

The Perils of Bilateral Sovereign Debt

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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

Questions

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

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Evaluating Large Official Creditors

Quantitative sovereign debt model with

- Competitive creditors in private **markets** (bondholders)
- Large **bilateral** lender
 1. Superior enforcement technology
 2. Bargained borrowing terms (price and quantity)
 3. Short-maturity loans
- Prime example: Central Bank swap lines (Horn et al., 2021), also deposits, IMF programs...
- Focus on the **interaction** between both funding sources
 - ... presence of bilateral lender affects government behavior in debt markets
 - ... outcomes in debt markets affect threat points in bargaining

Main findings

- Bilateral loans **small** relative to debt but significant effects
 - ... provide funding when other sources dry up (e.g. because of default risk)
 - ... can also increase **risk-taking**
- Bilateral loans induce **relational overborrowing**
 - Surplus requires spreads – spreads require risk
- **Welfare losses** from presence of bilateral creditor (for realistic bargaining weights)
- Relational overborrowing explained by **elasticity** of bilateral terms to market spreads
 - ... remains present in a model **without** bargaining
 - ... model with exogenous bilateral terms useful for **optimal design**

Main findings

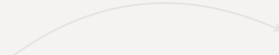
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- Sovereign debt/default with interactions from ‘official’ debt
 - ... senior debt (Hatchondo, Martinez, & Onder 2017), senior debt with conditionality (Boz 2011, Fink & Scholl 2016), bailout agencies (Corsetti, Guimaraes & Roubini 2006, Kirsch & Rühmkorf 2017, Roch & Uhlig 2018), official debt (Arellano & Barreto 2024, Liu, Liu, & Yue 2025)
- Data on new official creditors
 - ... Horn, Reinhart & Trebesch 2021a, 2021b, Gelpern et al. 2021, Horn, Parks, Reinhart & Trebesch 2023
- Central Bank swap lines
 - ... among advanced economies (Bahaj & Reis 2021, Cesa-Bianchi, Eguren-Martin, & Ferrero 2022), data for emerging-market borrowers (Perks, Rao, Shin, & Tokuoka 2021)

Model


The government of a small open economy borrows from a monopolist and from markets

- Income $y(z_t)$ follows an AR(1) process in logs
 - ... Only one good, representative risk-averse household, expected utility
- **Renegotiate** the swap m each period
 - ... Involves a transfer x and a new loan size m'
 - ... Swap is non-defaultable \implies Repaying m is the natural threat point
- **Should expect**
 - ... Implicit interest rate r to vary over time
 - ... Interest rate to reflect **market power**
 - ... Interest rate to reflect **outside options**


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

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Warm-up: Bargaining with Monopolist Only

- At income state z and loan m , solve

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

Government surplus

Lender surplus

- Government (borrower) surplus

$$\mathcal{B}(x, m, m', z) = \underbrace{u(y(z) + x) + \beta \mathbb{E}[v(m', z') | z]}_{\text{agreement: receive } x, \text{ owe } m'} - \underbrace{(u(y(z) - m) + \beta \mathbb{E}[v(0, z') | z])}_{\text{threat point: repay } m, \text{ clean slate}}$$

- Lender surplus

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

- Value functions $v(m, z)$ and $h(m, z)$ encode expected outcomes of future rounds

