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**TERMS OF TRADE AND CLASS CONFLICT IN A COMPUTABLE
GENERAL EQUILIBRIUM MODEL FOR MÉXICO**

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Terms of Trade and Class Conflict in a Computable General Equilibrium Model for Mexico

Abstract:

A computable general equilibrium model for Mexico is constructed in which class conflict over the distribution of the surplus is the principal determinant of the terms of trade. The model consists of seven social classes and eight productive sectors. Classes are distinguished as "fundamental" or "subsumed" according to whether their incomes are primarily determined by conscious class struggle or by the resulting system of relative prices. Flexible prices are assumed to clear markets for which nonproduced means of production, such as agricultural land, limit supply while output in the remaining sectors is determined by the level of effective demand. For the latter sectors, two theories of price formation are compared and are seen to differ radically in their implicit conception of the nature of class conflict. A "Keynes-Kalecki" closure is considered in which prices are determined by a fixed mark-up on costs. This enables capitalists to protect themselves from incursions on the rate of profit due to labor militancy or state-imposed terms of trade policy designed to favor peasants and/or the agrarian bourgeoisie. A second, "Marxian," price closure constrains the economy to a wage-profit-terms-of-trade surface; where the economy conjunctureally resides on this surface depends upon the level of effective demand, wages and terms-of-trade policy. Various scenarios are investigated under both closures including an increase in nonagricultural wages, a rise in investment and the introduction of a guarantee price for corn and beans, a policy implemented by the Lopez-Portillo regime.

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I. Introduction

This paper discusses a computable general equilibrium model for Mexico and its behavior in response to a change in wages, level of investment and terms of trade policy.[1] Two variants of the model are studied. For the first, referred to a "Keynes-Kalecki" or "Keynesian" closure, nonagricultural prices are determined by fixed mark-ups on prime costs.[2] The profit rate is insulated from wage and commodity price increases which are fully passed along. A second "Marxian" closure employs Sraffian prices of production for nonagricultural sectors in which class conflict over the distribution of the surplus determines the system of relative prices.[3] Substantial differences emerge: In the Marxian closure, for example, unemployment and stagnation can be combated by maintaining aggregate demand, raising wages and controlling prices whereas in the Keynesian closure, increasing wages causes inflation, agricultural stagnation and a contraction in employment.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 discusses the basic components of the model in a simplified form. The following section describes the model in more detail and the final section presents the results of simulations in which nonagricultural wages and real investment are changed and a support price for the peasant agricultural sector is introduced. Appendices contain the full specification of the model and Social Accounting Matrices for the various simulations.

2. Structure of The Model

A general equilibrium model is employed in which prices and quantities are determined simultaneously. We distinguish sectors of the economy which employ nonproduced means of production (NPMP), such as natural resources and agricultural land, from those sectors which use only reproducible capital goods as means of production.[4] For convenience, sectors which employ nonproduced means of production will be referred to as "agricultural" sectors while the remaining sectors will be called "nonagricultural" or "urban" sectors. Prices of goods produced using NPMP are not necessarily equal to their costs of production, but fluctuate to

balance effective demand with an exogenously given supply. Prices in sectors which do not employ NPMP are equal to the sum of wage and intermediate costs plus profits. If profits depend upon a fixed mark-up, independent of the level of wages, the closure is Keynesian. If instead there is an inverse relationship between wages and the rate of profit, the closure is referred to as Marxian.

In both the Keynesian and Marxian closures, output in nonagricultural sectors is determined by the level of effective demand with real investment given exogenously. For the Marxian system, output of sectors which only employ produced means of production is not limited by any endowed magnitude other than labor inasmuch as capital is conceived as the accumulated surplus product of workers. Capitalists exploit workers by virtue of: (1) private ownership of the means of production; and (2) a surplus or reserve army of unemployed workers. Capitalists can, therefore, expand output to meet demand subject only to the social constraint that the rate at which surplus product is extracted is above some minimum acceptable level. For the Keynesian closure, output in the nonagricultural sectors is determined by the level of effective demand only if there is excess capacity with respect to the current level of output. With a fixed stock of capital equipment and a given level of money wages and agricultural commodity prices, output may adjust to effective demand with no accompanying change in price.

In neither closure is the labor market assumed to clear. Capitalists have available an arbitrarily large supply of labor at the institutionally determined money wage rate. There is no choice of technique and thus employment is determined by fixed and given labor coefficients once outputs are known. There is no money and, needless to say, no "capital" other than the heterogeneous vector of produced and nonproduced means of production.

2.1 Class Structure--Marxian Closure

The introduction of nonproduced means of production requires a more complex structure of classes than the typical Marxian division into capitalists and workers. Owners of nonproduced means of production constitute what Resnick and Wolff call a "subsumed" class and are distinguished from "fundamental" classes by the following definitions:

Marx's theory of the class process of extracting surplus labor involves the conceptual division of individuals in society into paired groupings occupying the positions of performers of such surplus labor, on the one hand, and extractors, on the other. These paired groupings we designate, with Marx, as fundamental classes. (emphasis added)

Subsumed classes, on the other hand, are defined as classes which:

...neither perform nor extract surplus labor. Rather they carry out certain specific social functions and sustain themselves by means of shares of extracted surplus labor distributed to them by one or another fundamental extracting class. (Resnick and Wolff 1982: 2,3)

The essence of the definition of subsumed class is taken here to be the distinction between "extract" and "distribute." By wresting title to and control over the disposition of the surplus product produced by workers, capitalists "extract" surplus from workers. The process is one of open and continuous conflict in which both workers and capitalists consciously pursue strategies designed to thwart their opponent's objectives. Fundamental classes exhibit what Jon Elster has recently termed "variational rationality" in which agents do not regard their environment parametrically, but are aware of the objectives, strategies and tactics of other agents (Elster 1982).

