

# Discussion of “The Economics of Cryptocurrencies - Bitcoin and Beyond” by Chiu and Koeppel

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**The views expressed here are those of the author only, and not necessarily those of the Bank for International Settlements.**

“A bubble, a Ponzi scheme, and an environmental disaster”



## Chiu and Koepl on bitcoin



Disaster for  
welfare



“We estimate that the current Bitcoin scheme generates a large welfare loss of 1.4% of consumption.”

# Can a better cryptocurrency be designed?

**My message to young people: stop trying to create money!**

“Central banks are trusted, and that trust is something they have built up over decades and for which there is no substitute right now. Trust is a valuable commodity. It is easily destroyed, but winning it takes time. Money has become established. Young people should use their many talents and skills for innovation, not reinventing money. It's a fallacy to think money can be created from nothing.” A. Carstens

<https://www.bis.org/speeches/sp180704a.htm>





# Chiu and Koeppel

- There is nothing inherently wrong with cryptocurrencies.
- The current design is the problem.
- It is possible that the welfare loss can be lowered substantially to 0.08%.
- Optimal design:
  - Reduce mining
  - Rely on money growth (seigniorage) instead of transaction fees.
- Cryptocurrencies can potentially challenge retail payment systems provided scaling limitations can be addressed.

## (Short) Summary of the paper

- Means of payment = Solving the double spending problem
- Focus on a single cryptocurrency.
- Competition to update (costly mining) and delayed settlement.
- Competitive mining, most results rely on  $M \rightarrow \infty$

### Results:

- With PoW, settlement cannot be both immediate and final.
- Optimal design: no transaction fees, only rely on money growth (seigniorage).
  - Intuition: Inflation tax shared by all, transaction fees only by buyers. Inflation allows distortions to be smoothed out across all buyers upfront. Hence, it is better.
- Cryptocurrencies better with retail than large value, DS incentives are larger in large value.

## The model is good, what to make of it?

- Internally consistent model with interesting ideas.
- How realistic? What do we make of the results?
- All assumptions of all models are wrong.
- If you are making statements like welfare losses can drop to 0.08%, CCs can rival retail payments etc., this can be taken out of context.
- Be clear on what the assumptions are and how they are wrong.
- How can they change your conclusions?

# Means of payment = solving double spending?

- How well can a cryptocurrency serve as a means of payment?
- They focus on the double spending problem.
- Being a means of payment is much more than solving the double spending problem:
  - In the model, miners are risk neutral and miner rewards deterministic. This is far from the data.
  - Are incentives of miners and end-users aligned? The more the merrier or the more the sorrier? (Shin (2018))
  - Many forks – not related to DS, what to make of this? Network externalities? Miners' and end-users' platform choices? Multiple CCs?
  - Why are there transaction fees at the first place? Block size?
  - How about dishonest sellers?
  - Price volatility.
  - Higher level point: cash solves the DS problem, declining as means of payment.

