

The Perils of Bilateral Sovereign Debt

Francisco Roldán
IMF

César Sosa-Padilla
Notre Dame & NBER

RES Lightning Talks Session
December 2025

The views expressed herein are those of the authors and should not be attributed to the IMF, its Executive Board, or its management.

Official Sovereign Debt

- A large share of sovereign borrowing takes the form of **official** debt
... Multilaterals, development banks, other governments
- Emergence of new bilateral creditors **outside** the Paris Club
... with claims to **seniority** and sometimes **opaque** terms

► IDS data

Questions

- How does the presence of a large senior lender affect sovereign debt markets?
- What are its welfare implications for borrowing governments?

Official Sovereign Debt

- A large share of sovereign borrowing takes the form of **official** debt
... Multilaterals, development banks, other governments
- Emergence of new bilateral creditors **outside** the Paris Club
... with claims to **seniority** and sometimes **opaque** terms

► IDS data

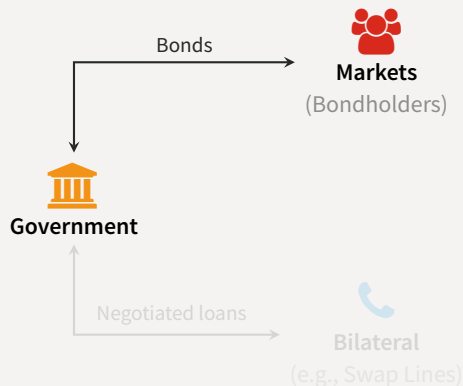
Questions

- How does the presence of a large senior lender affect sovereign debt markets?
- What are its welfare implications for borrowing governments?

Evaluating Senior Official Creditors

Quantitative sovereign debt model with

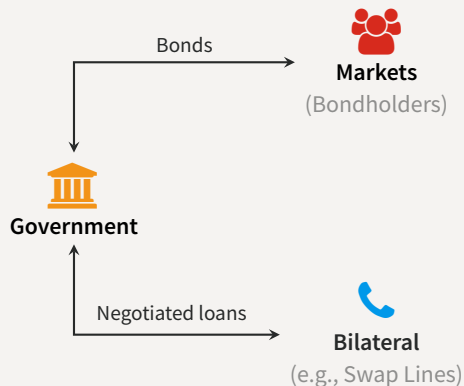
- Competitive creditors in private **markets**
- Large **bilateral** lender
 1. Superior enforcement
[de-facto seniority]
 2. Bargained terms
[price and quantity]
 3. Short-maturity loans
- Prime example: Central Bank **swap** lines
(Horn et al., 2021)
- Focus on the **interaction** between both funding sources



Evaluating Senior Official Creditors

Quantitative sovereign debt model with

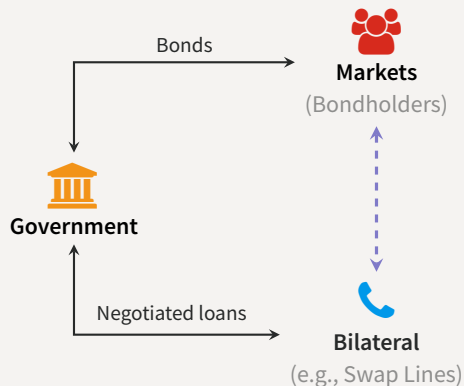
- Competitive creditors in private **markets**
- Large **bilateral** lender
 1. Superior enforcement
[de-facto seniority]
 2. Bargained terms
[price and quantity]
 3. Short-maturity loans
- Prime example: Central Bank **swap** lines
(Horn et al., 2021)
- Focus on the **interaction** between both funding sources



Evaluating Senior Official Creditors

Quantitative sovereign debt model with

- Competitive creditors in private **markets**
- Large **bilateral** lender
 1. Superior enforcement
[de-facto seniority]
 2. Bargained terms
[price and quantity]
 3. Short-maturity loans
- Prime example: Central Bank **swap** lines
(Horn et al., 2021)
- Focus on the **interaction** between both funding sources



Relational Overborrowing

Main findings

- Bilateral loans have significant effects on equilibrium outcomes
 - ... provide funding when other sources dry up (e.g. because of default risk) ▲
 - ... can also incentivize more **risk-taking** ▼
- If the rate on bilateral loans is decreasing in *market* debt [cross-elasticity]
 - ... government issues market debt more quickly, delevers more slowly
 - ... spends longer in the risky region
 - ... defaults more frequently
 - ... **welfare losses for the government**
- Cross-elasticity can emerge endogenously from **bargaining** ☎
 - ... at plausible values for bargaining weights
 - ... increased frequency of defaults dominates extra liquidity
 - ... **relational overborrowing**