The outcome of conflict between fundamental classes determines a point on the economy's wage-profit or class-conflict line. [5] Associated with every such point is a vector of relative prices which "distributes" or transfers extracted surplus to various subsumed classes. In contrast to fundamental classes, subsumed classes are parametrically rational in that their behavior, while rational, is not strategically or interactively determined. Subsumed class incomes depend primarily upon terms of trade resulting from the struggle between fundamental classes, terms of trade which they regard as given parameters. Thus, subsumed classes neither perform nor extract surplus labor. Subsumed classes reduce the total quantity of surplus over which the fundamental classes struggle but the transfer is systemic in nature. The process occurs "behind the backs of the producers" in spite of rather than as a result of the intentions of agents. This is not to suggest that the income of fundamental classes is independent of the the structure of relative prices. It is

rather than without engaging in class struggle, fundamental class income would presumably fall to zero no matter what system of relative prices was in force. Subsumed classes, on the other hand, share in the total surplus as a matter of structural rather than strategic necessity.

Note that while all owners of NPMP are subsumed, not all subsumed classes need own nonproduced resources. Petty-commodity producers, for example, do not have access to NPMP means of production yet nevertheless qualify as subsumed under the definition cited above. Petty-commodity producers may be conceived as users of alternative production processes which are not operated by capitalists since these methods fail, at prevailing prices and wages, to return an average rate of profit. Petty-commodity producers are subsumed in that their incomes depend not on their own strategic behavior but on the existing system of relative prices. By operating alternative low- or no-profit processes, petty-commodity producers are able to capture a portion of aggregate demand that would otherwise accrue to capitalists selling the same good.

Competitive forces cannot eliminate petty-commodity producers from absorbing a share of aggregate demand. If capitalists attempt to increase their market share by lowering prices, petty-commodity producers must follow suit since they have no other means by which to reproduce themselves. If aggressive price competition causes petty-commodity incomes to fall below subsistence, they may shift from one branch of production to another; but the existence of a reserve army employed by noncapitalist processes always reduces the appropriable surplus for capitalists for any level of aggregate demand. Petty-commodity producers therefore take a "cut" from the total surplus and consequently qualify as subsumed.

2.2 A Simplified Model

In this section we discuss the logical structure and functioning of the model; the details of the empirical specification for Mexico are taken up in the following section. Consider now an economy with n commodities the production of which requires land or other resources as part of their means of production; in addition, there are m commodities which require only produced means of production. Let $P_1 = \{p_{1i}\}$ and $X_1 = \{x_{1i}\}$, ($i = 1, 2, \dots, n$) be the prices and quantities of commodities which use NPMP; $P_2 = \{p_{2i}\}$ and $X_2 = \{x_{2i}\}$, ($i = 1, 2, \dots, m$) are the prices and quantities of the remaining sectors of the economy. $A = \{a_{ij}\}$, ($i, j =$

1,2,...,m+n) is the matrix of input-output coefficients which indicate the amount of good i used in the production of one unit of good j. $A = \{A_{ij}\}$, (i,j = 1,2) is the partitioned matrix with subscripts 1 and 2 referring to commodities which use and do not use nonproduced means of production respectively. The vectors of intermediate demands, $XD_1 = \{xd_{1i}\}$, (i = 1,2,...,n) and $XD_2 = \{xd_{2i}\}$, (i = 1,2,...,m) can be written as:

$$(1) \quad XD_i = A_{i1} X_1 + A_{i2} X_2 \quad \text{for } i = 1,2.$$

Worker income, Y^W , is defined as:

$$(2) \quad Y^W = w_1 L_1 X_1 + w_2 L_2 X_2$$

where L_1 and L_2 are direct labor per unit of product and w_1 and w_2 are the wage rates for the agricultural and nonagricultural sectors respectively. Capitalist income, Y^C is given by:

$$(3) \quad Y^C = r [P_1 \ P_2] [K_{12} \ K_{22}]' DX$$

where the prime denotes a vector or matrix transpose. $K_{12} = \{k_{ij}\}$, (i = 1,2,...,n), (j = 1,2,...,m) is a matrix of agricultural capital stock coefficients describing the amount of agricultural commodities (good i) required as a stock for the production of one unit of nonagricultural goods (good j). $K_{22} = \{k_{ij}\}$, (i,j = 1,2,...,m) is the analogous matrix for nonagricultural stocks required for nonagricultural goods. $D = \{d_i\}$, (i = 1,2,...,m) is a diagonal matrix of exogenously give profit rate differentials, d_i , such that the rate of profit on the value of invested capital in the i-th sector is:

$$(4) \quad r_i = r d_i$$

Here r is the (equalized) base rate of profit.

The capital stock matrix is related to the input/output matrix by turnover times, t_{ij} , such that:

$$(5) \quad a_{ij} t_{ij} = k_{ij} \quad (i, j = 1, 2, \dots, n+m)$$

Subsumed class income, Y^s , can be defined as:

$$(6) \quad Y^s = (P_1 - w_1 L_1) X_1$$

Demand is here assumed to depend upon the distribution of income between wages, profits and subsumed income. For the present, assume that workers do not save and there are no taxes or imported consumption. Let $\theta_1^w = (\theta_{1i}^w)$, ($i = 1, 2, \dots, n$) and $\theta_2^w = (\theta_{2i}^w)$, ($i = 1, 2, \dots, m$) be vectors of workers' subsistence requirement such that $h = Y^w - [P_1 \ P_2] [\theta_1^w \ \theta_2^w]$ can be interpreted as the moral-historical element in wages. $C_1^w = (c_{1i}^w)$ and $C_2^w = (c_{2i}^w)$ are the vectors of worker consumption for agricultural and nonagricultural goods: We then have:

$$(7) \quad C_i^w = \theta_i^w + M_i^w h \quad i = 1, 2$$

where $M_1^w = (m_{1i}^w/p_L)$, ($i = 1, 2, \dots, n$) and $M_2^w = (m_{2i}^w/p_L)$, ($i = 1, 2, \dots, m$) are the marginal propensities to consume out of moral-historical income deflated by the relevant price.

Θ for capitalists and subsumed classes is interpreted as autonomous consumption where consumption is a linear function of expenditure, E :

$$(8) \quad E^i = (1 - s^i) Y^i \quad i = \text{capitalist, subsumed}$$

where s^i is the savings propensity for capitalists and the subsumed class. We can then write:

$$(9) \quad C_i^j = \theta_i^j + M_i^j E^j \quad i = 1, 2 \text{ and } j = \text{capitalist, subsumed.}$$

The effective demand equations can now be expressed as:

$$(10) \quad X_i = X D_i + C_i^w + C_i^c + C_i^s + I_i + Z_i \quad i = 1, 2.$$

where Z_i is (given) exports net of competitive imports.