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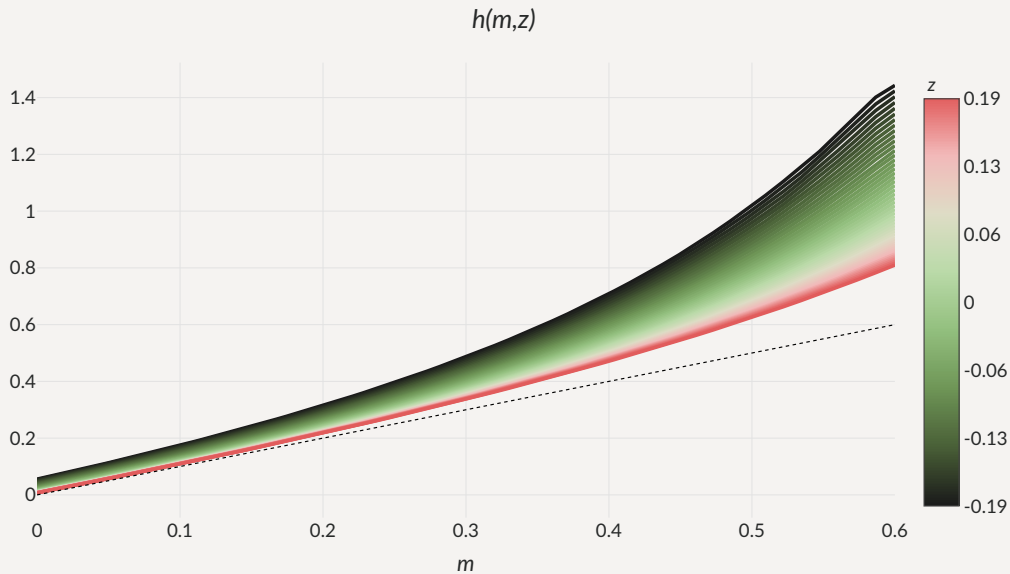
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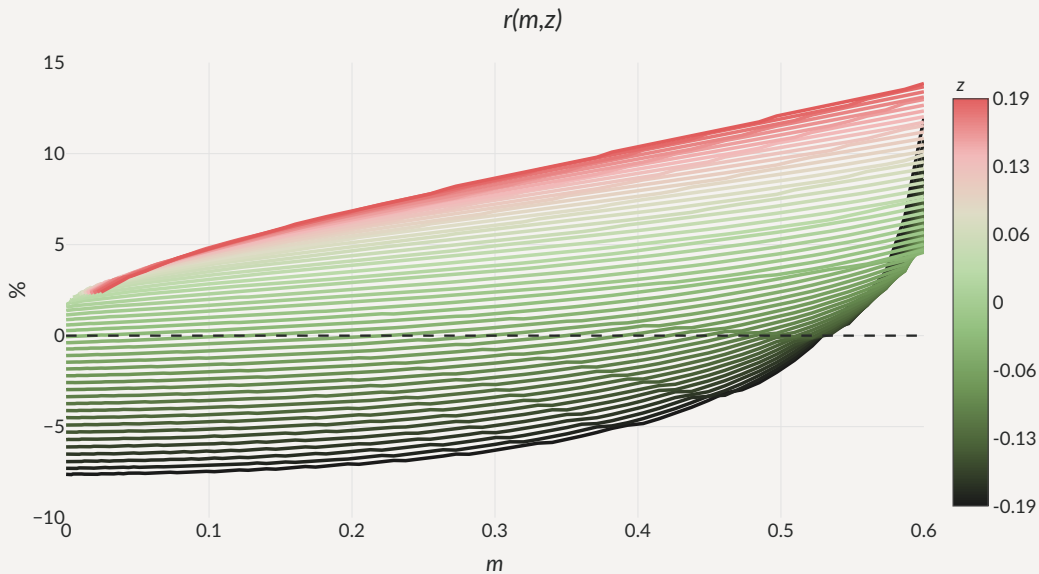
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- Value functions $v(m, z)$ and $h(m, z)$ encode expected outcomes of future rounds

Monopolist Terms: Lender's Value Function



Monopolist Terms: Implicit Interest Rate



Monopolist Terms: Takeaways

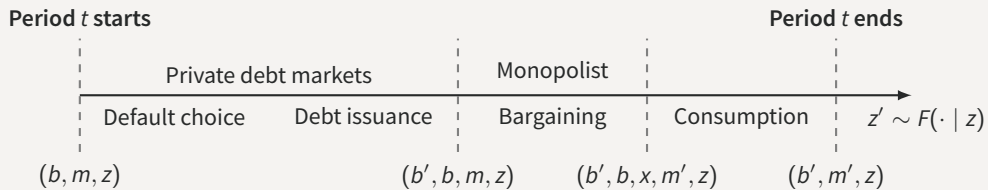
key requirement:

threat point value decreasing in m

The threat point is less 'credible' when m is large

- This creates convexity in the lender's value function
... making the lender act 'as if' **risk-loving**
- The lender initially subsidizes the loan to induce indebtedness and high profits
 - **Gamble for debt overhang**
- Initial subsidy and high rates consistent with B's risk aversion – 'Participation constraint'

Timeline of Events



Borrowing from Markets

- Debt is a geometrically-decaying coupon
... for each unit, get q , pay $\kappa, (1 - \rho)\kappa, \dots (1 - \rho)^{s-1}\kappa$
- Government enters first stage owing b in debt, m in swaps, income state z

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

- Lenders in competitive markets need to anticipate interactions with the monopolist

$$q(b', b, m, z) = \beta_L \mathbb{E} [(1 - 1_D(b', m', z')) (\kappa + (1 - \rho)q(b'', b', m', z')) \mid z]$$
$$m' = m'(b', b, m, z)$$
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Bargaining Stage with Monopolist

- At state z , owing debt b bonds and m on the swap 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

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- If default risk is low, not much role for monopolist
- Revenues from debt issuance $B(b', b, m, z)$ modulate the value of the threat point
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Quantitative Effects of Bilateral Loans

- Calibrate to Argentina with only market (as in Roch & Roldán, 2023)

	Parameter	Value
Sovereign's discount factor	β	0.9504
Sovereign's risk aversion	γ	2
Preference shock scale parameter	χ	0.02
Lender's bargaining power	θ	0.5
Risk-free interest rate	r	0.01
Duration of debt	ρ	0.05
Income autocorrelation coefficient	ρ_z	0.9484
Standard deviation of y_t	σ_z	0.02
Reentry probability	ψ	0.0385
Default cost: linear	d_0	-0.24
Default cost: quadratic	d_1	0.3

