CBDC in the light of CB history

François R. Velde Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago



MonFinHist 2021



Usual disclaimer

The views expressed do not necessarily represent those of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago or the Federal Reserve System



Short chronology

- ▶ 2009: BTC launched
- ▶ 2011: BTC reaches \$0.05
- ▶ 2013: BTC reaches \$250, gets noticed
- ▶ 2014–16: all about crypto-currencies
- ▶ 2017–19: all about DLTs
- 2019: Facebook announces Libra (now Diem)
- ▶ 2017–19: all about CBDCs
- ▶ 2021: sand-dollar, e-yuan...



CBs and DC

- it took a while for CBs to get involved in DC, and they seem reluctant, if not dragged into it
- the case is something like:
 - things are changing, we need to respond
 - CBDC could be good!
 - CBDC could be bad!
 - we need to think about this
- not always clear to what problem CBDC is the solution



The long arc of CB history

- medium of exchange
 - outside money used to be coin, produced more or less mechanically
 - usually, government is a monopolist
 - monetary policy: occasionally fiddling with the machine's levers
- ▶ medium (media) of exchange became natural unit(s) of account (or the reverse? lb \rightarrow £)
 - governments got involved into finality of payments: what is legal tender
- CBs came in for various reasons, usually to fill a gap
 - to provide stable unit/medium of exchange
 - to provide a payment system when private sector failed
 - to finance government (short-term)
- ▶ originally, CBs were LVP only (notes>£5) but came to (effectively) absorb mints
 - notes pegged to coins (gold standard)
 - coins pegged to notes (fiat money)
- even now, aside from currency, CBs are typically not retail-oriented



The long arc of CB history





The long arc of CB history

- medium of exchange
 - outside money used to be coin, produced more or less mechanically
 - usually, government is a monopolist
 - monetary policy: occasionally fiddling with the machine's levers
- ▶ medium (media) of exchange became natural unit(s) of account (or the reverse? $lb \rightarrow \pounds$)
 - governments got involved into finality of payments: what is legal tender
- CBs came in for various reasons, usually to fill a gap
 - to provide stable unit/medium of exchange
 - to provide a payment system when private sector failed
 - ► to finance government (short-term)
- ▶ originally, CBs were LVP only (notes>£5) but came to (effectively) absorb mints
 - notes pegged to coins (gold standard)
 - coins pegged to notes (fiat money)
- even now, aside from currency, CBs are typically not retail-oriented
- the SVP technology hasn't changed



technological change



from 4th c. AD to 21st c. AD technology



from 7th c. BC to 21st c. AD technology?



New or better?

- new technologies can either help do things better, or do new things
- will CBDC be Cash 2.0 or something new?
 - bitcoin was something new, but won't go anywhere
 - ▶ DLTs \neq CBDC, because D \neq C
 - ryptocurrencies (BTC, ETH) are no one's liability, CBDC is liability of CB
- Cash 2.0 can incorporate features revealed by, but no tied to, cryptocurrencies
 - identity through cryptographic means (digitizing hand-to-hand)
 - micro-payments
 - smart contracts
 - it still remains a (big, complex) spreadsheet
- the core function remains: providing a stable unit of account (legal tender)
- ▶ the question seems to be: how would Cash 2.0 alter the equilibrium?



Inside and outside money

- banks have been around longer than CBs (possibly longer than MOE)
- ▶ CBs introduced for various purposes, their presence alters the boundary
- relation between CBs (privileged) and (unprivileged) private banks has been contentious at times, smoother at others
- ▶ CB often acquired (relied on?) a monopoly on *some form* of payment
 - for efficiency reasons, as source of income
- became tied in with regalian power on currency
 - State establishes standard of value by choosing an economic object as numeraire
 - can be a physical good (coin) or a security
 - ▶ State has to get involved in either producing or monitoring the production
 - ▶ no coincidence that the Libra project set off a scramble
- outside money doesn't always wipe out inside money, much less the whole banking sector
 - would CBDC completely overtake inside money?
 - depends on its properties, substitutability
 - would it be "run-accelerant"? Would that be bad?
- competition between inside and outside money keeps both on their toes
- final thought: big changes in money were often accidents or products of strong trends rather than conscious design by CBs



Inside and outside money

The tango continues. . .