## Is double spending the main issue?

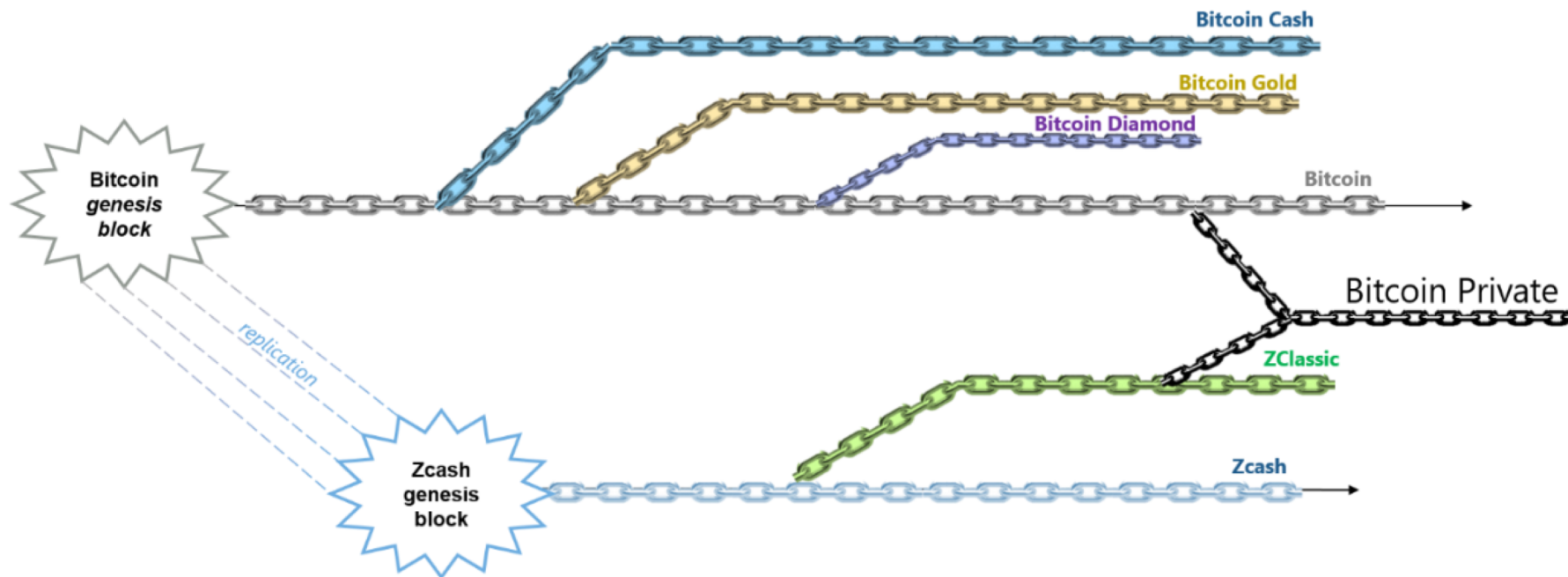
- The model is based on a one-shot double spending attack.
- In reality, there are many forces that disincentivize DS attacks.
- First, competing cryptocurrencies and repeated game. Once the integrity of the CC under question, what is earned by DS could be worthless.
- Once a miner solves a block, others verify. Fraudulent blocks could be undone by other miners, provided they have enough CPU power.
  - If they don't, then it is a problem for the CC at the first place.



# A bigger problem: Forks and new CCs

Cryptocurrencies' family tree, selected cryptocurrencies

Diagram 1



Note: Blockchain blocks are represented as chain links. There are two initial blockchains: the original *Bitcoin* blockchain and the *Zcash* blockchain. The *Zcash* blockchain is a replication of the *Bitcoin* blockchain at its original block (genesis block). *Bitcoin* Cash, *Bitcoin* Gold and *Bitcoin* Diamond are *Bitcoin* forks, currently traded as independent cryptocurrencies. *ZClassic* is a cryptocurrency forked from *Zcash*. *Bitcoin* Private is a cryptocurrency forked from *ZClassic* and merged with a fork from *Bitcoin*.