Relational Overborrowing

Main findings

- Bilateral loans have significant effects on equilibrium outcomes
 - ... provide funding when other sources dry up (e.g. because of default risk) ▲
 - ... can also incentivize more **risk-taking** ▼
- If the rate on bilateral loans is decreasing in *market* debt [cross-elasticity]
 - ... government issues market debt more quickly, delevers more slowly
 - ... spends longer in the risky region
 - ... defaults more frequently
 - ... **welfare losses for the government**
- Cross-elasticity can emerge endogenously from **bargaining** ☎
 - ... at plausible values for bargaining weights
 - ... increased frequency of defaults dominates extra liquidity
 - ... **relational overborrowing**

Relational Overborrowing

Main findings

- Bilateral loans have significant effects on equilibrium outcomes
 - ... provide funding when other sources dry up (e.g. because of default risk) ▲
 - ... can also incentivize more **risk-taking** ▼
- If the rate on bilateral loans is decreasing in *market* debt [cross-elasticity]
 - ... government issues market debt more quickly, delevers more slowly
 - ... spends longer in the risky region
 - ... defaults more frequently
 - ... **welfare losses for the government**
- Cross-elasticity can emerge endogenously from **bargaining** ☞
 - ... at plausible values for bargaining weights
 - ... increased frequency of defaults dominates extra liquidity
 - ... **relational overborrowing**

Theory

Debt Dilution with Undefaultable Loans

Simplest case: issue long bonds b at $t = 0$, short bonds d and loans m at $t = 1$, repay at $t = 2$

$$c_0 = q(b, d)b \quad c_1 = q(b, d)d + \phi(b, d, m)m \quad c_2(z) = y(z) - m - \min\{h(z), b + d\}$$

with

$$q(b, d) = \mathbb{P}(b + d \leq h(z)) = p(b + d) \quad \text{and} \quad m \leq \bar{m}$$

to maximize $\sum_{t=0}^2 \mathbb{E}[u(c_t)]$

Commitment: Choose d internalizing effect on initial prices

$$u'(c_0) \underbrace{p'(b + d)b}_{\text{past prices}} + u'(c_1) \left(\underbrace{p(b + d)}_{\text{revenue}} + \underbrace{p'(b + d)d}_{\text{current prices}} + \underbrace{\phi'_d(b, d, m)m}_{\text{cross-elasticity}} \right) = \mathbb{E}[u'(c_2)]$$

Debt Dilution with Undefaultable Loans

Simplest case: issue long bonds b at $t = 0$, short bonds d and loans m at $t = 1$, repay at $t = 2$

$$c_0 = q(b, d)b \quad c_1 = q(b, d)d + \phi(b, d, m)m \quad c_2(z) = y(z) - m - \min\{h(z), b + d\}$$

with

$$q(b, d) = \mathbb{P}(b + d \leq h(z)) = p(b + d) \quad \text{and} \quad m \leq \bar{m}$$

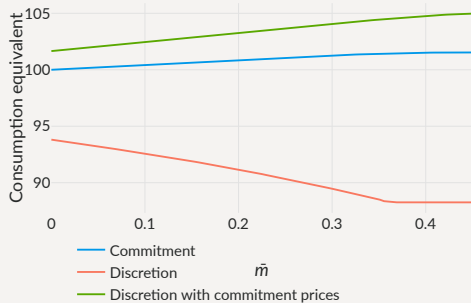
to maximize $\sum_{t=0}^2 \mathbb{E}[u(c_t)]$

Commitment: Choose d internalizing effect on initial prices

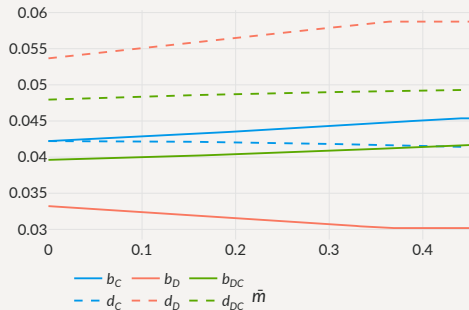
$$u'(c_0) \underbrace{p'(b + d)b}_{\text{past prices}} + u'(c_1) \left(\underbrace{p(b + d)}_{\text{revenue}} + \underbrace{p'(b + d)d}_{\text{current prices}} + \underbrace{\phi'_d(b, d, m)m}_{\text{cross-elasticity}} \right) = \mathbb{E}[u'(c_2)]$$