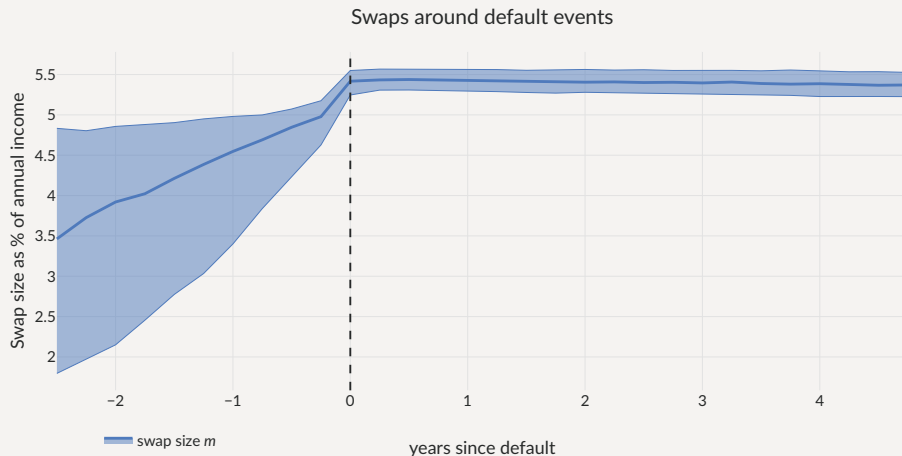
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How Do Bilateral Loans Affect Equilibrium?

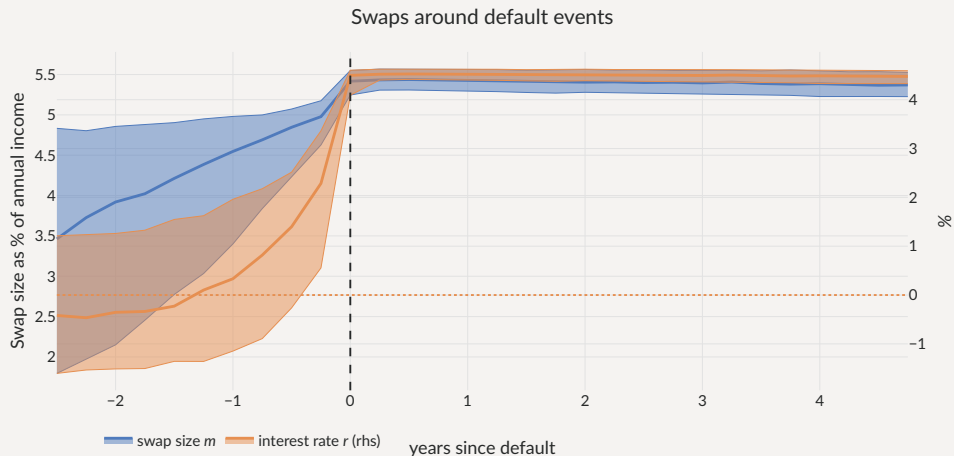
	Only market	Both, $\theta = 0.25$	Both, $\theta = 0.5$
Avg spread (bps)	804	1,841	2,396
Std spread (bps)	470	1,099	1,541
$\sigma(c)/\sigma(y)$ (%)	111	111	110
Debt to GDP (%)	21.4	20.8	20.2
Loan to GDP (%)	0	3.74	3.32
Corr. loan & spreads (%)	–	53.8	62.2
Default frequency (%)	6.53	13.0	14.7
Welfare gains (rep)	–	-0.082%	-0.41%

- Loans shoot up before *and during* defaults



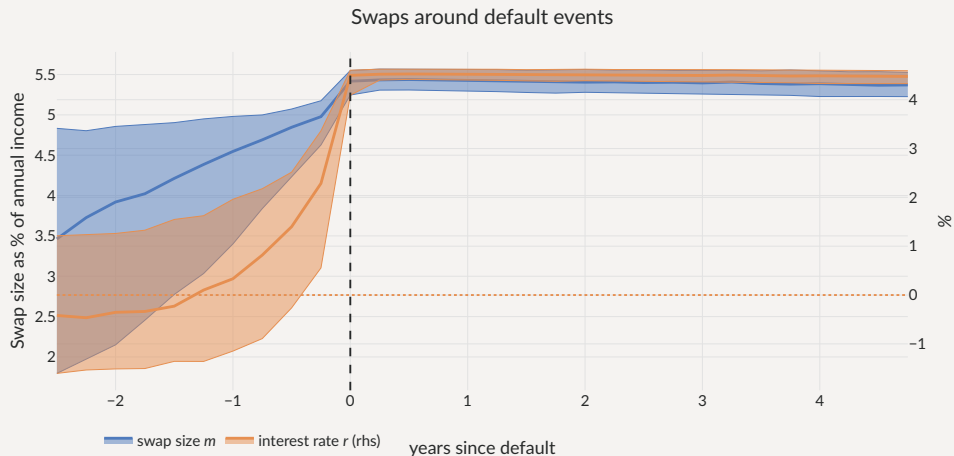
- Also consider **Limited** versions: $m' \leq \Gamma(m)$ while in default