2.3 Marxian Closure

Given X_1 , equations (1)-(10) determine P_1 and X_2 as a function of P_2 . [6] To close the model, an equation for P_2 is required. For the Marxian closure, P_2 is determined by the Sraffian price of production equations:

$$P_2 = P_1 A_{12} + P_2 A_{22} + w_2 L_2 + r(P_1 K_{12} + P_2 K_{22}) D$$

If, for simplicity, we assume that all turnover times of eq. (3) and profit rate differentials of eq. (4) are unity, the price determining equations can be written:

$$(11) \quad P_2 = (1+r)(P_1 A_{12} + P_2 A_{22}) + w_2 L_2$$

Eqs. (11) are m equations in $n+m+2$ unknowns; if the wage rate w_2 is given, and the n prices P_1 are known, the model consisting of eqs. (10) and (11) still has one degree of freedom. To close the system, we must choose a numeraire. Let $Q = (q_i)$, ($i = 1, 2, \dots, m$) be an arbitrary normalizing vector such that:

$$P_2 Q = 1$$

Eqs. (11) can then be written:

$$(12) \quad (v P_1 A_{12} + w_2 L_1)(I - v A_{22})^{-1} Q - 1 = 0$$

in which $v = (1+r)$ for convenience.

Eq. (12) describes a wage-profit-terms-of-trade surface in $m+2$ dimensions which is the locus of possible outcomes of the struggle between fundamental classes and the associated transfers to subsumed classes. By the Perron-Frobenius theorems for nonnegative matrices, $(I-vA_{11})^{-1}$ is strictly positive for v less than the inverse of the maximal eigenvalue of A [7]. An increase in any element of P must then bring about a fall in either the wage rate or the profit rate in order to continue to satisfy (12). Thus, not only is the wage-profit line always downward sloping for any numeraire, but also any wage- p_{11} or profit- p_{11} line is negatively inclined as well. These relationships are depicted in Figure 1 for $n = 1$.

Where the economy happens to reside on its wage-profit-tot surface depends upon the effective demand equations (10). Macroeconomic consistency requires that P_1 , P_2 and X_2 must adjust until real savings, forthcoming at given savings propensities, is just sufficient to balance the given volume of real investment. As investment demand changes autonomously, the distribution of income shifts through movement in the terms of trade and outputs until the appropriate amount of forced savings is generated. [8]

The wage-profit-tot surface of Figure 1 characterizes the environment in which fundamental classes struggle over the distribution of income and the subsequent impact of this struggle on the income of subsumed classes. Only if the prices of commodities which employ nonproduced means of production remain constant, will the simple Sraffian inverse relation between wages and profits obtain. Indeed, if the "cut" of the surplus taken by subsumed classes can be somehow reduced, wages and profits could rise simultaneously. On the other hand, with subsumed classes, a higher rate of exploitation need not correspond to higher rate of profit.[9] Class conflict is a complex process in this model in that the terms are modified according to the share of the surplus absorbed by subsumed classes. The latter is determined by the level and composition of effective demand over which no class exercises complete control.