Debt Dilution with Undefaultable Loans and Cross-Elasticity

Welfare (Commitment + No Loan = 100)



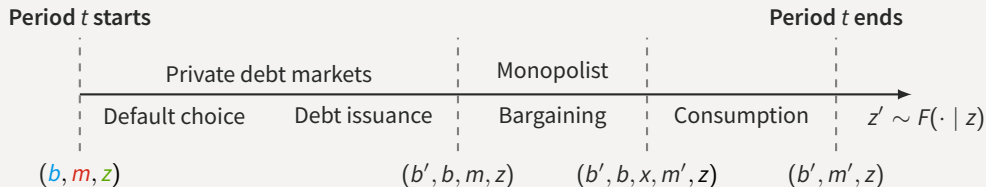
Debt issuances



Quantitative Model

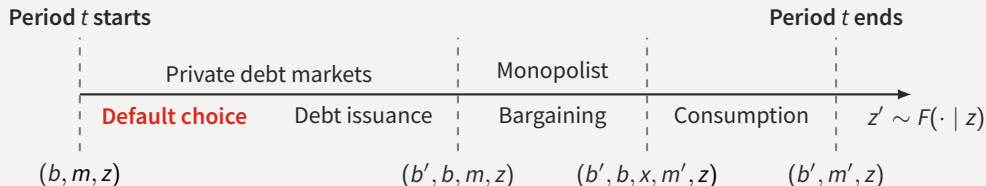
Timeline of Events

- Enter period t owing b to bondholders, m to monopolist, income $y(z)$



Timeline of Events

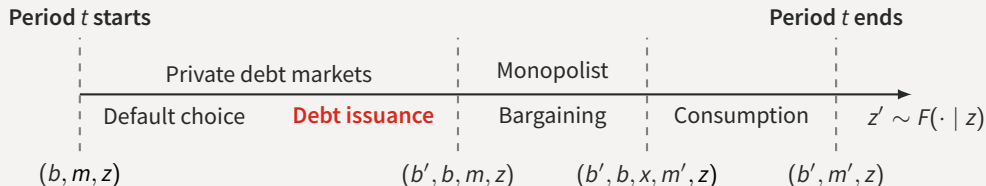
- Choose to **repay** or **default** the *market* debt subject to convex output costs



$$v(b, m, z) = \max \{ v_R(b, m, z) + \epsilon_R, v_D(m, z) + \epsilon_D \}$$

Timeline of Events

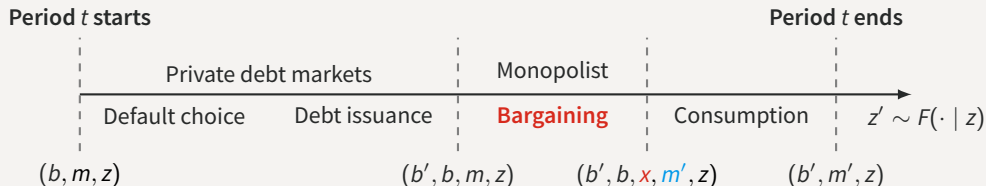
- If repaid, issue new (long-term) debt b' in markets at price q [coupon rate κ , maturity $1/\delta$]



$$q(b', b, m, z) = \beta_L \mathbb{E} [(1 - 1_{\mathcal{D}}(b', m', z')) (\kappa + (1 - \delta)q(b'', b', m', z')) | z]$$

Timeline of Events

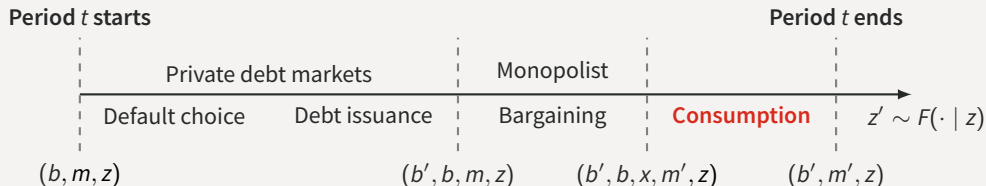
- Meet with senior lender, decide any transfers x and new/remaining balance m'



$$r(x, m', m) = \frac{m'}{x + m} - 1$$

Timeline of Events

- Consume **output** plus **revenues from debt issuance** plus **transfers** minus **debt service**