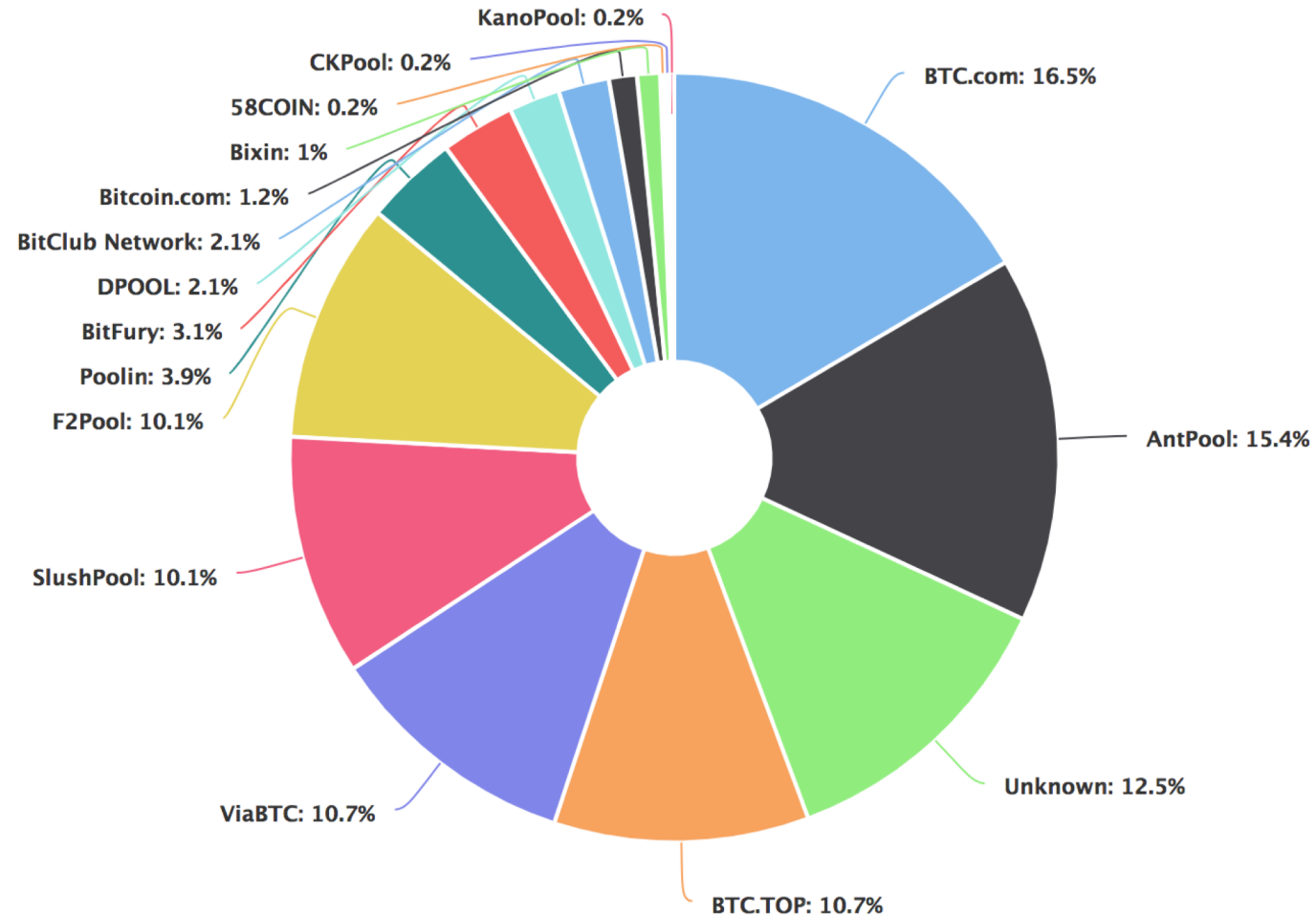
## A bigger problem: Forks and new CCs

- The paper makes the point that once the scalability issues are solved CCs that solve the DS problem can be means payment.
- Even when scalability is solved, forks (or creation of new CCs) are inherent to CCs. Here to stay.
- If everyone coordinates on a different CC, all your savings could be worthless. Again, competing CCs is very important.
- The game between miners themselves, and miners and end-users is more complicated than modeled in this paper.

# Are miners modeled correctly? Is what's missing crucial?

- Miners are risk neutral: In reality, risk averse hence the mining pools.
- Price is deterministic: In reality, fluctuates & huge speculative component.
- Most of the results are for  $M$  goes to infinity. They also suggest that this is a good assumption. It is not. Mining is extremely concentrated.
- $M$  is not exogenous.  $M$  is an important endogenous variable to be solved for. e.g. Miners choose which CCs to mine.
- Costs are heterogeneous across miners: Concentration? Dynamics?
- Competing cryptocurrencies and miners' incentives.

# Mining pools: Hash rate distribution. $M$ is not infinity.



## Fees and block sizes: coordination vs congestion

- In the paper, distinction between transactions & blocks not clear/realistic.
- Why are there transaction fees at the first place? Block size
- End-users compete to include transactions. Optimal block size?
- Once blocks are important, then limits to block size become an issue.
- This generates a game between miners and end-users.
- You want your transaction to be included, you are competing with others.