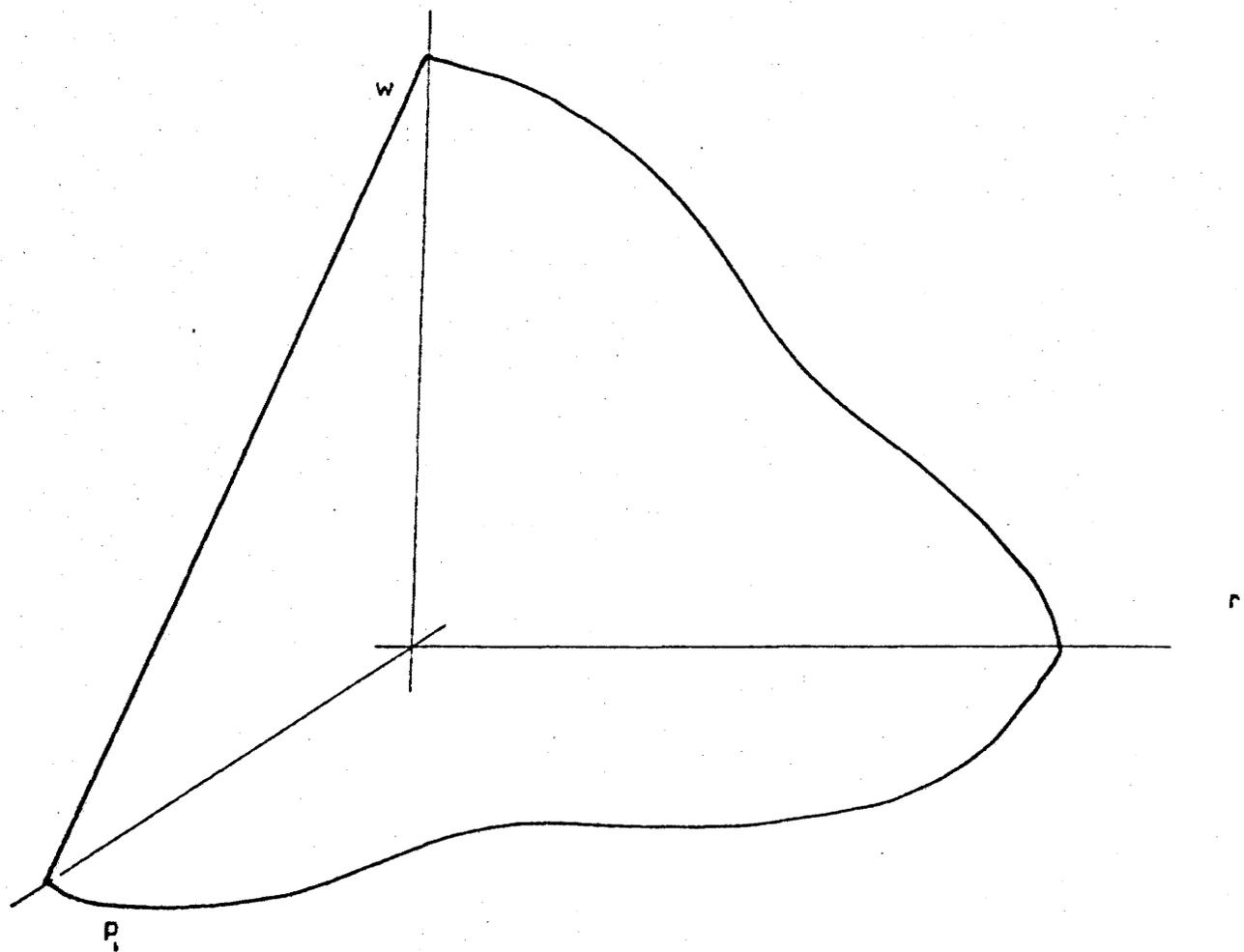


Figure 1: The Wage-Profit-Terms of Trade Surface

2.4 Keynesian Closure

In the Marxian price of production system, competition between capitalists is assumed to bring about an equalization of the rate of profit on the value of invested capital (suitably adjusted to reflect permanent profit rate differentials). If this assumption is suspended, the model may be closed by specifying a Keynes-Kalecki mark-up pricing rule in place of the Sraffian system of reproduction prices. Let $R = (r_i)$, $(i = 1, 2, \dots, m)$ be a diagonal matrix of given mark-ups on prime costs. The nonagricultural price equation for the Keynesian closure can then be expressed:

$$(13) \quad P_2 = (P_1 A_{12} + P_2 A_{22} + w_2 L_2)(I+R)$$

where I is an m -dimensional identity matrix. Given the wage rate and the mark-ups, eqs. (13) determine nonagricultural prices, P_2 .

It is the portrait of class conflict which serves to distinguish the Keynesian from the Marxian variant of the model under discussion. From a comparison of eqs. (11) and (13), it is obvious that mark-up pricing allows capitalists to fully protect profits by passing along wage or agricultural commodity price increases. Movements in the profit rate are not constrained to any particular wage-profit-tot surface; indeed, no such surface is even defined under the Keynesian mark-up pricing closure. Prices of production, on the other hand, describe an economy in which capitalists are not in full control. The bourgeoisie must not only struggle with workers but also pay off owners of nonproduced means of production along a wage-profit-tot surface.

3. Mexico

3.1 Sectors

The model estimated for Mexico is a slightly more elaborate version of the model discussed in the previous section; in this section, we consider the specification of the empirical model in more detail.

Table 1 lists the sectors and social classes employed in the model. Output in sectors one and two is limited by the existence of nonproduced means of production while output in the remaining sectors adjusts to the level of effective demand. Corn and beans is disaggregated from other agriculture in order to consider the impact of a guarantee price introduced by Mexican government under the Lopez-Portillo regime. Petroleum and fertilizer are the two major state-owned enterprises and profits in these sectors accrue to the state in the form of general revenue. Petroleum is shown separately in order to isolate the effect of the large internal oil price subsidy. Processed foods is broken out of industry to study the impact of various scenarios on the price and consumption of food. Services aggregates business, personal and government services while commerce includes wholesale and retail trade. Input-output data for these sectors was aggregated from the 45-sector Mexican matrix for 1975. A reference social accounting matrix is shown as Table 1 of Appendix 2.

2. Classes and Incomes

The classes distinguished in this study are also shown in Table 1. Fundamental classes include agricultural workers, urban workers and urban capitalists; the remaining classes, the agrarian bourgeoisie, merchant capitalists, and urban marginals are considered subsumed for reasons discussed in the continuation. Consider first the case of the agrarian bourgeoisie. In Mexico, as in most countries, the agrarian bourgeoisie consists of an amalgam of agricultural capitalists and landlords. To the extent that they hire and exploit labor-power, agrarian capitalists need not be distinguished from urban capitalists. Landlords, on the other hand, are clearly subsumed in that as owners of NPMP, their incomes are determined entirely by the system of relative prices resulting from fundamental class struggle. While it is theoretically possible to separate landlords and agricultural capitalists, it is a data-intensive procedure; in what follows, we assert that the preponderance of agrarian bourgeois income derive not from extraction but from a transfer of surplus extracted by their control over NPMP. [10]

Campeños stand in the same relation to the agrarian bourgeoisie as petty-commodity producers do to urban capitalists in that they operate processes which do not return the average rate of profit when wage costs and

Table 1

sectors	classes
1. corn and beans	1. campesinos
2. other agriculture	2. agricultural workers
3. petroleum	3. agrarian bourgeoisie
4. fertilizer	4. urban workers
5. processed foods	5. urban capitalists
6. industry	6. merchant capitalists
7. services	7. urban marginals
8. commerce	

Table 2

Terms of Trade and the Urban Profit Rate

	10% ΔW		10% ΔI		GP = 1.15		
	base	Keynes	Marx	Keynes	Marx	Keynes	Marx
urban rate of profit	18.20	18.40	15.93	18.15	15.75	18.21	17.95
terms of trade	1.00	0.978	1.193	1.235	1.433	1.031	1.051
rate of output growth	-	-.005	0.017	0.041	0.053	0.003	0.005
gnp deflator	1.00	1.058	1.000	1.042	0.986	1.006	1.000

source: Appendix 2

land rent are imputed at their average, economy-wide values. Campesinos are here assumed to neither hire labor, nor hire themselves out as agricultural workers and, thus, do not produce or extract surplus. The first part of the definition of a subsumed class is therefore satisfied. Real income accruing to this class is clearly governed by terms of trade over which campesinos have no control. Like petty-commodity producers, campesinos absorb a share of aggregate demand that would otherwise be satisfied by the agrarian capitalists and thus it can be said that they sustain themselves by way of transfers from fundamental classes. Accordingly, campesinos qualify as a subsumed by the definition cited above.[11]

With respect to the empirical formulation, campesinos are assigned a fixed proportion of total value added in the agricultural sectors. From the remaining value added, the income of the rural proletariat is subtracted leaving the income of the agrarian bourgeoisie as a residual.