$$c_R = y(z) + q(b', b, m, z)(b' - (1 - \delta)b) + x_R(b', b, m, z) - \kappa b$$

$$c_D = y(z) - h(z) + x_D(m, z); \quad x_D(m, z) \leq \Gamma(m)$$

Exogenous Bilateral Terms

Programming the Large Lender: Possible Rules

- Explore interest rate rules of the form

$$r(b', m') = \max\{r^*, \alpha_0 + \alpha_b b' + \alpha_m m'\}$$

- Two versions

Size-dependent

$$\alpha_0 > 0, \alpha_b = 0, \alpha_m > 0$$

Risk-inducing

$$\alpha_0 > 0, \alpha_b < 0, \alpha_m \geq 0$$

- First-order condition for bonds

$$u'(c) \left(q + \frac{\partial q}{\partial b'} i + \frac{1}{1+r_b} \frac{\partial m'}{\partial b'} + \frac{\partial \frac{1}{1+r_b}}{\partial b'} m' \right) = \beta \mathbb{E} \left[v_b(b', m', z') + v_m(b', m', z') \frac{\partial m'}{\partial b'} \mid z \right]$$

Programming the Large Lender: Possible Rules

- Explore interest rate rules of the form

$$r(b', m') = \max\{r^*, \alpha_0 + \alpha_b b' + \alpha_m m'\}$$

- Two versions

Size-dependent

$$\alpha_0 > 0, \alpha_b = 0, \alpha_m > 0$$

Risk-inducing

$$\alpha_0 > 0, \alpha_b < 0, \alpha_m \geq 0$$

- First-order condition for bonds

$$u'(c) \left(q + \frac{\partial q}{\partial b'} i + \frac{1}{1+r_b} \frac{\partial m'}{\partial b'} + \frac{\partial \frac{1}{1+r_b}}{\partial b'} m' \right) = \beta \mathbb{E} \left[v_b(b', m', z') + v_m(b', m', z') \frac{\partial m'}{\partial b'} \mid z \right]$$

Programming the Large Lender: Possible Rules

- Explore interest rate rules of the form

$$r(b', m') = \max\{r^*, \alpha_0 + \alpha_b b' + \alpha_m m'\}$$

- Two versions

Size-dependent

$$\alpha_0 > 0, \alpha_b = 0, \alpha_m > 0$$

Risk-inducing

$$\alpha_0 > 0, \alpha_b < 0, \alpha_m \geq 0$$

- First-order condition for bonds

$$u'(c) \left(q + \frac{\partial q}{\partial b'} i + \frac{1}{1+r_b} \frac{\partial m'}{\partial b'} + \frac{\partial \frac{1}{1+r_b}}{\partial b'} m' \right) = \beta \mathbb{E} \left[v_b(b', m', z') + v_m(b', m', z') \frac{\partial m'}{\partial b'} \mid z \right]$$

Equilibrium with Exogenous Rules

- ‘Only market’ standard calibration to Argentina 1993-2001

	Only market	Size dependent r	Risk inducing r
Avg spread (bps)	714	623	921
Std spread (bps)	399	315	552
$\sigma(c)/\sigma(y)$ (%)	113	115	115
Debt to GDP (%)	22.5	23.5	22.8
Loan to GDP (%)	0	0.71	0.972
Loan spread (bps)	–	682	1,264
Corr. loan & spreads (%)	–	62.5	48.1
Default frequency (%)	5.72	5.13	6.92
Welfare gains (rep)	–	0.21%	-0.079%

Equilibrium with Exogenous Rules

- Default rates:  with size dependent  with risk-inducing

	Only market	Size dependent r	Risk inducing r
Avg spread (bps)	714	623	921
Std spread (bps)	399	315	552
$\sigma(c)/\sigma(y)$ (%)	113	115	115
Debt to GDP (%)	22.5	23.5	22.8
Loan to GDP (%)	0	0.71	0.972
Loan spread (bps)	–	682	1,264
Corr. loan & spreads (%)	–	62.5	48.1
Default frequency (%)	5.72	5.13	6.92
Welfare gains (rep)	–	0.21%	-0.079%