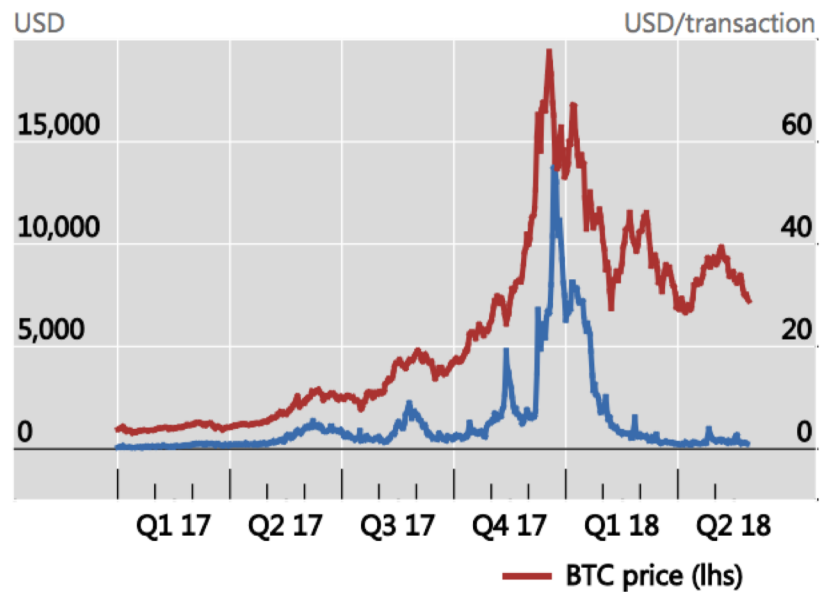
# Transactions fees: to get ahead of the line

## Bitcoin price and transaction fees<sup>1</sup>

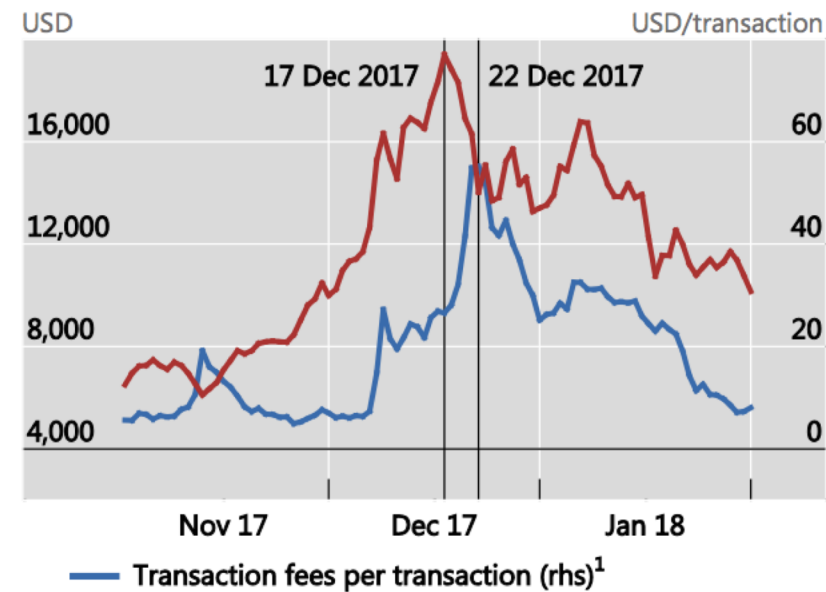
In US dollars

Graph 1

2017 to latest



Peak period



<sup>1</sup> Total transaction fees in a given day divided by the number of daily confirmed Bitcoin transactions.

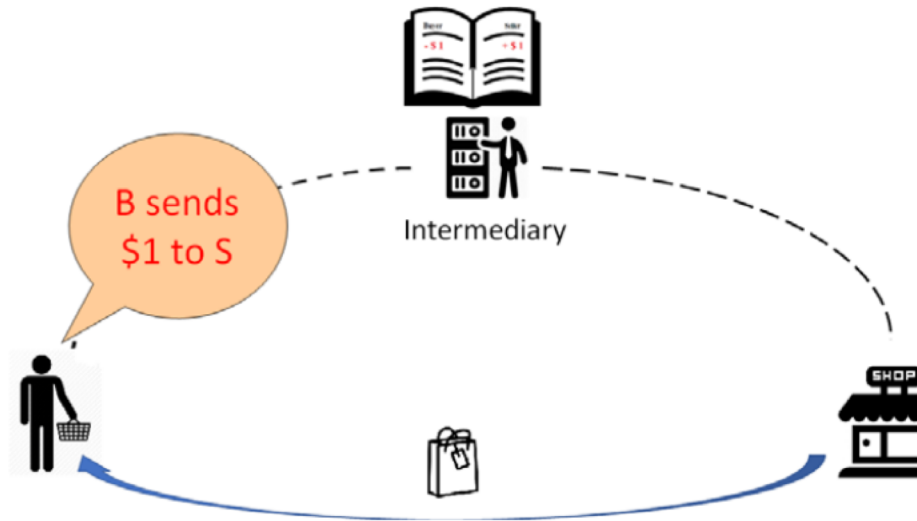
Source: [www.bitinfocharts.com](http://www.bitinfocharts.com).

# Block size is an important design problem

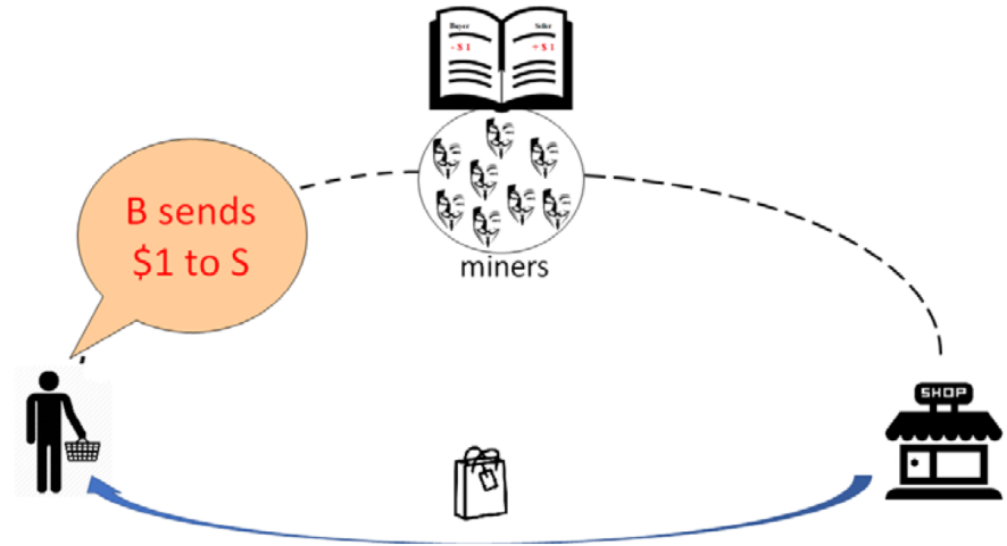


# The “double keeping” problem?

Digital tokens with a trusted third party (e.g. PayPal)



Digital tokens without a trusted third party (e.g. Bitcoin)



# The flip side of the double spending problem

- Enforcement:
  - Buyer pays, it is assumed that the seller is honest.
- Current system is good because in case of fraud, you only have to convince the intermediary. Intermediary has the right incentives because of its franchise value.
- Bitcoin or decentralized cryptocurrencies: No solution to the “double keeping problem:” Seller keeping the money and goods.
- Footnote 14: a case in point. Only spot trades, and not DS-proof.

# Conclusion

- I congratulate the authors to be among the first economists to address issues related to cryptocurrencies.
- Many extensions are possible (and some needed).
- My suggestions to the authors:
  - Motivate: why should we care about DS compared to other issues?
  - Take miners seriously. They are risk averse. There are mining pools. There is concentration. Heterogeneity in costs. Random component in prices.
  - Take end-users seriously. Transactions come in blocks (for a reason). They compete with each other to enter into a block.
  - Things like lightning networks claim that they solved the scalability problem. How does that compare to your optimal design?
  - Either extend the model or add a section listing caveats to your conclusions.