Merchant capitalists, like the agrarian bourgeoisie, are a mixture of fundamental and subsumed elements. Resnick and Wolff believe merchants to be subsumed on the grounds that their most important role is to facilitate the realization of surplus value (Resnick and Wolff 1982:4). If the role of merchant capitalists were limited to providing money capital in order to speed up realization, there could be no quarrel with his contention. On the other hand, it is quite clear that merchant capitalists perform services of storage, transportation, information gathering, etc., and, furthermore, these services are provided by workers hired and thus exploited by merchant capitalists.[12] Why then are merchant capitalists classified as subsumed? Merchant capitalists are here conceived as owners of NPMP, specifically their spacial location from which they provide their services. Capitalists themselves could market their own output, but presumably at a higher cost than is incurred by merchant capitalists, owing to spacial economies. The cost differential appears as a rent, that is, a deduction from the total surplus, which is appropriated by merchant capitalists.

As in the case of the agrarian bourgeoisie, merchant rents can be separated from the profits of merchant capitalists but only at the cost of substantial empirical complexity. Consequently, we allow merchant capitalists to claim a residual after commercial workers have been paid and adjustments for urban marginals (see next paragraph) have been made. But unlike the the agricultural sectors, the price of commercial services is not allowed to fluctuate with demand. The output of the commerce sector is not in any meaningful sense limited by the existence of NPMP as in the case of agriculture. For this reason the price of commerce

is determined in the Keynesian closure by multiplying costs of production by the base mark-up. For the Marxian closure, however, the commercial sector is not assumed to participate in the equalization of the rate of profit due to the existence of NPMP. The price of commerce is held at unity to reflect the fact that commercial activities constitute, at least in part, a deduction from the aggregate surplus.

Urban marginals are also considered a subsumed class in that, as petty-commodity producers who absorb aggregate demand which would otherwise be satisfied by capitalists, they are analogous to campesinos but have no access to NPMP. Urban marginal incomes depend primarily upon the system of relative prices, which they regard as given, rather than strategic class conflict. Empirically, urban marginals receive a fixed proportion of total value added in food processing, industry services and commerce. The technology of the input-output matrix is assumed to represent a weighted average of capitalist and urban marginal production processes.

4. Results

In this section we examine some empirical results for both the Marxian and Keynesian closures under three different scenarios of strategic class behavior: (1) an increase in urban wages by 10%; (2) an increase in real investment by 10%; and (3) the introduction of a guarantee price for corn and beans of 1.15. For each simulation, we investigate effects upon the average rate of profit for nonagricultural sectors and the terms of trade, defined as the ratio of the agricultural to nonagricultural deflators and the rate of growth of sectors 3 through 8.[13] We shall also be concerned with changes in the distribution of income across social classes and the associated structure of private, government and foreign savings. Full Social Accounting Matrices (SAMs) for each of the simulations are shown in Appendix 2.

The numeraire for the Marxian closure is chosen such that the gross value of production is equal to the gross value of production in the base SAM. Base profit rate differentials are also maintained so that changes in the surplus are distributed in proportion to existing differentials. The net effect of this choice of numeraire and profit rate differentials is that the base SAM is the same for both Keynesian and Marxian closures. Investment is fixed in real terms for both closures.[14]

In the Marxian regime the price of oil is held constant since it is clearly regarded by the Mexican

government as a policy variable. It is, moreover, unreasonable to assume that the petroleum sector participates in the equalization of the rate of profit (even after profit rate differentials are taken into account). The price of fertilizer, on the other hand, is allowed to vary according to the closure employed. In the Marxian closure, the price of commerce is held constant to reflect the subsumed status of merchant capitalists while in the Keynesian closure, merchant capitalists are allowed to pass along cost increases in the same way as do other nonagricultural sectors. [15]

4.1 Wages, Profits and the Terms of Trade

Consider first an increase in nonagricultural wages by 10%. The first row of Table 2 shows the change in the average profit rate for the nonagricultural sectors (3-8). For the Marxian closure, the rate of profit falls by 2.27 percentage points relative to the base. Urban workers' share in income rises from 35.9 to 40% while capitalists' share falls by more than 6 percentage points. (See Table 3) In clear contrast is the Keynesian closure for which the average urban profit rate rises by 0.2 percentage points with an increase in urban wages. Urban workers', urban marginals' and merchants' share rises slightly at the expense of agricultural workers whose incomes are fixed nominally. Capitalists' income, on the other hand, is fully protected by mark-up pricing.

Observe that income shares reported in Table 3 refer to classes as a whole. In addition to the contraction and subsequent loss in employment, real wages per worker are lower in the Keynesian than in the Marxian closure. From the last row of Table 2, it is apparent that real wages per worker rose by only 4.2% in the Keynesian v. 10% in the Marxian closure.

The wage-induced inflation in nonagricultural sectors causes the terms of trade to turn against agriculture in the Keynesian closure even though real demand for agricultural goods increases. (See Table 4). The terms of trade turn in favor of agriculture in the Marxian closure, however, since a large redistribution

of income from capitalists to workers and peasants drives up the relative price of "wage" v. "luxury" goods. Moreover, the existence of the numeraire prevents capitalists from transferring the burden of urban class conflict to subsumed agricultural classes. Indeed, the precipitous decline in the rate of profit in the Marxian variant is due in part to the improvement in the terms of trade as higher wages cause the economy to move in the northwest direction on the surface of Figure 1. The agrarian bourgeoisie and merchant capitalists also benefit from the improvement in the terms of trade and increased volume of retail sales respectively. The income share of subsumed urban marginals, however, depends primarily upon the terms of trade and thus rises slightly under the Keynesian and falls under the Marxian closure.

In the Keynesian closure, the rise in profits initially causes aggregate savings to exceed investment. Real savings is then reduced by a combination of the deterioration in the terms of trade, which reduces agricultural savings, and a contraction in nonagricultural output. In the Marxian closure, on the other hand, the fall in the profit rate is compensated by an improvement in the terms of trade as well as an expansion in output. An increase in wages apparently reduces employment in the Keynesian case (!), but by squeezing savings, causes employment to rise if capitalists cannot raise prices. Total private savings in the Keynesian closure (see Table 5) rises relative to government and foreign savings owing primarily to the contraction in output and lower imports and the decline in the share of campesinos and agricultural workers who save nothing. Government savings remains constant since the contraction in output is just balanced by the change in the tax base brought about through the redistribution of income.

