

# 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

► IDS data

## Questions

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# Evaluating Large Official Creditors

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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 incentivize more **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 due to **elasticity** of bilateral terms to market debt
  - ... remains present in a model **without** bargaining
  - ... model with exogenous bilateral terms useful for **optimal design**

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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, Guimarães & 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)

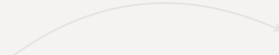
## Model

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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 loan  $m$  each period
  - ... Involves a current transfer  $x$  and a new size  $m'$
  - ... Loan 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**

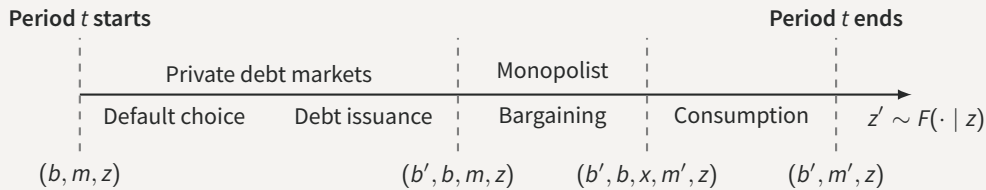

$$x = \frac{1}{1+r} m' - m$$

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# Timeline of Events



## Borrowing from Markets

- Debt is a geometrically-decaying coupon  
... for each unit, get  $q$ , pay  $\kappa, (1 - \delta)\kappa, \dots (1 - \delta)^{s-1}\kappa$
- 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

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

$$m' = m'(b', b, m, z)$$

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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

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

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

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## Quantitative Effects of Bilateral Loans

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

	Parameter	Value
Sovereign's discount factor	$\beta$	0.9504
Sovereign's risk aversion	$\gamma$	2
Preference shock scale parameter	$\chi$	0.02
Lender's bargaining power	$\theta$	0.5
Risk-free interest rate	$r$	0.01
Duration of debt	$\delta$	0.05
Income autocorrelation coefficient	$\rho_z$	0.9484
Standard deviation of $y_t$	$\sigma_z$	0.02
Reentry probability	$\psi$	0.0385
Default cost: linear	$d_0$	-0.24
Default cost: quadratic	$d_1$	0.3

# Calibration

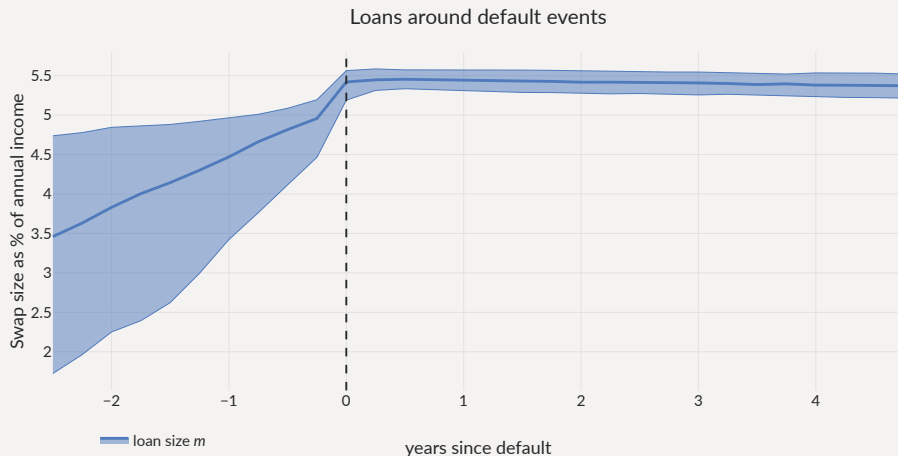
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## How Do Bilateral Loans Affect Equilibrium?

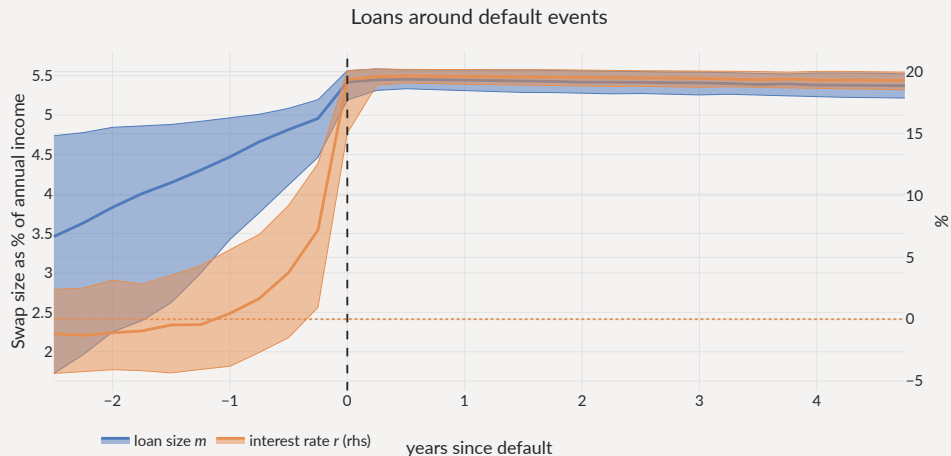
	Only market	Unrestricted, $\theta = 0.25$	Unrestricted, $\theta = 0.5$
Avg spread (bps)	714	1,613	2,105
Std spread (bps)	399	927	1,331
$\sigma(c)/\sigma(y)$ (%)	113	109	109
Debt to GDP (%)	22.5	21.7	21.2
Loan to GDP (%)	0	3.4	3.02
Loan spread (bps)	–	-52.5	-429
Corr. loan & spreads (%)	–	61.7	67.5
Default frequency (%)	5.72	11	13
Welfare gains (rep)	–	-0.15%	-0.43%

