



Platforms,
Tokens,
DeFi,
Smart CBDC

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09. June 2022

Markus

Brunnermeier

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Trends

- Social networks for **Citizens** with token
- Supply chains B2B for **Industry 4.0**
 - With payment rail + token
 - Explosion of (**programmable**) payments
 - Smart contracts token (with automatic execution)
- Info extraction: AI, deep learning, big data
- Exclusion power: Low default rates
 - Interoperability limits it

- **US: Stablecoins in US \$**
 - programmable tokens of social networks/industry 4.0
 - Challenge: regulating stablecoins, platform **interoperability**
- **Europe: Digital Euro (CBDC)**
 - Consumer (not industry 4.0 focused)
 - Challenges:
 - Programmable/Smart contract integration is limited
 - CBDC as legal tender undermines smart contracts further
- **China: AliPay and WechatPay + Digital Yuan**
 - Consumer (convenience) + medium of exchange focused
- **EMDE: Domestic CBDCs to fend off digital dollarization**
 - Challenges: loss of monetary sovereignty and cheap funding

Political Economy

- US: ICO to create private seigniorage and then get regulatory stamp and guarantees
- Europe: use CBDC as a catalyst to modernize banks (EPI), competition to credit cards

Poll

1. What makes digital money different?
 - a. Need for a digital ledger
 - b. Programmability
2. Which statements about DeFi do you agree with?
 - a. Banks are not needed and disappear
 - b. Banks are not needed but stay
 - c. Banks are essential
3. Will firms be willing to put all their transactions on a public ledger/platforms?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
4. What's the most important role of CBDC?
 - a. Provide digital cash
 - b. Compete with private digital currencies
 - c. Catalyst for modernizing banks
 - d. Integrate digital transactions in a universal ledger
 - e. Monitor criminal activity

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2. What is the biggest impact on Africa's growth?
 - a. Education
 - b. New forms of governance
 - c. New Tech (incl. FinTech)
 - d. Global trade
 - e. New entrepreneurship
 - f. Others

3. African demographics is more of a
 - a. Opportunity
 - b. Challenge

TOKENS, DEFI, PLATFORMS, AND SMART CBDC

Jonathan Payne
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Markus Academy Webinar

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QUESTIONS

- ★ Q. What is different about **digital money and ledgers**?
- ★ Q. Can financial services move from banks to “**decentralized finance**” (“DeFi”)?
- ★ Q. Can tech firms exploit **new synergies** to extend credit services and market power?
- ★ Q. How should a regulator respond? Open banking? **CBDC??**
- ★ Draw on Brunnermeier & Payne (2022), “*Tokens, Platforms, and Interoperability*”

MANY VARIETIES OF DIGITAL “MONEY”

- ★ Digital reserves at the Fed.
- ★ Digital dollars in bank accounts and digital wallets.
- ★ Bitcoin, Ether, and other “cryptocurrencies”.
- ★ USDC, Tether, and other “stablecoins”.

DIGITAL MONIES DIFFER IN LEDGER STRUCTURE

	Digital Monies				
	Cash	Reserves	Bank Account	Crypto	Platform Tokens
Issuer	Govt.	Govt.	Bank	Algorithm	Platform
Ledger?	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓
Central ledger control?	-	✓	✓	✗	✓
Transparent ledger?	-	✗	✗	✓	✓
Anonymous payment?	✓	✓/✗	✓/✗	✓	✗
Public access?	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓

NEW LEDGER TECHNOLOGIES

- ★ Digital currencies require ledgers!
- ★ And introduce new design challenges.
- ★ Has led to emergence of **transparent, programmable ledgers** with:
(E.g. Ethereum, Solana, Avalanche)
 - ★ Token accounts: that record net token wealth, and
 - ★ “Smart” contract accounts: with user-defined, and computer programs that automatically executes the transactions (and other terms) specified in the contract

A DIFFERENT ENFORCEMENT PARADIGM

- ★ Enforcement of “smart” contracts on a digital ledger requires:
 1. Access to **information flow** about transactions and other activities (“oracle” problem),
 2. Control of the **payment flow**.
- ★ Technological change: creates a “segmented” world of enforcement:
 - ★ Legal system: imperfect enforcement in a wide range of situations,
 - ★ Digital ledger: perfect enforcement on the ledger; no enforcement off the ledger.
- ★ Economic implication: need to incentivize agents to use the ledger
 - ★ Assisted by strong network effects, and
 - ★ The power to exclude

