

CONTENTS

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------|
| <i>List of Figures and Tables</i> | ix |
| <i>Preface</i> | xi |
| <i>Acknowledgements</i> | xiii |
| <i>List of Abbreviations</i> | xv |

Part I

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Money Anchored to the Future | 3 |
| Money as Credit | 6 |
| Credit as a Right to Future Control | 7 |
| Types of Mutualisation, Varieties of Money | 8 |
| Banks Are Social Animals | 11 |
| Banking with the State | 14 |
| Hierarchy and Hybridity | 16 |
| Capitalism, Democracy and the National Pillars of Globalisation | 19 |
| Theories of Money | 22 |
| Conclusion | 23 |
| 2. The Money Fetish: Making Promises into Things | 25 |
| The Fetishism of Outside Money | 26 |
| Promises Are Good for Capitalism Plus Democracy | 27 |
| Fetishism in the Credit System | 29 |
| Nationalised Money Plus Privatised Banking | 31 |
| Socialisation and Matching Liquidity | 33 |

| | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| | Fetishism Is Functional for Discipline but Not Democracy | 34 |
| | Why Tokens Are Bad Money | 36 |
| 3. | Bending, Not Breaking: Monetary Sovereignty and the Survival Constraint | 41 |
| | Political Mutualisation Bends the Survival Constraint | 42 |
| | Taxation Takes Time, Credit Buys Time | 45 |
| | Accepting the Sovereign: Credit and State Formation | 47 |
| | Staying Alive: The International Survival Constraint | 51 |
| | Gold as Imperial Discipline | 53 |
| | Solvency Is in the Eye of the Counterparty | 56 |
| | Bending to Breaking Point | 57 |
| 4. | Mystical Kernel within the Rational Shell: The Banking School's Residual Chartalism | 60 |
| | Bagehot's Bank | 63 |
| | Real versus Conjectural History | 66 |
| | Hawtrey's Institutionalism | 70 |
| | The Command of Wealth | 75 |
| | Goodhart's Control | 80 |
| 5. | Between Currency and Credit: Mehrling's Money View | 84 |
| | What Is Inherent about Hierarchy? | 86 |
| | Imperial Money | 88 |
| | A Financial Theory of the State | 91 |
| | Banks Make Markets Make Banks | 94 |
| | Settling Up | 97 |
| | The State as Endogenous to Society | 101 |
| 6. | There Is No Such Thing as Fiat Money | 104 |
| | Ingham's Ambiguous Monetary Power | 108 |
| | Coercive Standards and Contingent Credit | 111 |
| | The Technical and the Political | 114 |
| | Staying Alive | 117 |
| | The State as the Best Financial Intermediary | 120 |
| | Cash Is King | 123 |

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 7. Coherence: Why Money Is Not Value | 126 |
| The Limits of Nominalism | 130 |
| Formal and Substantive Value of Money | 134 |
| Measures Are Tautological | 138 |
| Exchange as a Socio-Material Process | 141 |
| Coherence with Output | 144 |
| Institutions Bind the Future (or Not) | 148 |
| Part II | |
| 8. National Money versus Shadow Banking: Contradictions of a Public–Private Credit System | 153 |
| Hybrid Credit Systems: Instability, Hierarchy, Control | 155 |
| Private Money and the Par Constraint | 155 |
| Control Mechanisms and Their Politics | 157 |
| The Liabilities-Side Revolution: From War Finance to the Market, c. 1945–1980 | 158 |
| The Liabilities-Side Revolution | 160 |
| From Control to Mopping Up: The Emergence of ‘Too Big to Fail’ | 161 |
| The Asset-Side Revolution: Securitisation and Shadow Banking, c. 1970–2007 | 163 |
| Confluence in the Shadows | 165 |
| Market Design as Politics | 168 |
| Conclusion: Control Mechanisms for a Market-Based Credit System | 169 |
| 9. A World without World Money | 172 |
| Bringing the System Back In | 175 |
| A World without World Money | 177 |
| The Impossible Esperanto of World Money | 178 |
| Empire as a Public Good: Varieties of Hierarchy | 180 |
| The Internationalisation of the Dollar’s LOLR Function | 181 |
| China as a Global Finance Company | 183 |
| Conclusion: Nice Leviathans | 186 |
| 10. Proof of Institutions: Cryptocurrencies as Digital Fiat Money | 188 |
| What Is a Cryptocurrency? | 191 |

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------|------------|
| Bitcoin as Money | 192 |
| Hash Functions and Limited Abstraction | 193 |
| Digital Signatures | 195 |
| Anonymous Panopticity | 195 |
| Bitcoin's Slow Social Contract | 196 |
| Conclusion: Law Is Not Code | 201 |
| 11. Europe and Democratic Funding | 204 |
| The Price of Space | 206 |
| Funding the Gap | 207 |
| Mind the Gap | 209 |
| Reaching for Democratic Funding | 210 |
| Leviathan Interrupted | 212 |
| Common-Pool Discipline | 215 |
| Conclusion: The Impossible Arbitrage of Space | 217 |
| 12. Democratic Sovereignty Makes Money | 219 |
| Democratic Sovereignty in Most of the World | 222 |
| Democracy Hampers Technocracy | 223 |
| The Medium Is the Measure | 226 |
| Democracy in the World | 230 |
| <i>Bibliography</i> | 234 |
| <i>Index</i> | 247 |