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Limiting Loans in Default

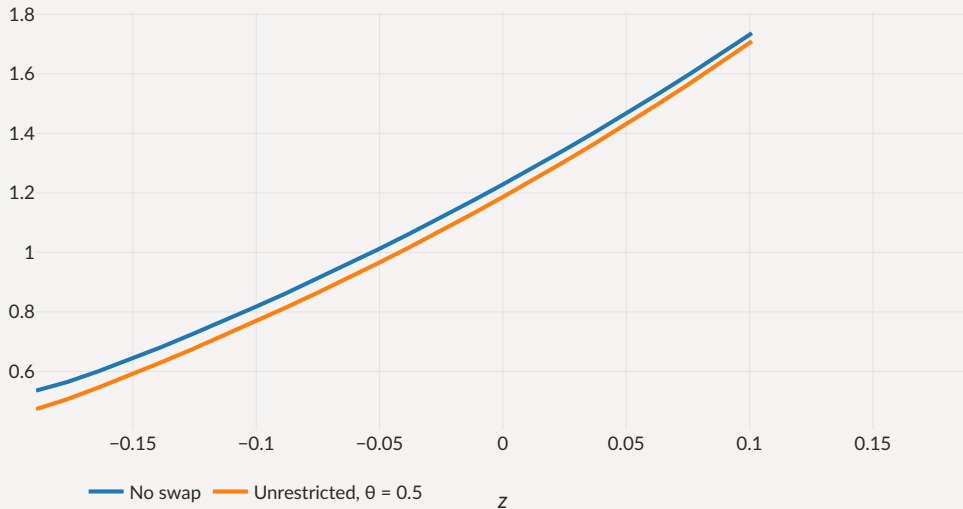
- **Limited:** entire loan must be repaid while in default $\Gamma(m) = 0$

	Only market	Unrestricted, $\theta = 0.5$	Limited, $\theta = 0.5$
Avg spread (bps)	804	2,396	1,216
Std spread (bps)	470	1,541	779
$\sigma(c)/\sigma(y)$ (%)	111	110	113
Debt to GDP (%)	21.4	20.2	21.7
Loan to GDP (%)	0	3.32	1.05
Corr. loan & spreads (%)	–	62.2	69.4
Default frequency (%)	6.53	14.7	9.34
Welfare gains (rep)	–	-0.41%	-0.084%

Default Barriers with Loans

- **Unrestricted:** default barrier moves inward, **Limited:** marginal impact

Debt levels at which $\mathcal{P}(b,m,z)$ crosses 50%



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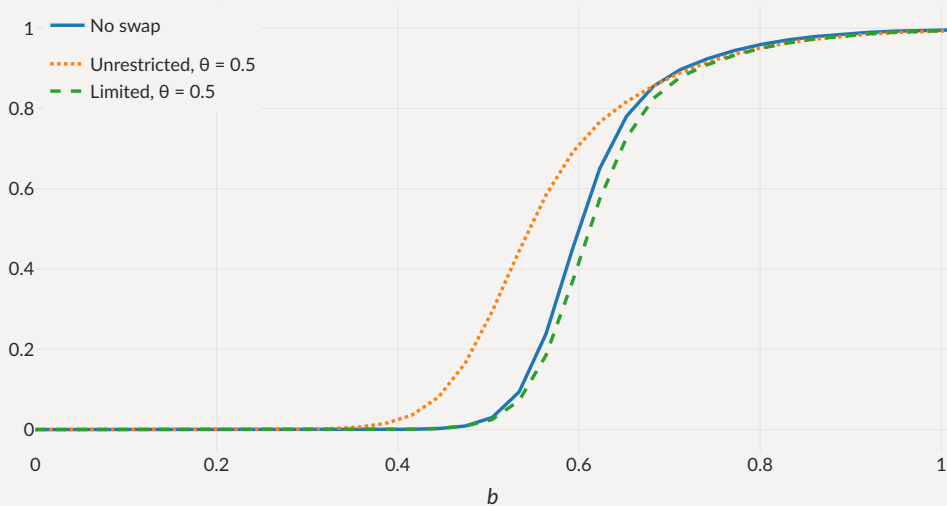
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Debt Tolerance with Loans