DIFFERENT ATTEMPTS TO “REORGANIZE” FINANCIAL SERVICES

1. Decentralized Finance. (“DeFi”, “Web 3.0”, “decentralized internet”)
2. Centralized, Programmable Ledgers.
 (“Industry 4.0”, “Automated Trade/Finance Integration”, “PlatFi”)
3. Open Banking. (“Open Data”, “Open Architecture”)
4. Central Bank Digital Currency. (“CBDC”)

“DeFi” AIMS TO REBUILD FINANCE WITHOUT INTERMEDIARIES

- ★ DeFi uses smart contracts on a “blockchain” ledger to create financial instruments.
- ★ Key features:
 - ★ **Decentralized control:** DeFi uses blockchain ledgers that are updated by consensus protocols on a peer-to-peer network (without any centralized intermediary).
 - ★ **Decentralized governance:** voting power is typically apportioned by “governance tokens”, which are often allocated to users/creators.
 - ★ **Modular:** smart contracts are used to create “financial primitives” (e.g. token creation, custody and swaps), which are then used as building blocks for “decentralized” applications (“DApps”).

GOALS OF DEFI

- ★ Decentralize control of financial services and so **eliminate rent-seeking intermediaries**.
- ★ Provide **anonymous**, digital financial services.
- ★ Decrease barriers to entry in finance and **increase innovation**.
- ★ Increase **financial inclusion**.
- ★ Increase the **interoperability** of financial instruments and applications.
- ★ Increase the **transparency** of financial ledgers, so anyone can monitor the ledgers

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Q. How important is decentralization to these goals?

Q. IS DISINTERMEDIATION POSSIBLE?

- ★ Recent attempts at disintermediation have struggled (E.g. Peer-to-peer networking)
- ★ Many possible reasons:
 - ★ Lack of decentralization technology?
 - ★ Regulatory barriers to entry?
 - ★ Anti-competitive behaviour by banks and other financial intermediaries?
 - ★ Economies of scale?

Need to understand interaction of digital ledgers with industrial organization!

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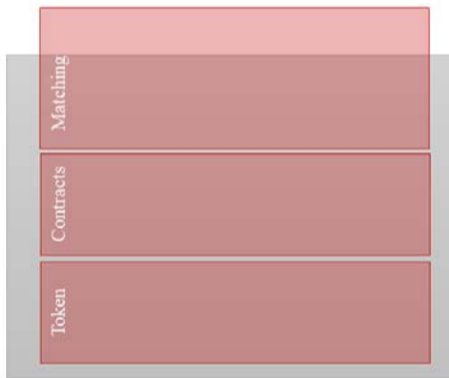
SUPPLY CHAIN WITH DIGITAL LEDGERS

FROM BRUNNERMEIER & PAYNE (2022)

- ★ **Supply chain** where agents transition from: producer → seller → buyer.
 - ★ Producers need to borrow to produce but lack (i) collateral and (ii) commitment
 - ★ Sellers and buyers must search for trading opportunities
 - ★ Buyers need currency for transactions
- ★ **Incumbent private platform** offers **credit**, **matching**, **digital ledger**. Competes with:
 - ★ An entrant private platform that offers same services (“contestable” markets model),
 - ★ A public market place that uses public money
- ★ Organizes payments and contracts through ledger; designs “**interoperability**”:
 - ★ **Exchange rate** for moving tokens
 - ★ **Portability** of information to other ledgers

