**Table 13.1** 

Bronze Age Near Eastern Monarchies	Western Democracy / Oligarchy	Socialism
The market is regulated by the palace administering land tenure, credit terms and interest rates. But trade and other activities are delegated to merchants. The result is a palace-dominated mixed economy.	Financial and landlord oligarchies unseat kings and minimize state power public spending and regulation. Economies polarize as the state serves the	A state-regulated economy administers basic prices and public services, leaving opportunity for business innovation to create personal fortunes within limits, but not letting wealthy families monopolize national growth and prosperity.
Land is a public utility, allocated in standardized lots with holders owing corvee labor, service in the armed forces, and in some cases sharecropping payments to the palace. The aim is to preserve smallholders as viable taxpayers, free from debt bondage.	Land becomes "commodified" as the crop surplus is concentrated in the hands of absentee landlords becoming an entrenched oligarchy. <i>Latifundia</i> are farmed by tenant labor (initially working off their debts), slaves and later by serfs. Housing becomes debt-financed and its price inflated on credit.	State ownership of land
by working for their credi- ors and turning over crops.	Pro-creditor laws force debtors into clientage, leading to debt bondage and ultimately to serfdom.	Citizens receive basic needs as a human right without a need for debt financing for housing, health care and educa- tion.
enominate debts, public ervices and taxes, above all to the palace and temples, y standardizing prices for		The state creates money and credit as a public utility. Its central bank extends credit for public purposes, not for financial speculation.

Major prices are adminis-	Prices may be controlled	Basic needs and services
tered for payment of taxes	for basic needs such as	are provided freely or at
and other transactions	food. But most services	subsidized prices. The
between the community and	and prices are privatized,	aim is not to make a
the palatial economy.	leading to monopoly rents	profit but to subsidize
	and profits.	widespread growth.
Debts and their associated	Debts are irreversible as	Debts are written down
clientage to creditors are re-	they accumulate over time.	when that is needed to
versible, being cancelled by	Advocates of debt can-	avoid major close-downs
new rulers taking the throne	cellation are denounced	and economic disrup-
or in times of economic	by oligarchies and often	tion.
disruption or warfare.	killed. Modern bankruptcy	
	laws only cancel debts on a	
	case-by-case basis.	
The palace and temples are	Credit is privatized, and	The state is the major
the major early creditors.	debts are cancelled only by	creditor via its public
Hence, royal Clean Slates	civil war. Debt dependen-	banks, and treats cred-
are cancelling debts main-		it as a public utility to
ly to the palatial economy	of land become irrevers-	finance tangible invest-
itself.	ible.	ment and growth.
"Divine kingship" is sancti-	Monetary fortunes and	The state and its officials
fied by rulers being subordi-	money-love (wealth addic-	are committed to pro-
nate to their patron deities		tect overall prosperity
and the ethic of justice and	regulation, as the wealthy	and restrict the power
equity protecting the weak	gain control of ideology	of wealthy individuals
(widows and orphans) from	and religion. Private char-	to act in ways adverse to
the strong and powerful	ity replaces public social	public policy and pros-
(creditors).	welfare spending.	perity.
Restoring widespread		Resilience is achieved by
self-support and viability	creditor-landlord oligarchy	subordinating personal
preserves a resilient econo-	gains control of the state	wealth-seeking, above all
my. Royal Clean slates and	to enact pro-creditor laws,	in finance and land ten-
palace regulation prevent an		ure, to social objectives.
independent creditor-land-	prevent debt cancellations	Wealthy individuals
lord power base from emerg-	1*	remain subject to public
ing more than temporarily.	hay by the Barbara and the first	oversight.
The palace is the major cus-	States and localities be-	The state organizes
tomer and also creditor for	come net debtors to a	money and credit as a
merchants. Unlike the grain	creditor oligarchy, which	public utility, adjusting
debts of smallholders, mer-	privatizes tax collecting	debt service to the ability
cantile silver-debts are not	and mobilizes state power	to pay without causing
cancelled by Clean Slates.	to enforce its claims on	economic disruption.
	debtors.	

Circular time: Rulers intervene from outside "the market" by proclaiming Clean Slates to restore economic balance as an idealized status quo ante. That reverses the buildup of debts, bondage and forfeiture of land for debt arrears.

Linear time: Economic inequality, debt bondage and prevents a financial debt loss of land rights become cumulative and irreversible Debts may be written as debts and financial savings grow exponentially. The resulting economic polarization is only reversed by revolution.

State-sponsored stability cycle from emerging. down to save individuals or firms threatened by insolvency when that would disrupt the economy.

## Credit and debt regulation as a natural public utility

When the basic economic elements of markets were being put in place in the third millennium BC in Mesopotamia and Egypt, almost all transactions during the crop year took place on credit, from farming inputs to drinking beer at the public ale house. The palatial sector developed the monetary and credit system to facilitate fiscal account-keeping and resource allocation, and leased land on tenure arrangements that obliged its holders to provide corvée labor to build public infrastructure and serve in the military.

Money was innovated as an administrative device to allocate the flow of labor, crop production, temple handicrafts and foreign trade, not as a commodity to enable its holders to disrupt this economic order. Harvest time was the occasion for smallholders to settle the debts that they had run up during the crop year. These debts were denominated in grain, and were paid on the threshing floor, the point at which actual money payment was required. Most agrarian debts were owed to the palace and temples, as well as to officials acting on their own account.

Silver was the unit of account for merchants, who typically paid debts at the end of their contracted voyage or trading venture (typically five years). The palace for its part kept unified economic accounts by setting a unit of grain equal to a unit of silver for keeping balance sheets of its relations with the rest of the economy. This created a common denominator to consolidate its various operations, track income and spending, and calculate overall institutional surpluses and deficits.

Agrarian debtors who could not pay enough grain or other crops to settle their debts at harvest time usually had to pay the remaining debt balance by performing labor services for their creditors. This caused a fiscal tension between the palatial economy and individual creditors. Early societies could not afford to leave private creditors with a "free" right to enserf the population and take crops for themselves at the