Why is money difficult?

Perry Mehrling BCRA, Buenos Aires June 4, 2015

What is shadow banking?

"Money market **funding** of Capital market **lending**"

- Global (\$) funding of local (FX) lending
- Market pricing, both money and capital
- Key role of market-making institutions
- Key role of central bank as backstop

Shadow Banking as Global Finance

Shadow Bank

Asset Manager

Assets	Liabilities	Assets	Liabilities
FX Risky Asset Credit Default Swap Interest Rate Swap FX Swap	\$ Repo	\$ Repo	Capital Credit Default Swap Interest Rate Swap FX Swap

I. Banking is a Swap of IOUs

Bank Me

Assets	Liabilities	Assets	Liabilities
+loan	+deposit	+deposit	+loan

Central Bank

Bank

Assets	Liabilities	Assets	Liabilities
+discount	+currency	+currency	+discount

Fed

ECB

Assets	Liabilities	Assets	Liabilities
+euros	+dollars	+dollars	+euros

Psychological Barriers

- Fetish of the "Real": What is being "loaned"?
- Alchemy resistance: Something from nothing?
- Negative numbers: Currency a liability?

II. Essential hybridity

- Central Bank as Bankers' bank
 - Private sector, peace time, private profit
 - Backstop for money market funding (flow)
 - Backstop for capital market lending (stock)
- Central Bank as Government bank
 - Public sector, war time, public purpose
 - Backstop for war debt issuance (flow)
 - Backstop for government debt market (stock)

Political Barriers

- Left: Chartalism, Knapp, MMT
 - Money as creation of the state, authority
- Right: Metallism, Menger, Austrian
 - Money as creation of the marketplace, trust
- Contradictions/Dynamics of Hybridity
 - Symbiosis: Parasitism vs. Mutualism

III. Inherent Hierarchy

Dollar

C6 Swap Line

Bilateral Swaps, Regional Pooling, IMF

National Money

National Credit

Ideological Barriers

- Westphalian ideology: sovereignty as equalizer
- Economic ideology: markets as equalizer

IV. Inherent Instability of Credit

- Credit anticipates uncertain future
 - Mistakes are inevitable; externalities and herding
 - Money doesn't manage itself
- Older Versions
 - Hawtrey, trade credit
 - Keynes/Minsky, business investment and credit
- New Market Based Credit
 - Household mortgage credit, not business
 - Capital market securitization, <u>not</u> bank lending
 - Global money market funding, <u>not</u> domestic deposits

Equilibrium Thinking Barrier

- Prices "clear" markets, by equating fundamental supply and demand
- Time is just an additional dimension of commodity space
- Instability comes from outside, key issue is absorbing exogenous shock

V. Economics not much help

- Technocratic management obscures politics
 - Business cycle stabilization
 - Inflation targeting
- Academic debate obscures institutional reality
 - Fiscal policy versus Monetary Policy
 - IS/LM versus MV=PY
 - Active Management versus Laissez Faire
 - Discretion versus Rules
 - "New Synthesis" and "Great Moderation"
 - Taylor Rule

Monetary Walrasianism barrier

Marschak 1934 (Classical?)

$$q_i = \sigma_i \left(\frac{p_i}{w}\right) = \delta_i(p_1, p_2 \cdots w \cdot e),$$

$$\sum p_i q_i = w \cdot e = MV,$$

$$P = \lambda(p_1 \cdots p_n, q_1 \cdots q_n).$$

Marschak 1938 (Neoclassical?)

$$\frac{p}{q} = \frac{U_x \frac{dx}{da} + U_y \frac{dy}{da} + \dots}{U_x \frac{dx}{db} + U_y \frac{dy}{db} + \dots}$$

VI. Financial Globalization

- "an effective, smoothly functioning international capital market is itself an instrument of world economic growth, not a nuisance which can be disposed of and the functioning of which can be transferred to new or extended inter-governmental institutions...."
- "the main requirement of international monetary reform is to preserve and improve the efficiency of the private capital market while building protection against its performing in a destabilizing fashion."

(Kindleberger et al, 1966)

Triple Threat

- Big Government
- Big Finance
- Big Wide World

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The Money View

Banking as a Payments System

Copeland (1952): A Moneyflow Economy

– Minsky (1957): The Survival Constraint

Banking as a Market Making System

Hawtrey (1919): Hierarchy of Money and Credit

Hicks (1989): Centrality of the Dealer Function

Bagehot (1873): Dealer of Last Resort

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