Equilibrium with Exogenous Rules

- Spreads:  with size dependent  with risk-inducing

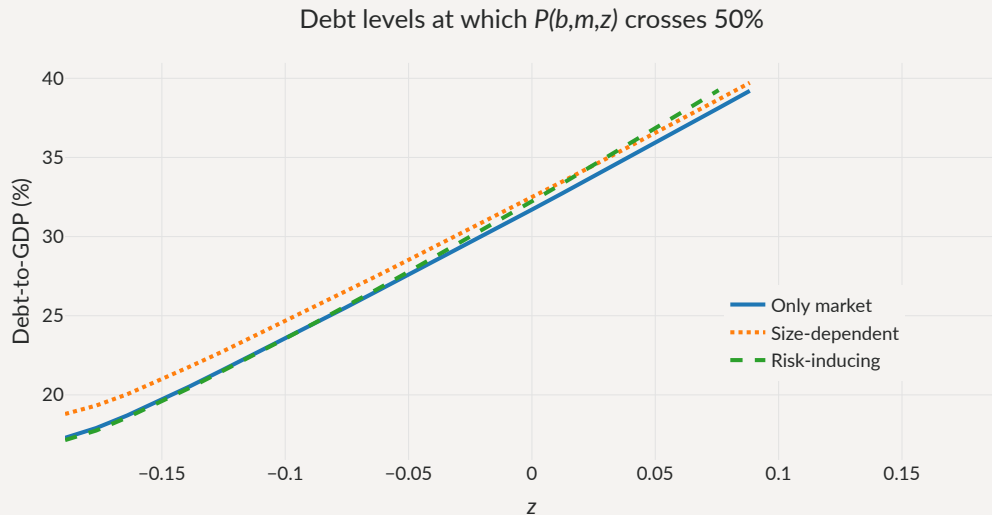
	Only market	Size dependent r	Risk inducing r
Avg spread (bps)	714	623	921
Std spread (bps)	399	315	552
$\sigma(c)/\sigma(y)$ (%)	113	115	115
Debt to GDP (%)	22.5	23.5	22.8
Loan to GDP (%)	0	0.71	0.972
Loan spread (bps)	–	682	1,264
Corr. loan & spreads (%)	–	62.5	48.1
Default frequency (%)	5.72	5.13	6.92
Welfare gains (rep)	–	0.21%	-0.079%

Equilibrium with Exogenous Rules

- Welfare:  with size dependent  with risk-inducing

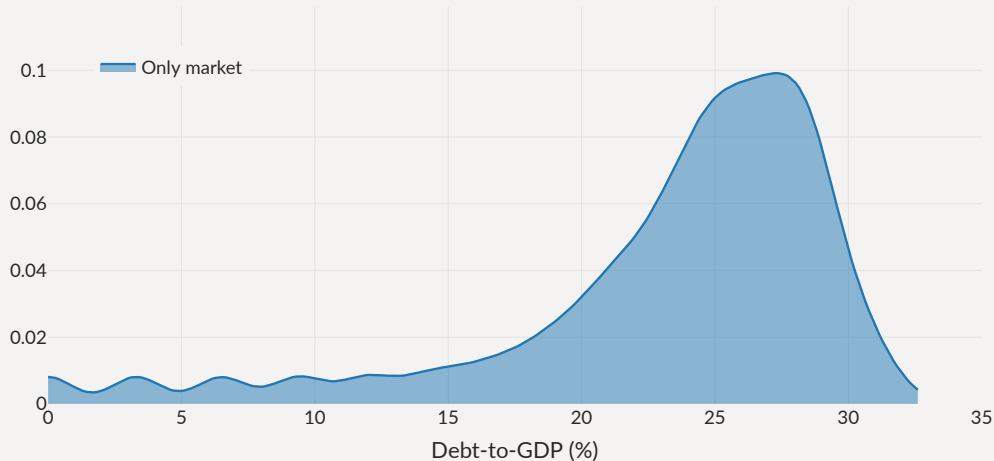
	Only market	Size dependent r	Risk inducing r
Avg spread (bps)	714	623	921
Std spread (bps)	399	315	552
$\sigma(c)/\sigma(y)$ (%)	113	115	115
Debt to GDP (%)	22.5	23.5	22.8
Loan to GDP (%)	0	0.71	0.972
Loan spread (bps)	–	682	1,264
Corr. loan & spreads (%)	–	62.5	48.1
Default frequency (%)	5.72	5.13	6.92
Welfare gains (rep)	–	0.21%	-0.079%