LEDGER STRUCTURES: DIFFERENT ACCOUNTS & SYNERGIES

Ledger 1



LEDGER STRUCTURE: CREDIT

Ledger 1

Debtor

Currency holder

Matching

Contracts

Token

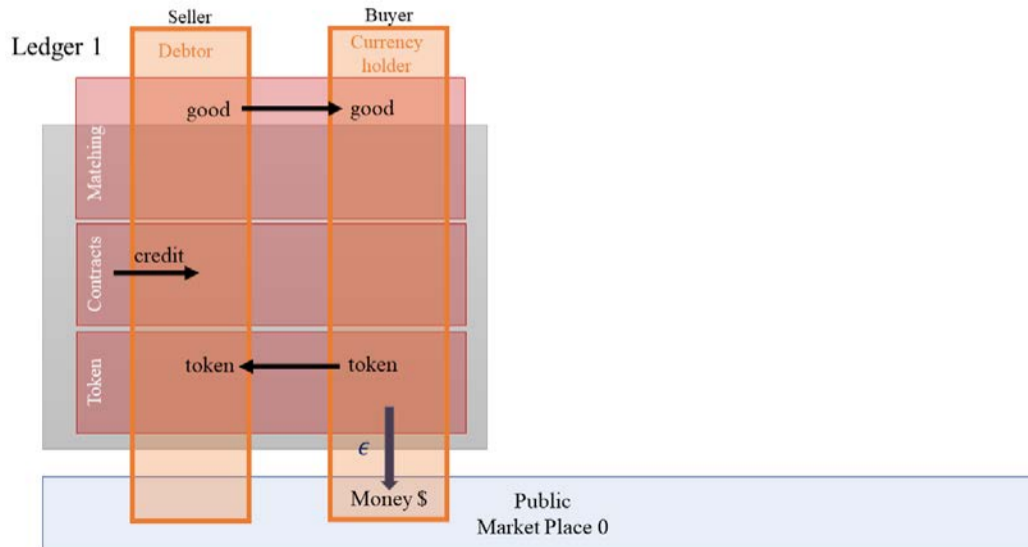
credit



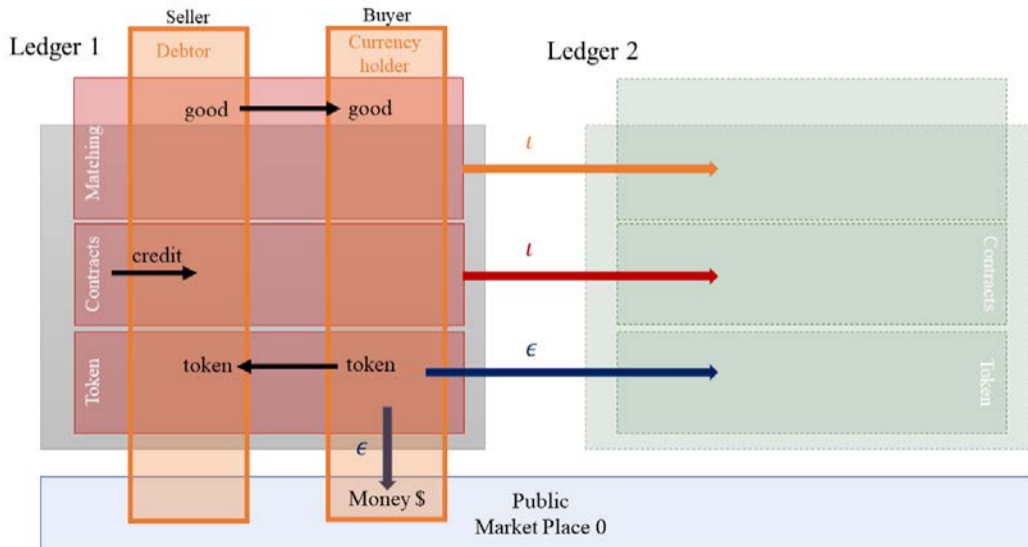
Money \$

Public Market Place 0

TRADE, CREDIT, TOKEN: COMPETITION WITH PUBLIC MARKET



CONTESTABLE MARKETS ACROSS PRIVATE LEDGERS



DIGITAL LEDGER TECHNOLOGY CREATES SYNERGIES

- ★ Platform has:
 - ★ Information about trades on their platform,
 - ★ Control of the token ledger, and
 - ★ Capacity to exclude agents from platform if they don't use the token ledger.
- ★ ⇒ Can incentivize agents to use their ledger and so enforce contracts.
- ★ ⇒ Platform can provide uncollateralized trade-credit

Tech platforms with digital ledgers can provide more credit than banks

BUT PLATFORM EXPLOITS LEDGER TO ↑ MARKET POWER

- ★ Restricts movement of tokens by charging *token exchange fees*
 - ★ Makes it costly for token-holders to move to entrant platform
 - ★ (Although needs to balance this with keeping the currency attractive.)
- ★ Restricts portability of *some information*:
 - ★ Restricts portability of *transaction histories* so entrants have worse matching technology
 - ★ Promotes portability of *contract information* so contracts can be enforced even if entrant takes over market
- ★ Restrictions deter new platform entry and so allow incumbent to charge higher fees

Tech platforms + digital ledgers = higher markups! The DeFi fear!

