## Value, price and profit The transformation problem and its afterlife

Julian Wells

An Introduction to Post Keynesian Economics and Political Economy Kingston University 11–13 July 2013

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## How to use this document

If you are viewing this document on screen you should be using a file called VPPshow.pdf; if so, you do not want to try printing from it.

Instead, look to see if you also have a file called

VPPnotes.pdf. In this file each slide has an accompanying Notes page.

You may want to print out this file so that the slides are laid out in  $n \times 2$  format, where *n* is the number of rows. If you want to add your own notes  $2 \times 2$  is good in A4 landscape format;  $4 \times 2$ in portrait format works if you don't mind small type.

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# Outline

- The (so-called) transformation problem
  - Prologue
  - Why it matters: the falling rate of profit
  - The problem posed and answered
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- 2 Marx the temporalist
  - The Temporal Single System Interpretation

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- Is Marx a temporalist?
- 3 Marx the probabilist
  - Dissolving the transformation problem
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  - Is Marx a probabilist?

#### Prologue

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# What this is about ...

... and what it's not

## • It's about interpretation

- is Marx a theorist of equilibrium or *disequilibrium*?
   Compare Keynes ....
- and disproving claim that Marx's theory is logically incoherent
  - hence allowing his other work to be considered seriously
  - in particular, falling rate of profit as basis of capitalist crisis
- It's not about 'correcting' or 'completing' Marx
  - neither new methods nor new solutions
  - not proving Marx's value theory correct
  - especially not proving that everything he wrote was true
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Prologue

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### Two quotations... and two interpretations

If M. Proudhon admits that the value of products is determined by labour time, he should equally admit that it is the fluctuating movement alone that in a society founded on individual exchanges makes labour the measure of value. There is no ready-made constituted 'proportional relation', but only a constituting movement.<sup>1</sup>

[T]he rate of profit ... seeks the 'ideal' mean position, i.e. a mean position which does not exist in reality. In other words, it tends to shape itself around this ideal as a norm.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Poverty of Philosophy: 71 (emphases added) <sup>2</sup>Capital Vol. III: 273 ヘロト ヘ戸ト ヘヨト ヘヨト

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The problem problem

Value, price and profit Can labour-time explain exchange value?

## Marx simply speaks of 'value theory': is it

- 'labour theory of value'?
  - labour-time determines value
    - x hours labour  $\implies$  y units of value
- 'value theory of labour'? <sup>3</sup>
  - 'how come labour is represented by (exchange) value?' a rather than seen directly
- both, because the representation is both quantitative and qualitative
  - the quantity of one kind of thing (ultimately, individual human activity) is represented by quantity of a quite different kind of thing (exchange value)

<sup>3</sup>as suggested by Diane Elson (1979)

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#### Prologue

Why it matters: the falling rate of profit The problem posed and answered The problem problematised

# Marx's value theory 1

Commodity-owning society

## All agents equal

- equally commodity-owners
- Workers
  - own their 'labour-power
  - 'free' in double sense
    - If the sell labour-power to highest bidden
      - free of ownership of means of labour.
- Capitalists
  - own the means of labour
    - imeans of production?

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# Marx's value theory 2

Use-value and exchange-value

## Exchange value

- determined by labour-time needed for (re-) production
- 'use value' merely pre-condition for exchange value

## • Value of labour-power?

- exchange value
  - determined by labour-time needed to produce workers' consumption goods
  - hence for reproduction of labour-power
- use value
  - is labour-time extracted by capitalists

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#### Prologue

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### Marx's value theory 3 Explaining profits

### Workers sell

- labour-power for agreed time-span
- Capitalists get
  - labour performed in that time
- Profit
  - A: (exchange) value of product
    - determined by labour-time.
  - B: value of labour-power
    - paid as wages; determined by value of wage-goods
  - C: value of used-up means of production
  - A (B + C) = surplus-value = surplus labour-time

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- Profit
  - A: (exchange) value of product
    - determined by labour-time
  - B: value of labour-power
    - paid as wages; determined by value of wage-goods
  - C: value of used-up means of production
  - A (B + C) = surplus-value = surplus labour-time

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#### Prologue

Why it matters: the falling rate of profit The problem posed and answered The problem problematised

### Marx's value theory 3 Explaining profits

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Prologue Why it matters: the falling rate of profit The problem posed and answered The problem problematised

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### How to increase profits? Install machinery A paradoxical claim, if labour is the sole source of value?

### Q. How to increase surplus-value?

A. Increase surplus labour-time

- Increase total labour? (lengthen working day)
  limited by 24 hours
- Decrease necessary labour?
  - raise productivity by introducing machinery
  - · workers replace the value of their wages more quickly

# Why labour-saving machinery does not shorten the working day (as much as it could)

Prologue Why it matters: the falling rate of profit The problem posed and answered The problem problematised

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Prologue Why it matters: the falling rate of profit The problem posed and answered The problem problematised

## Some notation ...

... and some notes

Capital	Result	Rates of	
$c = \text{constant}^4$		profit	s/(c+v)
v = variable 5	<i>s</i> = surplus value	exploitation	s/v

• More machinery  $\implies$  increasing the 'organic composition of capital' (c/v)

) Keep your eye on s/v and  $c/v \dots$ 

<sup>4</sup>means of production <sup>5</sup>wages

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Prologue Why it matters: the falling rate of profit The problem posed and answered The problem problematised

### Falling sideways? Deriving the LTFRP The Law of the Tendential Fall of the Rate of Profit

### rate of profit

$$\frac{s}{c+v} \Longrightarrow \frac{s/v}{(c/v)+1} \tag{1}$$

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- ... and suppose c/v increases?
- but counter-acting tendencies
  - increasing rate of exploitation: s/v
    - e.g. speed-up machinery
  - cheapening variable capital: v
  - cheapening constant capital: c
- all of which predicts ... what?

Prologue Why it matters: the falling rate of profit The problem posed and answered The problem problematised

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$$\frac{s}{c+\nu} \Longrightarrow \frac{s/\nu}{(c/\nu)+1} \tag{1}$$

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Prologue Why it matters: the falling rate of profit The problem posed and answered The problem problematised

### Falling upwards! Illustrating the LTFTG The Law of the Tendential Fall of Things in General



- Obviously this does not refute the law of gravity
- Indeed, it confirms the law by means of the counteracting tendencies
- Without LTFRP, no theory of crisis
  - decline
  - breakdown
    - perennial crisis

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Prologue Why it matters: the falling rate of profit The problem posed and answered The problem problematised

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# Falling downwards! News from the Edge Demonstrating the LTFRP

#### Exhibit 4: ROA and U.S. Unemployment Rate (1976-2010)



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# The inexorable rise of capital Falling downwards! News from the Edge 2

Exhibit 90: Asset Base (\$, Trillions), U.S. Economy and Banking Industry (1965-2010)



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# It's not (just) financialisation Falling downwards! News from the Edge 3

Exhibit 91: ROA for the U.S. Economy (1965-2010)



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#### From him that hath not shall be taken away .... Falling downwards! News from the Edge 4

Exhibit 92: Economy-wide ROA by quartile (1965-2010)



Source: Compustat, Deloitte analysis

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## The transformation problem 1 More notation—and assumptions and conditions

Production			Market
Capital	Results	Rates of	
$c = \text{constant}^{6}$	w = value	profit: $s/(c+v)$	p = price
$v = variable^7$	<i>s</i> = surplus value	exploitation: $s/v$	$\pi = profit$

## Assumptions

- Competition equalises market profit rate,  $\pi/(c + \nu)$
- Equal rate of exploitation

#### Conditions

- Total value equals total price
  - Total surplus value equals total profit

<sup>6</sup>means of production <sup>7</sup>wages

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### The transformation problem 2 Disintegration of the Ricardo school

# However,

- Value  $\neq$  price, especially  $\neq$  market price
- ∃ different 'compositions of capital' (*c*/*v*) in different industries
- ullet  $\Longrightarrow$  different ratios imply unequal profit rates
  - *if* labour time *directly* determines exchange value