- **Unrestricted:** default more often, **Limited:** marginal impact

Default Probability $\mathcal{P}(b,m,z)$

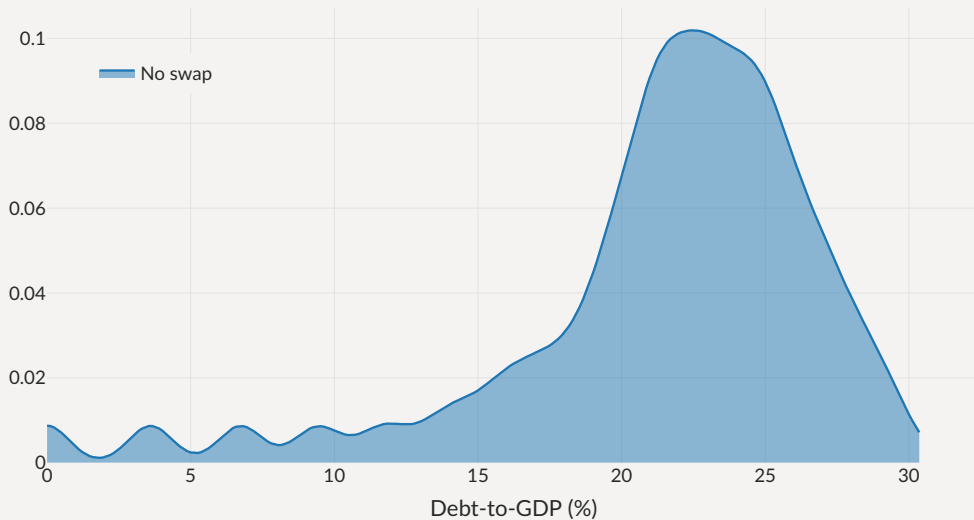


If **Limited** loans help repay the debt,

Why are there **more** defaults with loans?

