Crypto-assets, Central Bank Digital Money and Libra: Implications for the International Monetary System

Jean Tirole

European Convention Center, Luxembourg,

September 17, 2019





THE BIG PICTURE (1)

Contours of digital payments still in the making (infinite number of variants)

- Thousands of crypto-currencies (not only Bitcoin and Ethereum)
- Private money (Libra, more generally GAFAs...)
- Digital local currencies

Backing (stable coins)?

- if so, what collateral (fiat currency, over-collateralization in crypto-currency...)?
- o who supervises the reserve fund/guarantor/"insurer"?
- o who acts as LOLR in case of run?

Central Bank digital currencies (again many variants)



THE BIG PICTURE (2)

Demand side

- Low cost transactions: low fees, low collateral (⇒ financial inclusion)
 - Especially for cross-border payments
- Escape from dysfunctional monetary system
- Less palatable aims (money laundering, crime, tax evasion; vague libertarian ethos)

Supply side (private sponsors)

- Direct profit: seignorage, transaction fees...
- Side benefits: consumer lock-in, data collection, ancillary services...





BUSINESS CHALLENGES

Governance

- Decentralized system: who decides (forking event, scalability...)?
 - 51% rule (Bitcoin) vs. supermajory/unanimity? (manipulation/coalitions vs. deadlocks)
- Centralized system
 - Dominant player (but then protection of stakeholders?)
 - Cooperative (but Visa/MC's interests diverge from Uber/Spotify's, or Facebook's for that matter; Henry Hansmann's insights)

Transaction-friendliness (use as means of payment, not only as store of value)

- Price stability: bubble, can be highly volatile
- Two-sided market aspects (must attract sellers and buyers; most cannot compete with Visa/MC/Paypal/AliPay's business model)

7 PUBLIC POLICY CHALLENGES

- (1) "Less palatable aims"
- (2) Market power (EU concern about Libra)
- (3) Loss of seignorage
 - wasted (mining Bitcoins)
 - privatized (ICOs)
- (4) Privacy (Libra, but also public platform)
- (5) Investor/depositor protection (a)
 - protect consumers against hacking, swindles, front-running (centralized systems)... Will State be blamed for/ liable for a bailout if consumers, SMEs hurt? Shadow banking...



7 PUBLIC POLICY CHALLENGES

- (5) Investor/depositor protection (b)
 - Prudential aspects: monitor explicit or implicit guarantee/backing
 - standard issues: LCR, CAR... (temptation to under-hoard safe assets)
- (6) Challenges for financial stability
 - capital controls
 - run on domestic currency
- (7) Challenges for counter-cyclical monetary policy





MY VIEW

- Pushback from authorities is vindicated
- Benoit Coeuré's "wake-up call"
- Don't forget that technological progress does not invalidate economic fundamentals (platform economics, delegated monitoring of borrowers, prudential supervision ...)