# Ricardo aware of the problem, but neither he nor followers had an answer

- '93 per cent' labour theory of value <sup>8</sup>
- Disintegration of Ricardo school <sup>9</sup>

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## The transformation problem 2 Disintegration of the Ricardo school

# However,

- Value  $\neq$  price, especially  $\neq$  market price
- ∃ different 'compositions of capital' (*c*/*v*) in different industries
- ullet  $\Longrightarrow$  different ratios imply unequal profit rates
  - if labour time directly determines exchange value

Ricardo aware of the problem, but neither he nor followers had an answer

- '93 per cent' labour theory of value <sup>8</sup>
- Disintegration of Ricardo school <sup>9</sup>

## <sup>8</sup>Stigler t.b.a.

<sup>9</sup> *Theories of Surplus Value* Ch.20, ¶ 2(a)

Prologue Why it matters: the falling rate of profit The problem posed and answered The problem problematised

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#### The transformation problem Engels' prize essay competition

# Set in the Introduction to Capital II (1884)

- Winner: Peter Fireman
- Runner-up: Conrad Schmidt
- Booby prize: George Steibeling

# Notes for solution

- Two distinctions between value and price
   Qualitative: ways of measuring—labour-time and money
  - Quantitative: 'value produced' vs. 'value received'
    - value determined by labour-time
      - price received for commodity in money

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# Marx's answer Capitalist communism

## • 'Prices of production'

re-distribute surplus value to equalise profit rates

Branch	С	V	s	W	$\pi$	р	<b>C</b> : <b>V</b>	$\frac{s}{c+v}$	$\frac{\pi}{c+v}$
1	54	6	12	72	15	75	9:1	20%	25%
2	16	4	8	28	5	25	4:1	40%	25%
$\sum$	70	10	20	100	20	100	7:1	25%	25%

## • Three equalities:

- Total surplus value = total profit
- Total price = total value
- Value rate of profit = price rate of profit

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### Bortkiewicz's problem

Supposed proof of 'internal contradiction'

Period	Dept.	r	С	V	S	W	$\pi$	р	$\frac{s}{(c+v)}$	$\frac{\pi}{(c+v)}$
			280	72	48	400	88	440	13.6%	25.0%
1	II		80	96	64	240	44	220	36.4%	25.0%
			40	72	48	160	28	140	42.9%	25.0%
	Σ		400	240	160	800	160	800	25.0%	25.0%

- With sale at values simple reproduction is possible
  - e.g., in Dept. I the value of output (w = 400) equals total quantity of used-up means of production: c = 400
- But if Dept. I output sells at prices of production (p = 440)
  - some will go unsold, since constant capital expenditure
    - c = 400, and production will contract Kingston University London

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    - Kingston University London

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## Bortkiewicz's solution

Walrasian 'marxism'

Alfred Marshall said once of Ricardo: 'He does not state clearly, and in some cases he perhaps did not fully and clearly perceive how, in the problem of normal value, the various elements govern one another mutually, not successively, in a long chain of causation.' This description applies even more to Marx ... [who] held firmly to the view that the elements concerned must be regarded as a kind of causal chain, in which each link is determined, in its composition and its magnitude, only by the preceding links ... Modern economics is beginning to free itself gradually from the successivist prejudice, the chief merit being due to the mathematical school led by Leon Walras<sup>11</sup>

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	The (so-called) transformation problem Marx the temporalist Marx the probabilist					Prologue Why it matters: the falling rate of profit The problem posed and answered The problem problematised					
÷	System	Branch	vpu	с	v	s	w	$\frac{s}{c+v}$			
	Value	1	1	96	10	14	120	13.2			
		2	1	12	20	28	60	87.5			
		Total		108	30	42	180	30.4			
	Bortkiewicz	Branch 1	рри 1.75	c′ 168	v' 7	π 35	р 210	$\frac{\pi}{c'+v'}_{20}$			
		2	0.70	21	14	7	42	20			
		Total		189	21	42	252	20			
	Moszkowska-	1	1.25	120	5	25	150	20			
1	Winternitz	2	0.50	15	10	5	30	20			
		Total		135	15	30	180	20			
	`New and	1	1.50	144	6	30	180	20			
i	improved'	2	0.6	18	12	6	36	20			
		Total		162	18	36	216	20			