What is most striking is the failure of nominal wage increases as an urban working-class strategy since the net income transfer is only among segments of the working class itself. If capitalists are able to pass along rising wages in the form of higher prices, urban class conflict is effectively displaced to agriculture. High urban wages in the Keynesian closure causes the terms of trade to deteriorate, shifting surplus from agriculture to urban sectors. Real consumption of campesinos falls with the terms of trade (see Table 4) and the agricultural bourgeoisie and improves its standard of living at the expense of agricultural workers whose

Table 3

Income Shares

10% ΔW 10% ΔI GP = 1.15

class	base	Keynes	Marx	Keynes	Marx	Keynes	Marx
urban workers	35.91	35.99	40.01	34.51	38.52	35.61	36.05
ag workers	3.08	2.84	3.10	2.83	3.13	3.04	3.07
capitalists	31.95	31.98	25.42	31.42	22.94	31.79	30.85
ag bourg	4.90	4.95	6.62	6.81	8.30	5.26	5.43
campesinos	4.04	3.97	4.82	5.02	5.80	4.35	4.43
merchants	14.46	14.59	14.60	13.93	15.98	14.35	14.58
urban marg	5.64	5.68	5.48	5.49	5.33	5.61	5.59

source: Appendix 2

Table 4

Consumption in Real Terms
(Mark-up Prices with 10% Increase in Nonagricultural Wages)

	Camp	Ag Wrks	Ag Bour	Urb Wrks	Urb Caps	Merch	Urb Marg	Tot Con
1. Corn and Beans	3756	1720	265	2055	1316	640	2242	11995
2. Other Agriculture	3769	2100	2101	17699	11023	5515	5104	47309
3. Petroleum	379	169	1051	3759	3504	1397	351	10609
4. Fertilizer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5. Food Processing	11278	7751	6713	64929	39466	20309	17690	168137
6. Industry	6491	3830	4730	49693	30487	13324	7874	116429
7. Services	7183	7611	10369	99496	75788	32702	13269	246419
8. Commerce	7946	5947	6613	64067	44011	19972	11829	160374

source: Table 2 of Appendix 2

income is nominally fixed.

If capitalists cannot protect themselves through inflation, however, a strategy to increase urban wages is much more successful. A worker-peasant alliance organized around a demand for price controls would be effective in capturing a larger share of income for poorer classes. Nominal wage increases would then translate into real wage increases, turning the terms of trade in favor of agriculture and thereby sharing the gains with peasants and agricultural workers. Of course the incomes of the agricultural bourgeoisie would rise along with the terms of trade; but this surplus could be taxed and recycled as insurance against a "capital strike" by urban capital. Note that lower nonagricultural prices would reduce the real consumption of urban marginals; (see Table 4) but as output and employment expanded in urban sectors, part of this reserve army of urban marginals could be absorbed by the working class.

4.2 Investment, Profits and the Terms of Trade

We next consider whether an increase in the level of real investment by 10% might bring about similar changes in the distribution of income, savings and level of output. Augmenting the level of real investment in either closure requires that nonagricultural output must expand and/or the terms of trade must turn in favor of the agricultural sectors in order to restore macroeconomic equilibrium. Table 2 confirms that this occurs under both closures. But while in the Keynesian case increases in agricultural input prices are passed along in the form of higher urban prices, improved agricultural terms of trade lowers the urban profit rate in the Marxian closure. In terms of Figure 1, an increase in real investment moves the economy in the r - p plane toward the p axis. A lower profit rate implies that the output of nonagricultural sectors must show a higher rate of increase and the terms of trade must move more favorably to agriculture in a Marxian v. Keynesian regime.

In the Keynesian closure, a real expansion in investment forces a redistribution of income which is similar to the first scenario of increasing nonagricultural wages. Incomes of the urban working class rise through higher employment and the rise in demand causes the terms of trade to improve. Capitalists' ability to pass along higher commodity prices implies that urban workers gain again at the expense of agricultural workers. The improvement in the terms of trade shifts income to campesinos and the agrarian bourgeoisie but urban marginals are worse off. Merchant capital also suffers, largely through changes in the structure of relative prices.

Table 3 reveals the familiar pattern of "forced savings" brought about by an increase in investment demand under the Keynesian regime. With the exception of the campesinos, the share of all low-income, low saving classes declines as income is shifted to classes capable of financing the rise in real investment. But observe that while urban workers' share deteriorates in the Keynesian closure, urban workers are actually better off under the Marxian closure in terms of share, employment and real wages per worker. The forced savings which does occur is through the effect of the terms of trade on agrarian bourgeois incomes, tax revenues and the expansion of noncompetitive imports. (see Table 5). Capitalists' share falls precipitously under the Marxian system and this is responsible for the rapid expansion in output and employment and the improvement in the terms of trade. The agricultural sector captures a large share of the total surplus in this scenario; agricultural workers' incomes rise and peasant and agrarian bourgeois improve, with respect to the Keynesian closure, due to favorable terms of trade.

Should workers be content to demand of the state that higher rates of real investment be undertaken rather than struggle for wage increases? It is obvious that if employment is the principal objective, demand stimulus will improve workers' real position more effectively than bargaining for higher wages. Moreover, rapid growth tends to redistribute income more equally between the rural and urban proletariat, especially if inflation can be controlled. Of course the agricultural bourgeoisie reaps huge benefits from the shift in the terms of trade but this surplus can either be taxed or reinvested, possibly to expand exports and reduce the level of foreign dependence. Note that since higher levels of investment cause the rate of profit to fall and

Table 5

Distribution of Savings (%)

10% ΔW 10% ΔI GP = 1.15

class	base	Keynes Marx					
cap/merch	.578	.584	.508	.547	.465	.580	.571
ag bourg	.061	.062	.084	.082	.099	.066	.068
workers	.184	.186	.209	.173	.190	.184	.186
total							
private	.823	.833	.800	.801	.754	.831	.826
government	.061	.061	.079	.078	.112	.054	.057
foreign	.115	.106	.121	.121	.134	.115	.117

source: Appendix 2 (percentages may not sum to one due to rounding.)

subsumed incomes to rise, one might then expect lower rates of accumulation in following periods when capitalists cannot defend themselves through inflation and/or subsumed classes controlling NPMP are prominent. Apparently, a working class strategy which relies on demand management as a mechanism to appropriate a larger share of the surplus will require substantial state participation. Not only must prices be controlled to deflect forced savings, but given the disincentive to invest in industry, the state must have the political power to tax the agrarian bourgeoisie in order to maintain the rate of accumulation.