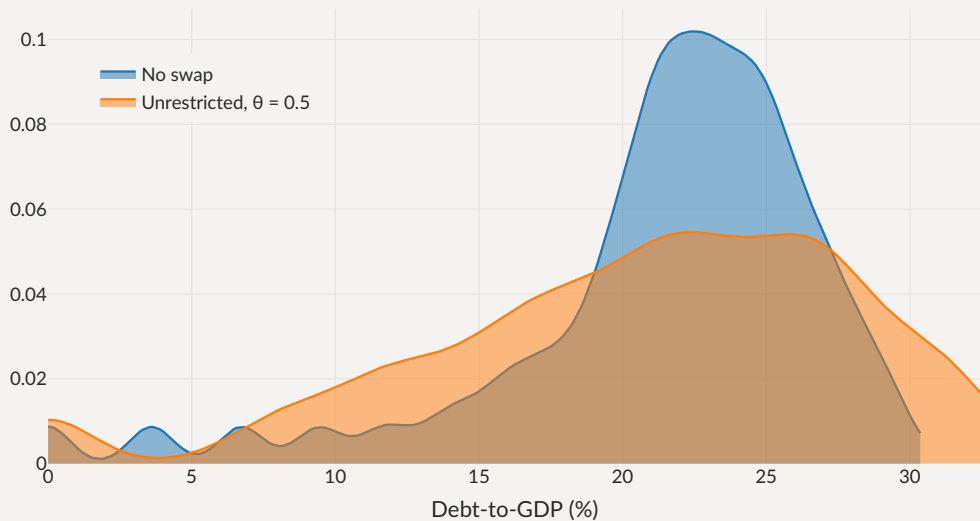
Debt Levels with Loans

Distribution of debt levels



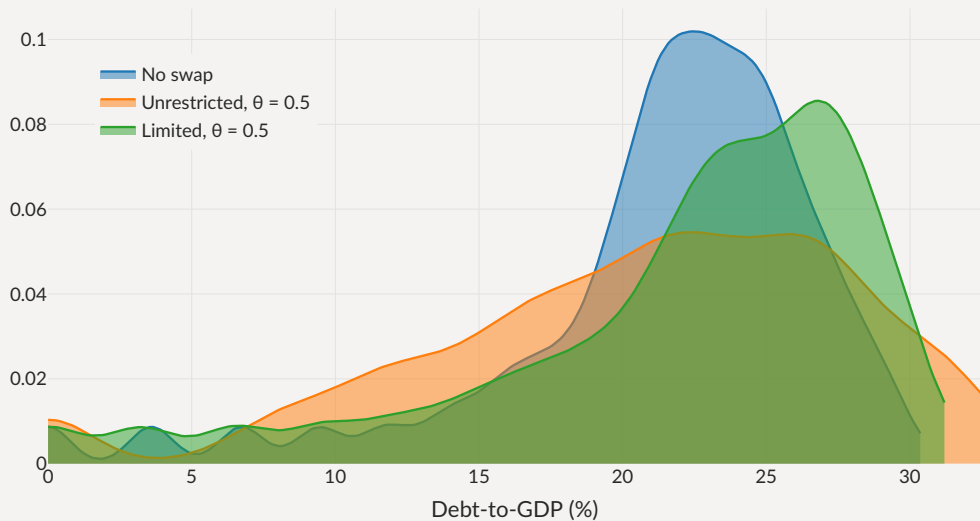
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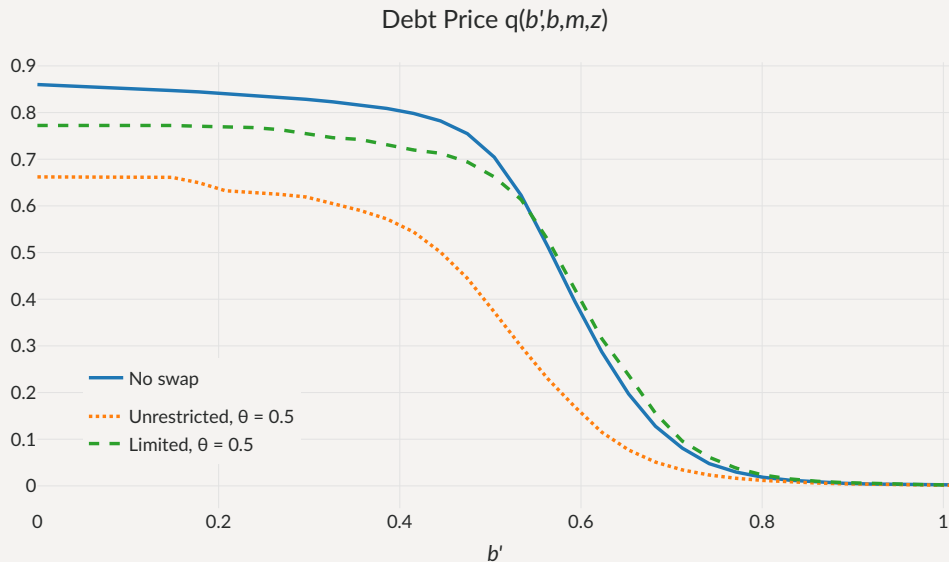
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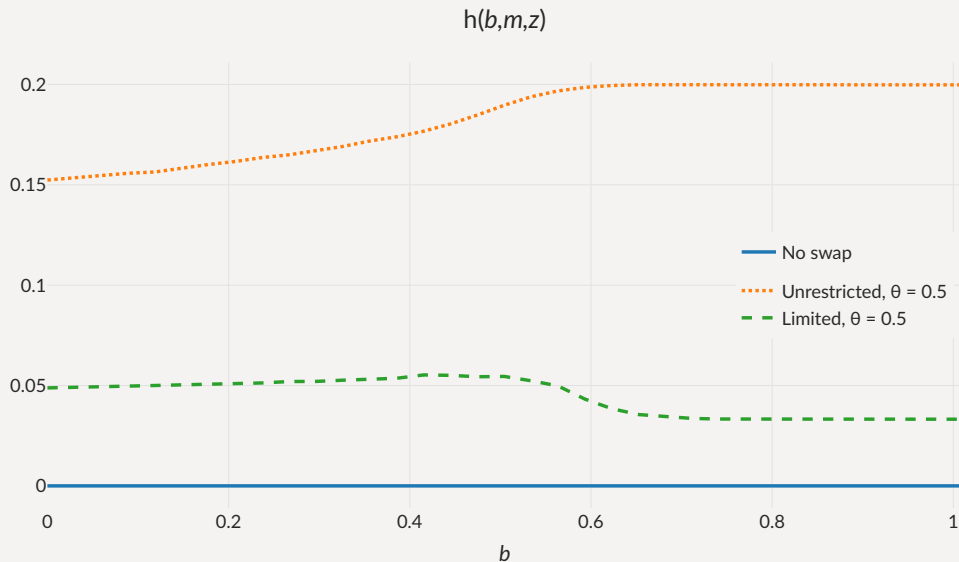
Debt Prices with Loans

Lower prices with same default rates: [relational overborrowing](#) similar to debt dilution



Monopolist's Profits

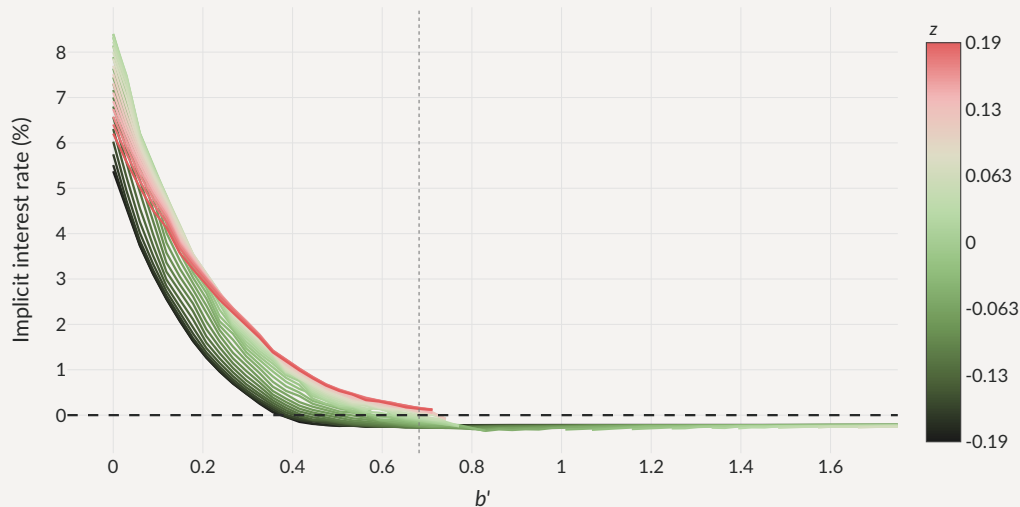
Monopolist's profits **increasing** in debt (cond. on repayment) – surplus requires spreads > 0



