Serious Subject* 5, 17, 196  
*Essays in the Theory of Economic Growth* 78, 81, 83, 100, 118, 127–33, 175, 207, 213  
*Essays in the Theory of Employment* 196  
*Exercises in Economic Analysis* 118, 121, 213  
*Freedom and Necessity* 188, 190, 222, 242–3  
 'History versus equilibrium' 113–15

- Robinson, Joan Violet (*Continued*)  
 'Ideology and Analysis' 54  
 'Imperfect competition and falling supply price' 17  
*Introduction to the Theory of Employment* 27, 78, 210  
 'Kalecki on capitalism' 206–7  
*On Re-reading Marx* 5, 51, 79  
 popular journalism 60  
*Review of Economic Studies* 79  
*Robert Torrens and the Evolution of Classical Economics* 13  
 'Spring cleaning' 223  
*The Economics of Imperfect Competition* 5, 15, 17–21, 27, 58–9, 125, 189, 205–6, 208–9, 225  
 'The model of an expanding economy' 79  
 'The organic composition of capital' 53  
 'The production function and the theory of capital' 89, 214  
*The Rate of Interest and Other Essays* 78–9  
 'What are the questions?' 201, 216, 217, 226  
 'Who is a Marxist' 55  
 relationship with colleagues 5  
 retirement 239  
 reviewed 80–1  
 university lecturer 8  
 views on women 9  
 visits China 144–5, 146, 221  
 writing style 119
- Rogers, Colin 29
- Rosenstein-Rodan, P. 241
- Rosselli, Annalisa 27, 28
- Rotheim, Roy 231
- Rothschild, K. 64, 191
- Rowse, A. L. 146
- Russell, B. 242
- Said, E. 161
- Salter, Wilfred E. G. 71, 86, 91, 139, 150, 238, 240
- Samuelson, Paul A. 14, 103, 111–12, 114, 116, 119, 215–16, 218, 224, 230
- Sardoni, C. 27, 32, 44, 91, 231, 236, 239
- Sato, K. 238
- saving and investment 85, 122
- Say's Law 46, 136, 167, 171, 173, 208, 217
- scarcity 172
- Schor, Juliet 223
- Schumpeter, Joseph 20, 21, 48, 173–4, 199
- science:  
 and ideology 187–8, 195, 198–9  
 and value 54, 200–2
- Sen, Amartya 121, 184
- short period 79, 83, 93  
 analysis 19–20, 28  
 equilibrium 78  
 theory 46
- Shove, Gerald F. 4, 15, 20, 21, 49, 175, 207, 229
- Shukla, Vishwa 103
- Sidgwick, H. 101
- Sidney Sussex College 4
- Singer, Hans 48
- Skidelsky, Robert 230
- slave economy 38–9
- Smith, Adam 81, 95, 167, 170–1, 175, 183, 195
- social change 193, 195
- social classes 172
- social infrastructure 153
- socialism 193
- socialist states 181–3  
 agriculture in 142–3, 182–3  
 society as harmonious 137
- Society for Socialist Propaganda 66
- Solow, Robert M. 92, 100, 103, 110–13, 123–4, 218, 224, 231
- Sraffa, Piero 4, 11, 19, 21, 27, 33–4, 58, 65, 92, 114, 135, 165, 167, 176, 189, 205–6, 208, 210–11, 215–16, 218, 231, 233, 235–7
- 'Advanced theory of Value' 15
- 'Circus' member 23
- critic of Keynes 24, 28
- JVR on 6, 17, 32, 55, 74–5
- letter from 101

- Production of Commodities by Means of Commodities* 59, 89, 105, 111–12, 213  
 Ricardo volumes 5, 47, 51–2, 76–7  
 stability, conditions for 87–8  
 Stalin, J. 66, 183  
 Steedman, I. 53, 234  
 Steindl, Josef 240  
 Steuart, Sir James 169  
 stock-flow problem 37  
 Strachey, John 32, 206, 231  
 Stretton, H. 188, 241  
 surplus 55, 84, 233  
   determination of 170–1  
   use of 155, 158  
   value 39–40, 43, 46, 51  
 Swan, Peter L. 239  
 Swan, T. W. 92, 102, 109, 110–11, 123, 124  
 Sweezy, P. M. 33, 48  
 Sylos Labini, P. 236
- Tahir, Pervez 29, 146, 159, 240, 241, 242  
 Tappan-Hollond, Marjorie 2, 15, 228  
 Tarshis, Lorie 28, 166, 230  
 tax:  
   land 153  
   in socialist states 182  
   turnover 155  
 Taylor, Mrs Harriet 170  
 technical progress 32, 83, 84, 86, 113, 122  
   analysis of 90–3, 133–5, 237  
   neutral 238  
 technique 99–100, 123  
   choice of 89–90, 148–50, 158, 184, 214, 238–9  
   diffusion of 86–7  
 technology 194  
   imported 157  
 terms of trade 147–8  
 Thatcher, Margaret 180  
*The Economic Journal* 49  
*The New York Review of Books* 13  
*The Plebs* 50  
*The Royal Society of Arts* 13  
*The Royal Statistical Society* 13
- time 118, 194, 239  
   logical and historical 129, 212  
   three-period approach 24  
   *see also* history; long-period;  
   short-period  
*Time and Tide* 13  
 Tobin, J. 215  
 trade associations 61–2  
 trade cycle 98, 173  
   *see also* cycle  
 trade unions 52  
 Treasury 69, 136  
 trends 96, 98  
*Tribune* 47  
 trickle-down argument 181  
 Triffin, Robert 21  
 Tugan-Barnovsky, M. I. 206  
 Turner, Marjorie 10, 13, 223, 228
- underemployment 158–9, 184  
 undeveloped economies 56  
   capitalist and socialist 141  
 unemployment 35, 192  
   in development 184  
   disguised 29, 158–9, 184, 241  
   and inflation 139  
   involuntary 30–2  
   Keynesian 158–9  
   persistent 190  
   role of 70–1  
   technological 175  
 United Kingdom 177, 178, 218  
 United States 72–3, 136, 166, 178–9, 218–20  
 USSR 146, 152, 181  
 Utilitarianism 168  
 utility 188–9
- Vaizey, John 205  
 value 33, 53, 188–9  
   general law of 40  
   labour theory of 37–8, 39, 51, 52–3, 55, 212–13, 233  
   and price 40, 50  
   and science 54, 200–2  
   surplus 39–40, 43, 46, 51  
 value judgements 193  
 value theory 15–16, 214

## values:

- changing 202
- and facts 196
- in theory 194–5, 197–8

Veblen, T. 173, 174

*Voprosi Ekonomik* 152

## wage:

- agreement 71
- determination 126–7
- differentials 70–1
- minimum 71

## wages:

- and prices 94–5
- share of 234
- treacle 126

waiting 137

'walking on both legs' 149

Walras, L. 16, 77, 115, 116, 117, 172

Walsh, Vivian 81

war debts 72

Ward, Benjamin 217

West Germany 177, 178

Whitaker, John K. 15

Wicksell, Knut 89, 109, 121, 172,  
207, 208

Wicksell effects 109–10

Wicksteed, P. H. 136

widow's cruse 23, 24, 230

Wilson, Angus 203

Wittgenstein, L. 242

Wong, Stanley 119

Woolf, Virginia 9

world market 156

world slump 136

Worswick, G. David N. 100, 121,  
123–6

WWII 11–12

Young, Allyn 229