4.3 Direct State Intervention

The lesson of the previous two scenarios is that an expansion in aggregate demand will improve terms of trade and reduce urban unemployment. An increase in the foreign deficit, however, appears to be unavoidable. Foreign borrowing can be politically costly and in a country with more than a third of its labor force in agriculture, a secular increase in food imports is difficult to justify. Under the Lopez-Portillo regime, a comprehensive system of agricultural price supports, credit, fertilizer and other input subsidies was introduced by the Sistema Alimentario Mexicano. The objectives of these policies were to first raise yields of corn and beans on peasant plots, reduce food imports and to improve the rural distribution of income.

This strategy undertaken on behalf of subsumed peasant producers is similar in effect to stimulating aggregate demand through an expansion in investment. The scenario is expansionary in both closures, but again, the rate of profit moves in opposite directions for the Keynesian vs. Marxian variants. Note that as in the case of a change in the level of investment, urban workers' share falls under the Keynesian and rises with the Marxian closure. In both cases, the guarantee price improves the terms of trade and is expansionary but the impact is greater if inflation can be contained. As a class strategy, the guarantee price is successful in redistributing income toward the peasantry; but as in the first scenario, the Keynesian closure ensures that the transfer will be between segments of the working class inasmuch as capitalists are able to maintain their share. Real wages per worker fall for both urban and agricultural workers while worker incomes in the Marxian system remain intact.

As purchasing power is shifted from the government directly to the agrarian bourgeoisie and campesinos, government savings predictably falls for both closures. (See Table 5) Private savings rise while foreign savings remains approximately constant. This contrasts with the other two scenarios in which government savings rises under both closures. As in all scenarios, the Marxian closure gives rise to higher foreign savings due to its more expansionary character.

5. Conclusions

The model presented in this paper is nonneoclassical in the sense that class conflict rather than marginal productivities, factor endowments, or what have you, determines the distribution of income. In both closures the levels of investment and money wages are taken as historically given data rather than attempting to (falsely) attribute their determination to parameters of an essentially static model. The Keynes-Kalecki variant tends to limit the scope of class conflict to a struggle between fundamental and subsumed classes, while the Marxian formulation allows a more complex redistribution of income to follow parametric changes in the model. As we have seen, there are substantial differences the qualitative properties of the model depending upon which approach is adopted.

The difference in properties of the two closures hinges on the ability of capitalists to pass along cost increases initiated by workers or a change in the terms of trade caused by an expansion in effective demand or agriculture. In the Keynesian closure, price movements cause workers to release more surplus than under the Marxian system. The adjustment in output and the terms of trade needed to recoup total savings is herefore less violent under mark-up pricing than in the Marxian closure. The choice of closure is obviously not arbitrary; it must reflect the historical reality of the economy for which the model is constructed. On the other hand, there are some clear policy implications which may be drawn from the comparison of the two closures. If the ability of capitalists to protect their incomes through inflation can be restrained, the government can reduce unemployment by stimulating aggregate demand, either directly or through subsidy programs and price supports. Increasing wages would then expand employment and improve the terms of trade for agriculture. If price controls are politically infeasible, however, there is much less scope for progressive

overnment intervention. Industrial wage increases will be accompanied by a reduction in employment in industry, terms-of-trade induced stagnation in agriculture and inflation. Stimulating effective demand will reduce unemployment and improve terms of trade but at the cost of inflation, eventual devaluation and possible loss of political autonomy.

Notes

1. The literature on computable general equilibrium models is burgeoning; See Taylor (1980), Dervis et al. (1982), Taylor et al. (1980), Adelman and Robinson (1977), Taylor and Lysy (1979) and Waelbroeck (1982). For analytical approaches to Marxian economic theory see Roemer (1981), Roemer (1982), Morishima (1973) and Brody (1960). See also Taylor (1982).
2. The word "closure" may be somewhat misleading given its prevalence in recent literature. Sen (1963) usefully distinguishes Keynesian, Neoclassical, Cambridge and Johansen "closures" for a simple system of national income accounting identities. Generically, "closure" refers to the equality of independent equations and unknowns and it is this more prosaic usage we employ here.
3. By "surplus," we mean a heterogeneous vector of commodities; "surplus-value" is then the inner product of some vector of exchange ratios with the vector of surpluses while "surplus labor" is the product of the labor coefficients with the vector of surpluses. The use of the term "surplus-value" therefore does not imply that it is necessarily denominated in terms of embodied labor times. See Steedman (1977) for evidence that none of Marx's crucial insights depends upon the labor theory of value.
4. See Gibson and McLeod (1981), Gibson and McLeod (1982), Gibson and Esfahani (1981), Montani (1975) and Kurz (1978) for details of the theory of nonproduced means of production.
5. See Pasinetti (1977), Chapter 5.
6. One could also conceive of a system of supply response equations to determine X , but no attempt to extend the model in this direction is made here.
7. See Pasinetti (1977), appendix.
8. Note that the level of real wages in terms of the numeraire is held constant for a given money wages. But as investment increases, the terms of trade turn in favor of agricultural sectors which causes the real wage in terms of these commodities to fall.
9. More formally, let $P = [P_1, P_2]$; $X = [X_1, X_2]$; $C = [C_1, C_2]$ and $XD = [XD_1, XD_2]$. The price-denominated rate of exploitation, e , can then be written as:

$$e = \frac{PX - PXD - PC}{PC}$$

10. See McLeod (1983), for an empirical attempt to separate rent and profit in a Sraffian model.
11. In addition to their role as petty-commodity producers, campesinos also own nonproduced means of production the return on which may be positive, negative or zero when computed at the going profit and wage rate. If the rental value is greater than or equal to the rent obtained by owners of land of comparable quality, it is no longer possible to refer to this class as campesinos, in that they are indistinguishable from the agrarian bourgeoisie. Land ownership, of course, compounds rather than contradicts campesinos' subsumed status.
12. As purely financial intermediaries, merchant capitalists take a cut of the surplus in the form of interest rather than profits. There will be no independent role for the rate of interest in the model considered below.
13. The 1975 SAM is used as the base to compute all deflators. All data discussed in this section is drawn from the eight social accounting matrices shown in Appendix 2. For the full specification of the model and data sources employed see Appendix 1.
14. Fixing investment in nominal terms is more contractionary in the Keynesian closure but the effect on the Marxian closure depends upon the numeraire and changes in the structure of relative prices.
15. With the exception of fixing the price of oil at unity, the assumptions discussed in this paragraph do not affect the qualitative nature of the results discussed below.