Risk-taking Incentives

Surplus on loan requires spreads > 0 : monopolist provides **incentives** for risk taking

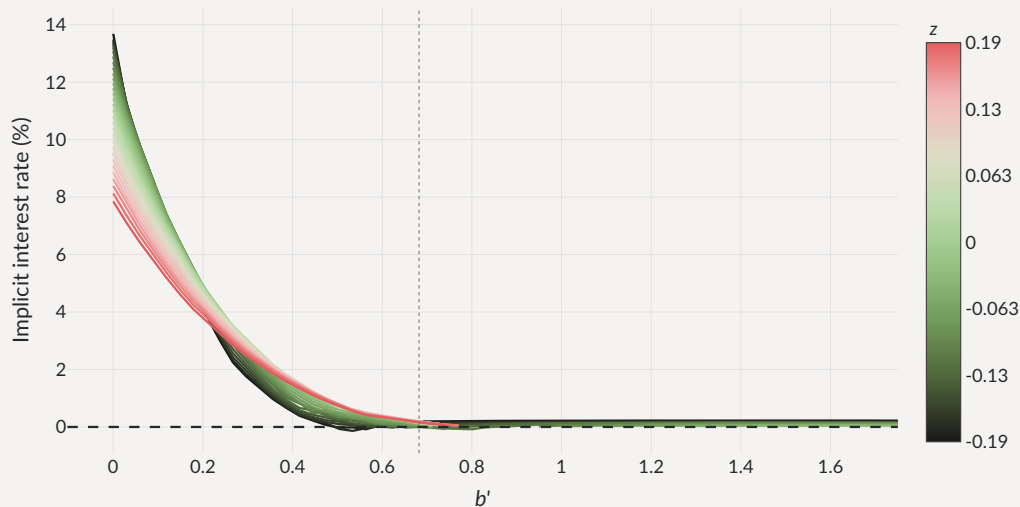
Interest rate on the swap (Unrestricted)



Risk-taking Incentives

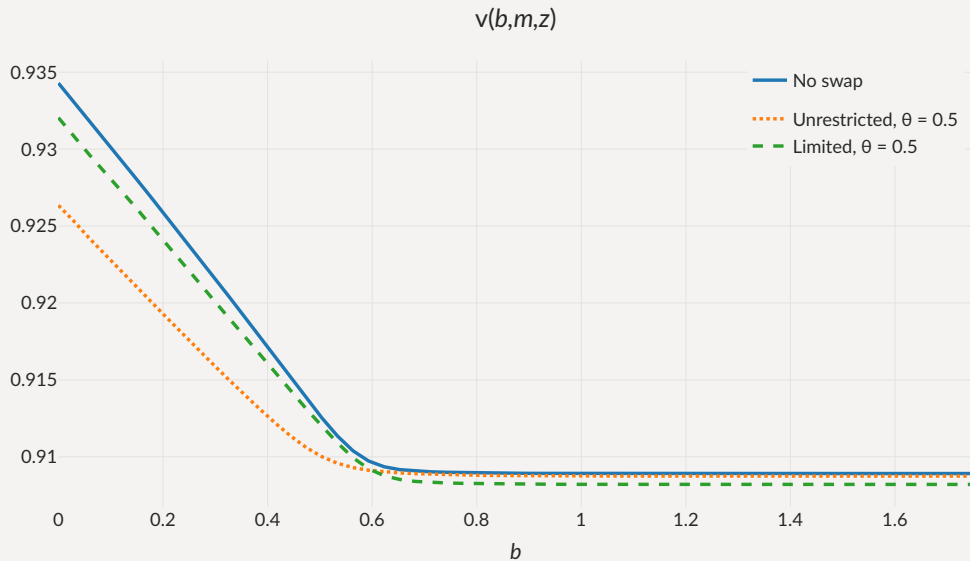
Surplus on loan requires spreads > 0 : monopolist provides **incentives** for risk taking

Interest rate on the swap (Limited)