Default barriers with Exogenous Bilateral Rules



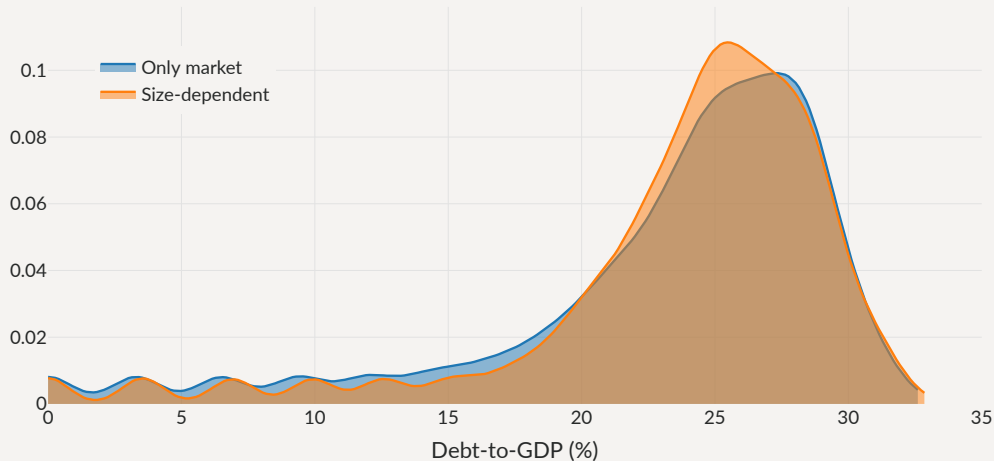
Debt Levels with Exogenous Bilateral Rules

Distribution of debt levels



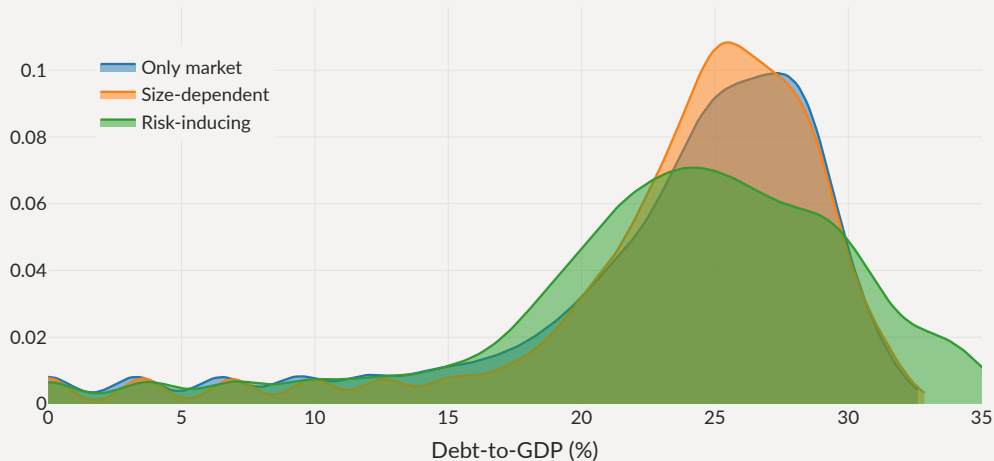
Debt Levels with Exogenous Bilateral Rules

Distribution of debt levels



Debt Levels with Exogenous Bilateral Rules

Distribution of debt levels



Endogenous Bargaining

Bargaining Stage with Monopolist

- At state z , owing debt b bonds and m on the loan and having issued b'

$$\max_{x,m} \mathcal{L}_R(b', x, m, m', z)^\theta \times \mathcal{B}_R(b', b, x, m, m', z)^{1-\theta}$$

Government surplus
Lender surplus

- Lender's surplus

$$\mathcal{L}_R(b', x, m, m', z) = \underbrace{(a - x + \beta_L \mathbb{E}[h(b', m', z') | z])}_{\text{agreement}} - \underbrace{(a + m + \beta_L \mathbb{E}[h(b', 0, z') | z])}_{\text{threat point}}$$

- Government's surplus

$$\begin{aligned} \mathcal{B}_R(b', b, x, m, m', z) = & \underbrace{u(y(z) + B(b', b, m, z) + x) + \beta \mathbb{E}[v(b', m', z') | z]}_{\text{agreement}} \\ & - \underbrace{(u(y(z) + B(b', b, m, z) - m) + \beta \mathbb{E}[v(b', 0, z') | z])}_{\text{threat point}} \end{aligned}$$

with $B(b', b, m, z) = q(b', b, m, z)(b' - (1 - \delta)b) - \kappa b$

Bargaining Stage with Monopolist

- At state z , owing debt b bonds and m on the loan and having issued b'

$$\max_{x,m} \mathcal{L}_R(b', x, m, m', z)^\theta \times \mathcal{B}_R(b', b, x, m, m', z)^{1-\theta}$$