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#### Simultaneism $\implies$ physicalism Steedman's 'physical guantities approach'

Steedman's physical quantities approach

- Simultaneism: requirement that per-unit input prices (or values) must equal per-unit output prices (or values)
- Physicalism: sole proximate determinants of values, relative prices, profits, and rate of profit are technology and real wages

	Corn	Price (or value)	Capital
Input	10 bushels	\$6/bushel	\$6 × 10 = \$60
Output	12 bushels	\$5/bushel	$5 \times 12 = 60$
Input	10 bushels	\$5/bushel	\$5 × 10 = \$50
Output	12 bushels	\$5/bushel	$5 \times 12 = 60$

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The Temporal Single System Interpretation Is Marx a temporalist?

## The Temporal Single System Interpretation

Freeing economics from the simultaneist prejudice

Bortkiewiczian transformation problem is a problem because simultaneism

- leads to physicalism
  - leaves out labour values
- either implies static economy
- or contrary to physics
  - capitalists can't go back in time to purchase new outputs at old values/prices

### Take output prices (of production) as input values in next period

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#### Bortkiewicz refuted Bringing back time—and giving up equilibrium

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	I	66	308	66	54	428	102	476	14.4%	27.3%
2	II	44	88	88	72	248	48	224	40.9%	27.3%
		30	66	66	54	164	30	140	49.1%	27.3%
	Σ	140	440	220	180	840	180	840	27.3%	27.3%

r = residual proceeds ('revenue', in Marx)

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# 'It is always possible to go wrong' ... and many readers have

As the price of production of a commodity can diverge from its value, so [can] the cost price of a commodity, in which the price of production of other commodities is involved ... . It is necessary to bear in mind this modified significance of the cost price ... if the cost price of a commodity is equated with the value of the means of production used up in producing it, it is always possible to go wrong. (Capital, Vol. III, p.309, New York, Vintage Books, 1981.)

• This supposedly licences simultaneism ...

• ... because Marx is 'confused'

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However ...

• the price of production of a commodity that diverges in this way from its value enters as an element into the cost-price of other commodities ... [hence] ... a divergence from the value of the means of production consumed may already be contained in the cost price, quite apart from the divergence that may arise for the commodity itself from the difference between average profit and surplus value <sup>12</sup>

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# 'It is always possible to go wrong' ... and many readers have

Hence we are considering two different questions<sup>13</sup>

# Marx what is the relation between values and prices in the same economy at two points in time?

divergence 'already contained in the cost-price' (period 0)

Bortkiewicz what is the relation between prices in two different economies at the same point in time?

 difference between the surplus value and profit (period 1)

See also a telling passage from Theories of Surplus Value<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup>Freeman (1995) <sup>14</sup>TSV Part. III, p.167

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Hence we are considering two different questions<sup>13</sup>

Marx what is the relation between values and prices in the same economy at two points in time?

divergence 'already contained in the cost-price' (period 0)

Bortkiewicz what is the relation between prices in two different economies at the same point in time?

difference between the surplus value and profit (period 1)

See also a telling passage from Theories of Surplus Value<sup>14</sup>

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Dissolving the transformation problem Econophysics and complexity Is Marx a probabilist?

Farjoun and Machover Giving up (empirical) profit-rate equalisation

Dissolving the transformation problem

- Temporal Single System refutes claims of logical inconsistency in Marx's theory
- Farjoun and Machover drop profit rate equalisation
   empirical approach, but also changes logic of problem
- demonstrate probabilistic correspondence of value and price categories
- appeal to statistical mechanics for hypothesis about profit rate *distribution* ...