INTERPRETATION: “LOCK-IN” AND “LOCK-OUT”.

- ★ Agents have different ledger exposures
 - ★ Buyers (with currency) have a “positive” claim on the ledger:
 - ★ Positive token holdings
 - ★ Positive “information” position (their transaction histories enable better matching)
(Like a “five-star” rating or a reputation.)
 - ★ Sellers (with inventory and loans) have a “negative” claim on the ledger:
 - ★ Negative token holdings
 - ★ Negative “information” position (their contract information enables enforcement)
- ★ Platform restricts interoperability where agents have positive claim:
 - ★ Restricts movement of tokens and transaction histories to “lock-in” the buyers,
 - ★ Makes contract information portable to mitigate “lock-out” of sellers

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OPEN BANKING REGULATION

- ★ Traditional finance: intermediary controls the portability of information
- ★ Open banking: users control the portability of information. In our model:
 - ★ Buyers control the portability of their transaction history (ι^h)
 - ★ Sellers control the portability of their loan contracts (ι^c)
- ★ Open banking has been trialed in the UK and other countries.

OPEN BANKING SHUTS DOWN UNCOLLATERALIZED CREDIT

	Perfect Comp	Platform Control	Open Banking
Information Portability	-	$\iota^h = 0, \iota^c = 1$	$\iota^h = 1, \iota^c = 0$
Loan fee	Default rate	↑	↓
Incumbent Value	0	> 0	< 0

- ★ Buyers have positive information exposure \Rightarrow port their information
- ★ Sellers have negative information exposure \Rightarrow do not port their information

UNCOLLATERALIZED CREDIT IS FRAGILE

- ★ Uncollateralized credit is required to initiate the supply chain.
- ★ However, providing the credit makes the incumbent platform vulnerable because an entrant platform can enter and offer agents the opportunity to move and default.
- ★ Incumbent only provides credit if they can compensate for this effect:
 - ★ E.g. Forcing the portability of contract information
 - ★ E.g. Restricting the movement of tokens or transaction histories

We should be careful about regulating “total” interoperability on tech platforms.

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LEGAL TENDER CBDC MAY REDUCE CREDIT PROVISION

- ★ Consider legal tender CBDC on a disconnected, non-programmable ledger.
- ★ No CBDC: platform forces sellers to only accept their token on their platform:
 - ★ ⇒ Payments are made through the ledger
 - ★ ⇒ Smart contracts can be automatically enforced
- ★ With CBDC: agents organize side payments in CBDC to avoid smart contracts:
 - ★ ⇒ CBDC “dollarizes” the private platform
 - ★ ⇒ Platform must intermediate payments to provide uncollateralized loans
 - ★ ⇒ Platforms either reduce credit or change market structure.

“SMART” CBDC MAY INCREASE CREDIT PROVISION

- ★ Consider legal tender CBDC with a [programmable](#) ledger.
- ★ The platform could use the CBDC ledger to write and enforce contracts if:
 - ★ CBDC becomes the dominant currency
 - ★ Other platforms/marketplaces provide information to the platform
- ★ Would we expect platforms to share information?
 - ★ Conditional on other platforms sharing, a platform gets a much larger benefit from sharing information.
 - ★ However, there are potential coordination problems,
 - ★ And platforms may prefer to intermediate payments,

KEY LESSON ABOUT CBDC

- ★ Introducing CBDC can enhance or eliminate potential synergies:
- ★ Synergies come from bundling token creation with credit and matching services.
- ★ Unless the CBDC ledger is able to replicate (or improve) these synergies, it is unclear that the introduction of CBDC will be welfare improving.

CONCLUSION

- ★ Q. What is different about digital money and ledgers?
 - ★ A. Requires a digital ledger; has led to ledger innovation.
- ★ Q. Can financial services move from banks to “decentralized finance” (“DeFi”) ?
 - ★ A. Unclear that new technology overcomes forces generating intermediation.
- ★ Q. Can tech firms exploit new synergies to extend credit services and market power?
 - ★ A. Yes. But, they will also use ledger control to increase market power.
- ★ Q. How should a regulator respond? Open banking? CBDC?
 - ★ A. They should preserve synergies that come from integrating digital ledgers other platform operations.