Government surplus
Lender surplus

- Lender's surplus

$$\mathcal{L}_R(b', x, m, m', z) = \underbrace{(a - x + \beta_L \mathbb{E}[h(b', m', z') | z])}_{\text{agreement}} - \underbrace{(a + m + \beta_L \mathbb{E}[h(b', 0, z') | z])}_{\text{threat point}}$$

same sdf as markets

- Government's surplus

$$\begin{aligned} \mathcal{B}_R(b', b, x, m, m', z) = & \underbrace{u(y(z) + B(b', b, m, z) + x) + \beta \mathbb{E}[v(b', m', z') | z]}_{\text{agreement}} \\ & - \underbrace{(u(y(z) + B(b', b, m, z) - m) + \beta \mathbb{E}[v(b', 0, z') | z])}_{\text{threat point}} \end{aligned}$$

with $B(b', b, m, z) = q(b', b, m, z)(b' - (1 - \delta)b) - \kappa b$

Bargaining Stage with Monopolist

- At state z , owing debt b bonds and m on the loan and having issued b'

$$\max_{x,m} \mathcal{L}_R(b', x, m, m', z)^\theta \times \mathcal{B}_R(b', b, x, m, m', z)^{1-\theta}$$

- Lender's surplus

$$\mathcal{L}_R(b', x, m, m', z) = \underbrace{(a - x + \beta_L \mathbb{E}[h(b', m', z') | z])}_{\text{agreement}} - \underbrace{(a + m + \beta_L \mathbb{E}[h(b', 0, z') | z])}_{\text{threat point}}$$

- Government's surplus

$$\begin{aligned} \mathcal{B}_R(b', b, x, m, m', z) = & \underbrace{u(y(z) + B(b', b, m, z) + x) + \beta \mathbb{E}[v(b', m', z') | z]}_{\text{agreement}} \\ & - \underbrace{(u(y(z) + B(b', b, m, z) - m) + \beta \mathbb{E}[v(b', 0, z') | z])}_{\text{threat point}} \end{aligned}$$

with $B(b', b, m, z) = q(b', b, m, z)(b' - (1 - \delta)b) - \kappa b$

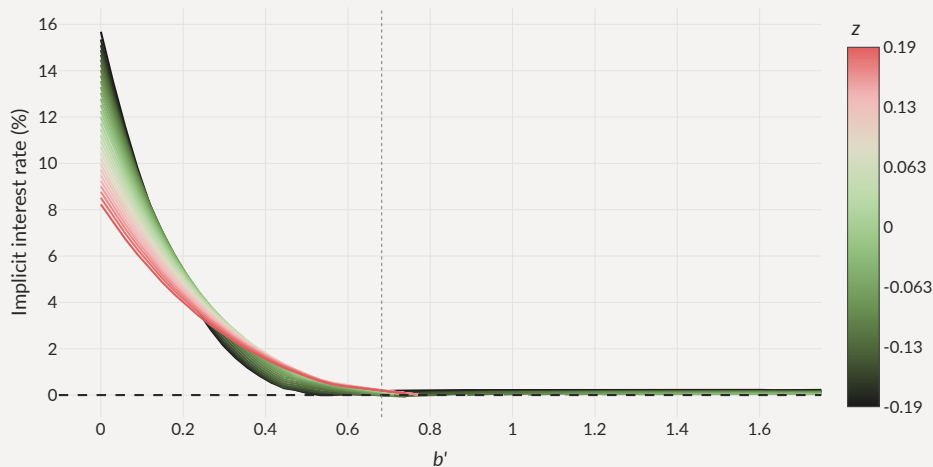
Government's surplus

$$\begin{aligned} \mathcal{B}_R(b', b, x, m, m', z) = & u(y(z) + B(b', b, m, z) + x) + \beta \mathbb{E} [v(b', m', z') \mid z] \\ & - (u(y(z) + B(b', b, m, z) - m) + \beta \mathbb{E} [v(b', 0, z') \mid z]) \end{aligned}$$

- Revenues from debt issuance $B(b', b, m, z)$ modulate the value of the threat point
 - After large revenues (high q , high b'), gov't flush with cash, **strong** in bargaining
 - After bad issuance (low q or low b'), gov't **weak** in bargaining

Threat point manipulation: increase market b' to reduce bilateral r

Loan interest rate (Limited)

