According to Marx, money capital, lent by its capitalist owner to an industrial capitalist, is 'potential capital'. Interest payments made by borrowers to lenders are part of the global surplus value produced by labourers and appropriated by capitalists. There is no law of division of surplus value between profit and interest, no natural interest. Interest-bearing capital becomes a commodity *sui generis*. Its market price, the interest rate, is an irrational form of price. As a market price, the interest rate seems to arise from money capital as its own independent source.

Two opposite processes are now intertwining. On the one hand interest-bearing capital has its own laws of motion. It conceals the capitalist relation of production, and becomes a fetish form of capital. Capitalization of revenues gives rise to fictitious capital. On the other hand money capital is a homogeneous form of value, and it is a common element among individual capitalists. Financial institutions are a means of centralizing private capitals.

Both of these processes should be taken into account when the relationship between industrial and financial capitalists, or between production and finance, is analyzed. Two contradictory aspects are involved: interdependence, or even integration, versus separation, or even conflict. When these two aspects are kept apart by different analyses, a leading role is attributed to production or to finance, and their relation within capitalist reproduction is misinterpreted.

One problem is to show how features of money as an asset (*Capital*, volume III), are related to features of money as a general equivalent (*Capital*, volume I). A second problem is to examine the relation between financial and industrial capital.
MONEY WITHOUT PRICE AND CREDIT WITHOUT INTEREST

In volume III of *Capital*, money as such is analyzed within the circulation of commodities. Gold is assumed to be the money commodity. According to Marx, commodities with prices and gold with value enter the process of circulation. Money here has no price. Credit is presented as a new form of circulation that arises with money as a means of payment.

**Division of Labour, Exchange and Value Form**

Social division of labour is ‘the foundation of all production of commodities’ (Marx, 1867, pp. 350–1). ‘Individual exchange presupposes division of labour’ (Marx, 1859, p. 60). There is no direct coordination between private producers, which is different from the process of labour in capitalist production (‘cooperation’ of labourers under the control of capitalists). Individual producers are connected only by the exchange of commodities.

This exchange cannot be direct barter. ‘The division of labour converts the product of labour into a commodity, and thereby makes necessary its further conversion into money’ (Marx, 1867, p. 108). Exchange values of commodities reflect ‘homogeneous social labour’, which is different from the concrete labour provided by individual producers. ‘The act of exchange gives to the commodity expressed into money, not its value, but its specific value form’ (ibid., p. 90).3 For to be saleable, a commodity must be ‘normal’, that is, exchangeable and exchanged for money (ibid., p. 103).

**Some Features of Money as the General Equivalent**

While money as a commodity enters circulation with a value, it has peculiar features as a social relation between private producers. Private exchanges of commodities are direct, free and voluntary. ‘Sales and purchases are negotiated solely between particular individuals’ (ibid., p. 586). And contracts express ‘mutual consent between private owners’ exchanging their commodities (ibid., p. 84). But at the same time, social conditions of exchangeability shape exchangers into subjects to the process of exchange. ‘In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter