Stablecoins, The Genius Act: Some Historical Cautionary Tales

Michael D Bordo, Rutgers University, Hoover Institution, Stanford University and Griswold Center, Princeton University

Hoover Economic Policy Workshop October 8, 2025

Introduction

- The Genius Act of July 2025 sets out a framework to regulate and promote stablecoins as a digital money that incorporates the advantages of new digital technologies such as the blockchain
- The Genius Act opens a number of issues on the implementation of a safe private currency from a century ago
- The Act ignores some potential flaws that should be revisited before it leads to a satisfactory outcome
- I discuss how successful private currency was implemented in the US and Canada long before the establishment of central banks
- My focus is primarily on SC as a possible form of domestic retail currency and less on its wholesale and international possibilities

Introduction

- Digital currencies must satisfy the basic functions of money as a unit of account, medium of exchange and a store of value
- Digital currencies are a financial innovation nearly 250 years after Adam Smith compared bank notes to specie coins in 1776
- "The gold and silver which circulates ..may very properly be compared to a highway, which, while it circulates and carries to market all the grass and corn of the country, produces itself nota single pile of either. The judicious operations of banking, by providing ..., a sort of wagonway through the air, enable a country to convert..., a great part of its highways into good pastures and cornfields, and thereby to increase very considerably the annual produce of its land and labor...."

The Genius Act July 2025

- The act allows banks, non banks and other institutions including state chartered entities to issue stable coins
- SCs backed 100% by cash, Treasuries uninsured bank deposits, repo...
- Large issuers with issue >\$10B to be regulated by the Fed and OCC
- Small issuers ,<&10B regulated by states
- Features: SC redeemable on demand; not legal tender; no bailouts

Stablecoin: Lessons of Earlier Private Currencies

- Problem was to create No Questions Asked currency (Gorton and Zhang 2017)
- Will the note always be equal to face value?
- Not the case in the U.S. Free banking experience
- Successful in the U.S. National banking era
- Also successful with chartered banks in Canada
- Genius Act has elements of all 3 regimes

Free banking 1837 - 1863

- · FB did not satisfy NQA
- State regulations: easy to set up a bank; bank note issue backed by the security of state bonds (par and market value; redeemable on demand, regulated by state bank examiners)
- Bank notes circulated at different discounts reflecting distance to redemption, quality of the backing -despite counterfeit detectors
- FB episode experience: widespread counterfeiting, frequent bank failures; panics, financial instability
- Depended on state governance
- Genius Act by allowing smaller issues to be state regulated opens up the same problems as under FB



National Banking 1864-1914

- National Banking System established to remedy failings of the FB era
- National banks issued notes more than 100% backed by UST bonds, redeemable on demand in lawful currency, double liability; regulated by the OCC
- But it took 10 years to become NQA
- Government intervention overcame problems
- 1. Making NB notes accepted everywhere at par required UST redemption centers
- 2.UST insured NB notes against insolvency
- 3. UST set up gross clearing mechanism "National Bank Note Redemption Agency" 1874
- Each NB to deposit 5% of notes in lawful M



National Banking 1864-1914

- Key lesson from NB era: it took government establishment of enforceable rules to solve the problems of acceptance at par; rapid redeemability; and insurance against default
- The Genius Act does not detail how exactly similar problems would be solved
- The UST solved the problems in NB era
- What will happen when significant defaults occur because of similar issues?

IV. Canadian Chartered banking 1867-1935

- Canada had a private chartered banking system without a central bank longer than the U.S.
- It provided a uniform safe NQA currency
- CDN chartered banks could issue notes backed by specie, bonds and capital
- CDN nationwide branch banking system had zero banking panics while U.S. had many
- Like the U.S. it took a long time to reach an NQA currency





IV. Canadian Chartered banking 1867-1935

- Problems preventing NQA overcome by the CDN Bankers Association and the Federal Government
- 1. a note insurance scheme
- 2. clearing mechanism like the US
- 3. mechanism to prevent systemic effects of bank failures-designated banks absorbed putative insolvent banks
- Unlike the US, Canada maintained monetary and financial stability, lessening the case for a central bank (Bordo and Redish 1987)
- Key lesson from CDN experience, like US NB era, is for government regulators along with stable coin issuers to work out the pressing problems of par convertibility on demand, redemption and insurance

Three Policy Lessons

- 1. A safe uniform NQA stable coin is possible with enforceable rules for good behavior
- But problems leading to systemic risks will inevitably require
 Federal Reserve (and other monetary and regulatory) intervention
- eg shocks to the value of backing of stable coins coming from global and U.S. policy mistakes as happened in the NB era
- 2. In all 3 eras banks failed because of fraud and malfeasance as well as shocks to the real economy leading to contagion and panics

Policy Lessons

- 3. Shocks coming from other parts of the global financial system could spill over into stable coin space and vice versa.
- The Genius Act as it stands has no provision for dealing with them
- A key lesson from the global history of private banking/ currency systems is that at some point they failed to maintain the NQA principle and even broke down in the face of systemic shocks
- This led to the creation of central banks
- It would not surprise me that yet to be revealed flaws in the Genius Act, combined with totally unknown shocks, could lead to introduction of CBCD, even the U.S.

Appendix

• Wilkins (2025)

| Category | GENIUS Act (USA) |
|---------------------|--|
| Law | Guiding and Establishing National Innovation for U.S. Stablecoins Act (S.1582), signed July 18, 2025. Effective Jan 18, 2027 or 120 days after final regs. |
| Scope | Creates first federal framework for payment stablecoins. |
| Definition | Digital asset used for payments/settlement; redeemable $1:1$ for monetary value; expected to maintain stable value. Excludes securities, deposits, national currency. |
| Permitted Issuers | Subsidiaries of insured depositories, OCC-chartered nonbanks/uninsured nat'l banks, Fed-approved foreign bank branches, state-qualified issuers (<\$108), foreign issuers from comparable regimes. |
| Regulators | OCC for federal nonbank issuers; banking agencies for banks; states if certified "substantially similar." Treasury oversees via Stablecoin Certification Review Committee (SCRC). |
| Issuer Activities | Limited to issuing, redeeming, managing reserves, custody of reserves/keys, and related support. |
| Reserves | Full backing with cash, Fed balances, bank deposits, short-term Treasuries, or certain repos/MMFs. |
| Transparency | Monthly public reserve disclosures; audits by registered accountants. |
| AML/CFT | Full BSA compliance (AML/KYC, sanctions). Foreign issuers must meet U.S. standards. |
| Financial Stability | State issuers must convert to federal charter if >\$10B outstanding (unless waived). |
| Yield | Issuers barred from paying interest/yield. (3rd-party rewards not banned but debated.) |
| Capital/Liquidity | No fixed rules; regulators to design tailored standards. |
| Consumer Protection | Holders prioritized in bankruptcy; prohibited misleading claims of gov't backing. |
| Non-Compliant Coins | Unpermitted stablecoins lose "cash equivalent" status after July 18, 2028. |