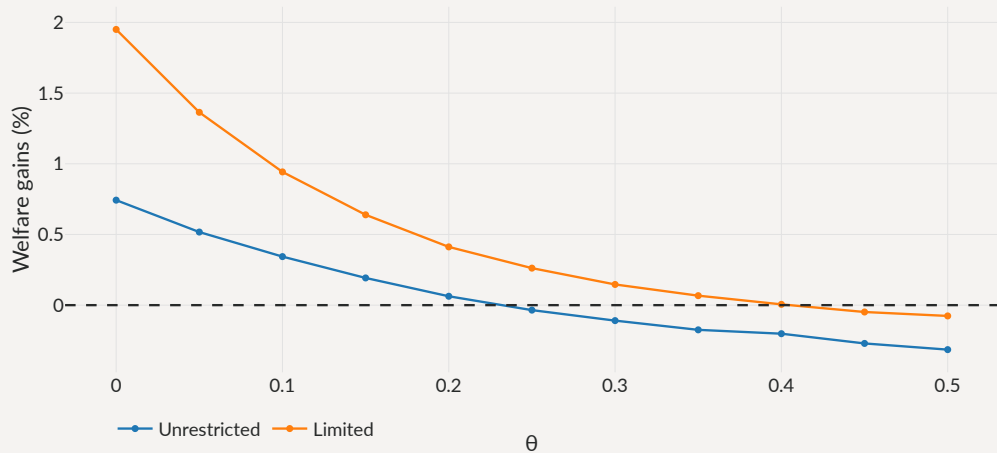


Limiting Loans in Default

- **Limited:** entire loan must be repaid while in default $\Gamma(m) = 0$

	Only market	Unrestricted, $\theta = 0.5$	Limited, $\theta = 0.5$
Avg spread (bps)	714	2,105	1,038
Std spread (bps)	399	1,331	612
$\sigma(c)/\sigma(y)$ (%)	113	109	113
Debt to GDP (%)	22.5	21.2	22.5
Loan to GDP (%)	0	3.02	1.06
Loan spread (bps)	–	-429	536
Corr. loan & spreads (%)	–	67.5	71.1
Default frequency (%)	5.72	13	7.72
Welfare gains (rep)	–	-0.43%	-0.2%

Bargaining Power and Welfare



Concluding remarks

The Perils of Bilateral Sovereign Debt

- Simple model of borrowing from **markets** and a **senior bilateral lender**
 - ... strong interaction between two markets for sovereign debt
 - ... even if bilateral loans are **not** used intensely on the equilibrium path
- **Dangerous** when bilateral interest rate responds negatively to *market* debt
 - ... cross-elasticity induces risk-taking, more defaults, welfare losses
 - ... Bargaining as an example of situation where cross-elasticity emerges
- Cross-elasticity constitutes a simple test to assess welfare gains of **new** instruments
 - ... or a boost to the gains of fiscal rules, state-contingent debt...

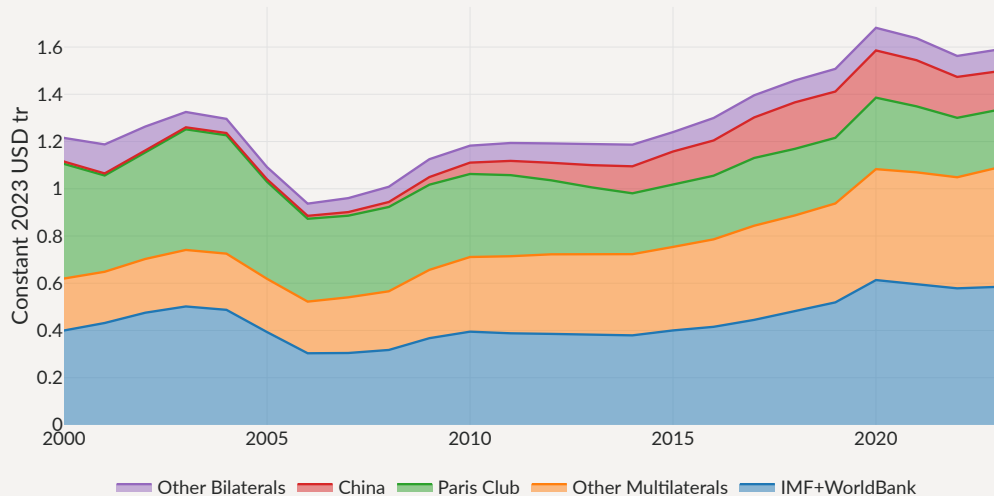


Scan to find the paper

A New Landscape for Official Sovereign Debt

[◀ Back](#)

Total Official Debt



Loan drawings m' (Limited)