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Appendix 1

1.1 Model Specification

Variables

p	price
x	output
r	profit rate/mark-up
p'	retail price
E	expenditure
Y	income
c	consumption
s _g	government savings
s _f	foreign savings

Parameters

t	direct tax rate
a	input/output coef.
w	domestic wage
l	labor coefficient
I	investment
ds	change in stocks
g	government expenditure

Parameters

z	exports
m	competitive imports
θ	subsistence consumption
M	marginal prop. to consume
p*	guarantee price
s	savings propensity
u	proportion of value added accruing to campesinos
v	proportion of value added accruing to urban marginals
p°	international price for exports
q	direct tax rate
b	commercialization margins
e	exchange rate
w _g	government wages
m _c	consumption imports (non comp)
m _i	investment imports (non comp)
m _g	government imports (non comp)
k	capital stock coefficients (including profit rate differentials)

Equations

Marxian

$$p_j = (1+t_j) \left(\sum_{i=1}^g p_i a_{ij} + w_j l_j + r \sum_{i=1}^g p_i k_{ij} \right) \quad j=4,5,\dots,8$$

Keynesian

$$p_j = (1+t_j)(1+r_j) \left(\sum_{i=1}^g p_i a_{ij} + w_j l_j \right) \quad j=3,4,\dots,8$$

$$x_i = \sum_{j=1}^8 a_{ij} x_j + c_i + I_i + ds_i + g_i + z_i - m_i \quad i=1,2,\dots,8$$

$$c_i = \sum_{j=1}^7 [\theta_{ij} + M_{ij} / p_i' (E_j - \sum_{i=1}^7 p_i' \theta_{ij})] \quad i=1,2,\dots,7$$

$$E_i = (1-s_i)(1-q_i) Y_i \quad i=1,2,\dots,7$$

$$Y_i = \sum_{j=1}^2 (p_j - \sum_{i=1}^g p_i a_{ij}) x_j + u_j$$

(p* = p; guarantee price not in effect)

$$Y_2 = \sum_{i=1}^2 w_i l_i x_i$$

$$Y_3 = \sum_{j=1}^2 [(1-u_j)(p_j - \sum_{i=1}^g p_i a_{ij}) - w_j l_j] x_j$$

$$Y_4 = \sum_{i=1}^3 w_i l_i x_i (1-v_i)$$

Marxian

$$Y_5 = \sum_{j=5}^7 r \left(\sum_{i=1}^9 p_i k_{ij} \right) x_j (1-v_j)$$

Keynesian

$$Y_5 = \sum_{j=5}^7 r \left(\sum_{i=1}^9 p_i a_{ij} + w_j l_j \right) x_j (1-v_j)$$

Marxian

$$Y_6 = \left(1 - \sum_{i=1}^9 p_i a_{i6} - w_6 l_6 \right) x_6 (1-v_6)$$

Keynesian

$$Y_6 = r \left(\sum_{i=1}^9 p_i a_{i6} + w_6 l_6 \right) x_6 (1-v_6)$$

$$Y_7 = \sum_{i=5}^8 [v_i / (1-v_i)] Y_i$$

$$p_i' = p_i + p_9 b_i \quad i=1,2,\dots,7$$

$$c_{9i} = \sum_{j=1}^7 b_j c_{ji} \quad i=1,2,\dots,7$$

Marxian

$$s_6 = \sum_{j=5}^8 t_j \left(\sum_{i=1}^9 p_i a_{ij} + w_j l_j + r \sum_{i=1}^9 p_i k_{ij} \right) x_j + r \sum_{i=1}^9 p_i k_{i4} x_4 + \left(1 - \sum_{i=1}^9 p_i a_{i3} - w_3 l_3 \right) x_3 + \sum_{i=1}^7 q_i Y_i - \left[\sum_{i=1}^8 (p_i - ep_i^0) z_i + (p^* - p_1) x_1 + \sum_{i=1}^8 q_i + w_9 + m_9 \right]$$

Keynesian

$$s_6 = \sum_{j=5}^8 t_j (1+r_j) \left(\sum_{i=1}^9 p_i a_{ij} + w_j l_j \right) x_j + \sum_{j=3}^4 r_j \left(\sum_{i=1}^9 p_i a_{ij} + w_j l_j \right) x_j + \sum_{i=1}^7 q_i Y_i - \left[\sum_{i=1}^8 (p_i - ep_i^0) z_i + (p^* - p_1) x_1 + \sum_{i=1}^8 q_i + w_9 + m_9 \right]$$

$$s_7 = \sum_{i=1}^8 p_9 a_{9i} x_i + m_2 + m_1 + m_9 - \sum_{i=1}^8 p_i^0 z_i$$

1.2 Data Sources:

The input/output matrix is an aggregation of 72-sector matrix for 1975 in Secretaria de Programacion y Presupuesto, 1981a. The disaggregation of agriculture into corn and beans and other agriculture is taken from the CHAC model and was compiled by Maria Bassoco of the Division of Macroeconomic Analysis of the Sistema Alimentario Mexicano. Dr. Horacio Santamaria of the Coordinacion del Sistema Nacional de Informacion (SPP) assisted in the disaggregation. The consumption functions were estimated using an extended linear expenditure system using data from a 1977 budget survey conducted by Secretaria de Programacion y Presupuesto, 1981b. The authors had access to the original computer tapes of this study from which the class structure was determined. Direct tax rates were taken from Reyes-Heróles, 1980 as were the proportions of value added accruing to urban marginals. Capital stock coefficients were taken from Banco de Mexico 1978. A detailed description of sources and methods can be found in Lustig, 1982.

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