... which is that it should be gamma distribution

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### Laws of Chaos (1983)

- large systems of independent agents sound like markets
- large systems of independent atoms sound like ideal gas
- use statistical mechanical concepts to think about market economies
- 'econophysics' terminology coined by Stanley et al. (1992)
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#### Comparing distributions: densities



Value of Random Variable

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#### Comparing distributions: Zipf plots



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#### Time variation in Gillman 4 profit rate



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# Profit rates and power-laws

It's the tails that matter, not the cats

#### • Power-law tails found for all profit-rate definitions

- ... also widely accepted as stylized fact about returns to financial assets
- ... and for many key variables, such as wealth and income

[T]his reflects an underlying heterogeneity in the population .... The fat tails mean that a relatively small number of events, or people or something, have a big influence. And I think most of our theories of price changes, of changes in investment in response to different conditions are deficient because they don't take account of the shapes of the distributions. (Kenneth Arrow<sup>15</sup>)

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- Complex systems: order an 'emergent property' of large systems of independent agents
  - features can't be deduced from rules
- power law tails an indicator of 'criticality'
  - system can rapidly re-organise in face of a shock
- Classical Econophysics (Cottrell et al. 2009)
- The Social Architecture of Capitalism (Wright 2005)
  - agent-based modelling: simple rules of exchange; only 'built-in' structure is employers/employees/unemployed
  - generates stylised facts about many economic variables distributions of wealth, income, firm size, firm life-span, and so on
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Econophysics and complexity | Probabilistic marxism

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# well-known that aim is to justify human free-will against determinism

 less appreciated: that method is to praise Epicurus's views on chance

• in particular, the 'swerve of the atom'

• *spontaneous* deviation, deduced dialectically from *concept* of the atom

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#### Early years First steps in political economy

The true law of political economy is chance, from whose movement we ... isolate certain factors arbitrarily in the form of laws.<sup>16</sup>

... it is precisely these fluctuations [in supply and demand] that force the price to conform to the cost of production. In the totality of this disorderly movement is to be found its order.<sup>17</sup>

If M. Proudhon admits that the value of products is determined by labour time, he should equally admit that it is the fluctuating movement alone that in a society founded on individual exchanges makes labour the measure of value. *There is* no ready-made constituted 'proportional relation', but *only a constituting movement*.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The Poverty of Philosophy: 71 (emphases added)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>'Notes on James Mill'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Wage Labour and Capital

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Grundrisse: complexity and emergent properties

... as much as the individual moments of this movement arise from the conscious will and particular purposes of individuals, so much does the totality of the process appear as an objective interrelation, which arises spontaneously from nature...

Their own collisions with one another produce an **alien** social power standing above them, produce their mutual interaction as a process and power independent of them. ...

*Circulation as the first totality among the economic categories is well suited to bring this to light.* <sup>19</sup> (emphases added: 'alien' is Marx's emphasis)

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## Probability density functions: Capital Volume III

#### • on the 'equalization' of profit rates

Between those spheres that approximate more or less to the social average, there is again a tendency to equalization, which seeks the 'ideal' mean position, i.e. a mean position which does not exist in reality. In other words, it tends to shape itself around this ideal as a norm. <sup>20</sup>

 introduces extended discussion that is verbal description of probability density

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## The central limit theorem: Capital Volume I

Edmund Burke, that famous sophist and sycophant, goes so far as to make the following assertion, based on his practical observations as a farmer: that 'in so small a platoon' as that of five farm labourers, all individual differences in the labour vanish ... Compare Quételet

But if the 12 men are employed in six pairs, by six different 'small masters', it will be entirely a matter of chance whether each of these masters produces the same value, and consequently whether he secure the general rate of surplus-value. ... The inequalities would cancel out for the society as a whole, but not for the individual masters. <sup>21</sup>, emphasis added???

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## Marx and Quetelet

#### • citations are scanty—but highly significant

- influence seems great, although little noticed
- *concrete evidence*: two notebooks, one noting Quetelet's *Treatise*, another dealing with a later work

#### • inferential evidence

- 'Peuchet' on suicide: Quetelet and 'statistical fatalism'?
- letter to Kugelmann

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## What Marx saw in Quetelet



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## Conclusion

#### Marx's value theory is dynamic, non-equilibrium theory

- Marx's critics are entitled to their own theories, but not to claim that his is inconsistent
- Marx's probabilism should inspire 21st century marxists

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The (so-called) transformation problem Marx the temporalist Marx the probabilist Dissolving the transformation problem Econophysics and complexity Is Marx a probabilist?

