### CAPITALISM IN CRISIS

INFLATION AND THE STATE

# ANDREW GAMBLE and PAUL WALTON



#### © Andrew Gamble and Paul Walton 1976 Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 1976

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without permission.

## First published 1976 by THE MACMILLAN PRESS LTD

London and Basingstoke Associated companies in New York Dublin Melbourne Johannesburg and Madras

SBN 333 16940 9 (hard cover) 333 19212 5 (paper cover)

ISBN 978-0-333-19212-2 ISBN 978-1-349-15707-5 (eBook) DOI 10.1007/978-1-349-15707-5

This book is sold subject to the standard conditions of the Net Book Agreement

The paperback edition of this book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise, be lent, re-sold, hired out, or otherwise circulated without the publisher's prior consent in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition including this condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser.

## Contents

Preface		v
1.	The Appearance of Crisis	1
	The Depth of the Crisis	4
	Income and Inflation: The Long Debate	12
	Types of Inflation	21
	The State	26
2.	Economics and the Experts	34
	The State of the Discipline	34
	The Heyday of Marginalism	37
	The Keynesian Revolution	42
	The Keynesian Paradigm	48
	The Phillips Curve	50
	Paish's 'Lash'	52
	Cost or Profits Push	53
	Monetarists: Paper-Thin Excuses	58
	The Debate on Policy 'Morton's Fork'	63
		74
3.	Monopoly Capitalism	77
	Underconsumption and the 'Economic Surplus'	88
	'Economic Surplus'	92
	Monopoly Capital	94
	The 'Surplus Eaters'	101
	Boom and Bust	105
4.	Value, Price and Profits	111
	Money and Value	112
	Capital	119
	Accumulation	122
	Crises of Accumulation	125
	The Real Crisis	131
	Value and Profit: The Present Controversy	137
	The Falling Rate of Profit: The Long Debate	140

•	
1V	CONTENTS
1 V	CONTENTE

5. The End of the Boom	145
The Great Depression	145
The Long Boom	147
The International Monetary System	m 148
Profitability	158
The State	162
Inflation	170
6. Political Prospects	<b>17</b> 5
The Approach to Doomsday	175
Slump and Hyperinflation	180
The End of Consensus	189
The Conservative Predicament	194
Left Turn	197
Conclusion	200
Notes and References	207
Index	217

#### Preface

This book has grown out of the 1973 Isaac Deutscher Memorial Lecture, entitled 'Late Capitalism in Crisis', which we were privileged to deliver at the London School of Economics in February 1973. Versions of the lecture later appeared in the Bulletin of the Conference for Socialist Economists (Autumn 1973) and in Neues Forum (July-Aug 1974). This present work — with the exception of Chapter 4 — attempts to handle the analysis of crisis in a non-technical fashion.

This book, originally conceived by us as a short extension of the argument in the lecture, has taken us over two years to complete. Such are the difficulties of political economy. We wish to thank the following for their active encouragement, criticism and support at various stages along the way: Robin Blackburn, Keith Burgess, Ben Fine (see also his Marx's 'Capital' published by Macmillan in 1975), Karl Kruhm, Mike Morrissey, Charles Posner, Keith Povey, Henrietta Resler, Chris Rodway, Ian Roxborough, Bob Sutcliffe, John Westergaard; everybody involved with the Glasgow Media Project, particularly Brian Winston; and friends, students and colleagues at the Universities of Glasgow and Sheffield. Our debt to Shaie Selzer as Editor and Friend remains.

The contradictions inherent in the movement of capitalist society impress themselves upon the practical bourgeois most strikingly in the changes of the periodic cycle, through which modern industry runs, and whose crowning point is the universal crisis. That crisis is once again approaching, although as yet but in its preliminary stage; and by the universality of its theatre and the intensity of its action it will drum dialectics even into the heads of the mushroom upstarts of the new, holy Prusso-German Empire.

Karl Marx, Capital, Afterword to the Second German Edition (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961) p. 20.

By the same authors

Andrew Gamble
THE CONSERVATIVE NATION
(Routledge & Kegan Paul)

Andrew Gamble and Paul Walton FROM ALIENATION TO SURPLUS VALUE (Sheed & Ward)

L. Taylor, P. Walton and J. Young
THE NEW CRIMINOLOGY
(Routledge & Kegan Paul)

L. Taylor, P. Walton and J. Young (editors),

CRITICAL CRIMINOLOGY

(Routledge & Kegan Paul)