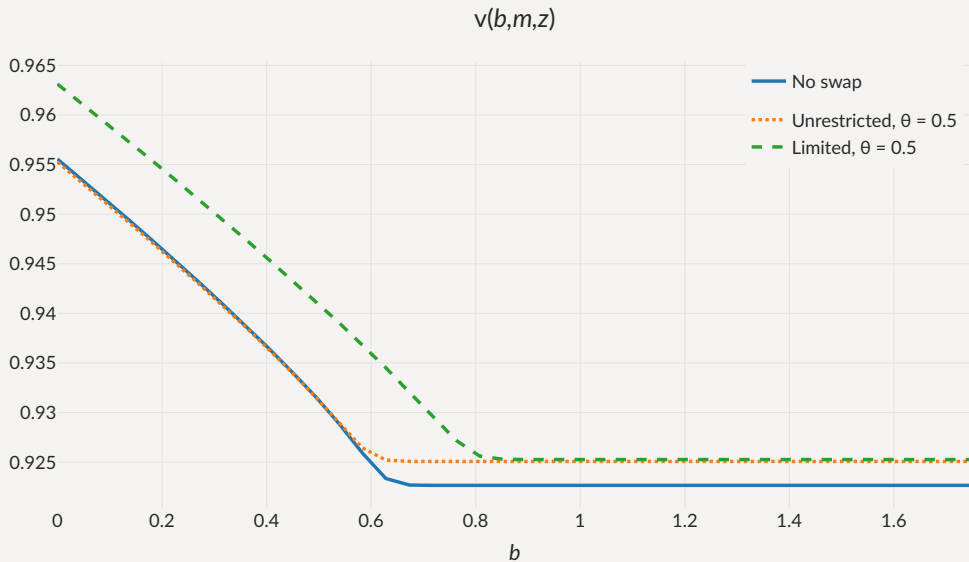
Welfare Effects of Bilateral Loans

Limited \succcurlyeq Unrestricted, but...



Welfare Effects of Swap Lines — Short-term Debt

Short-term debt: swaps beneficial – interest on the swap **small** wrt to *whole* debt stock



Programming the Large Lender

- Bargaining over bilateral terms endogenously leads to punishment for deleveraging
- Explore interest rate rules of the form

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

- Two versions
 - Risk-inducing rule: $\alpha_0 > 0, \alpha_b < 0, \alpha_m = 0$
 - Size-dependent (similar to surcharges): $\alpha_0 > 0, \alpha_b = 0, \alpha_m > 0$

Equilibrium with Exogenous Rules

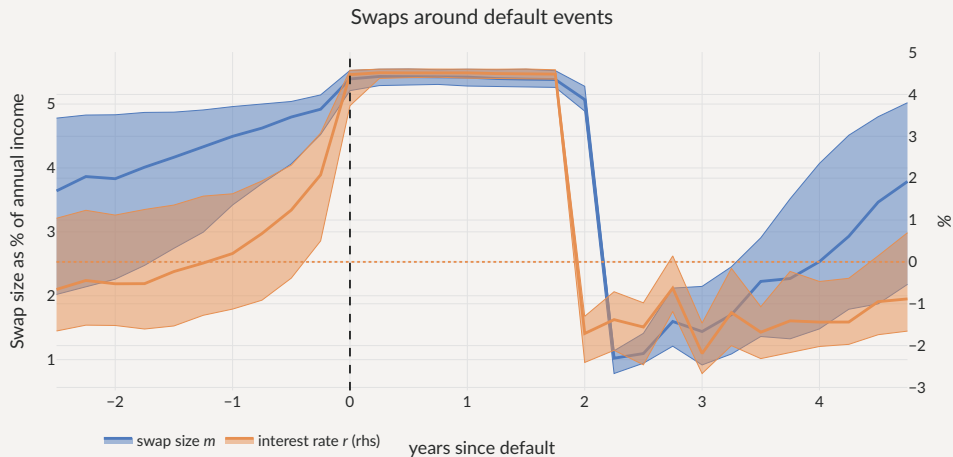
	Only market	Size dependent r	Risk inducing r	Limited, $\theta = 0.5$
Avg spread (bps)	802	635	1,118	1,211
Std spread (bps)	454	241	1,051	753
$\sigma(c)/\sigma(y)$ (%)	112	120	118	113
Debt to GDP (%)	21.5	25.8	21.9	21.8
Loan to GDP (%)	0	2.32	1.37	1.05
Loan spread (bps)	–	836	2,267	408
Corr. loan & spreads (%)	–	50.2	43.6	70.1
Default frequency (%)	6.27	5.13	7.56	9.17
Welfare gains (rep)	–	0.61%	-0.094%	-0.084%

Concluding remarks

The Perils of Bilateral Sovereign Debt

- Simple model with monopolist/fringe structure
- Strong interaction between two markets for sovereign debt
 - ... even if swaps are not used intensely on the equilibrium path
- Market power crucial in model
 - ... how to discipline in model?
 - ... how to affect in reality?
- Large welfare effects, policy challenges
 - How to limit their use during defaults?
 - Relational overborrowing – more gains from fiscal rules, state-contingent debt?
- Simple test to determine welfare gains of a new instrument

- Further conditioning on default events lasting exactly two years



When is the Swap Used?

- With Limited: $\Gamma(m) = m$