- Loans shoot up before *and during* defaults



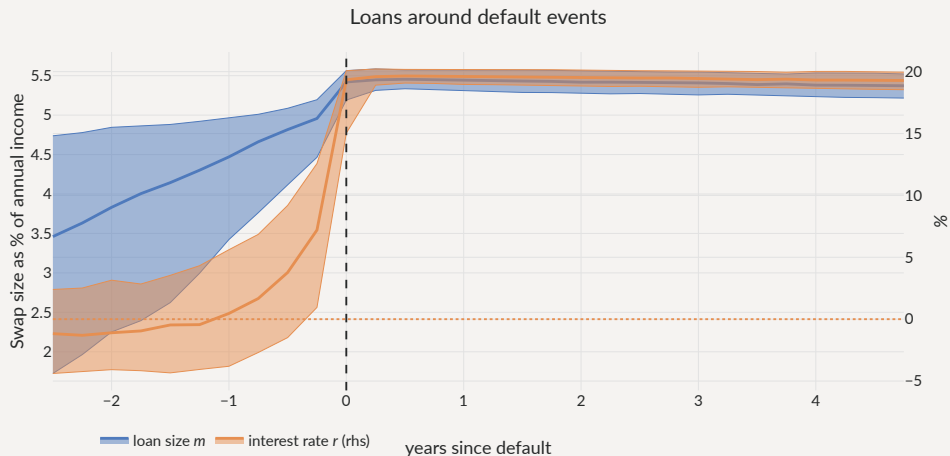
- Also consider **Limited** versions:  $m' \leq \Gamma(m)$  while in default

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## Limiting Loans in Default

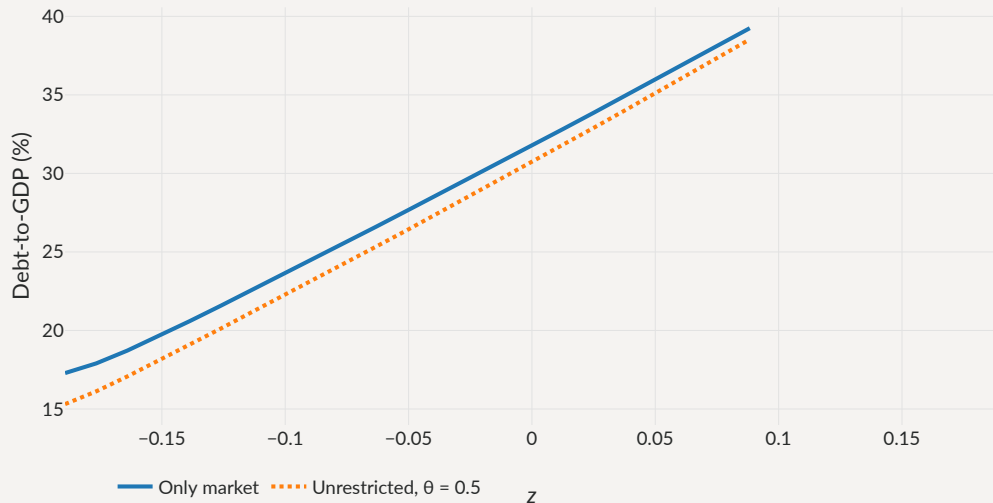
- **Limited:** entire loan must be repaid while in default  $\Gamma(m) = 0$

	Only market	Unrestricted, $\theta = 0.5$	Limited, $\theta = 0.5$
Avg spread (bps)	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%

## Default Barriers with Loans

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

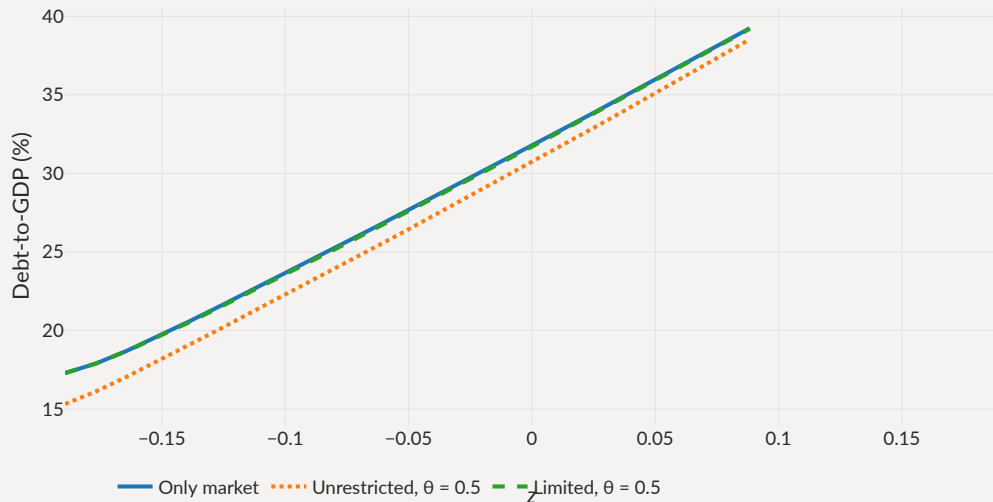
Debt levels at which  $\mathcal{A}(b,m,z)$  crosses 50%



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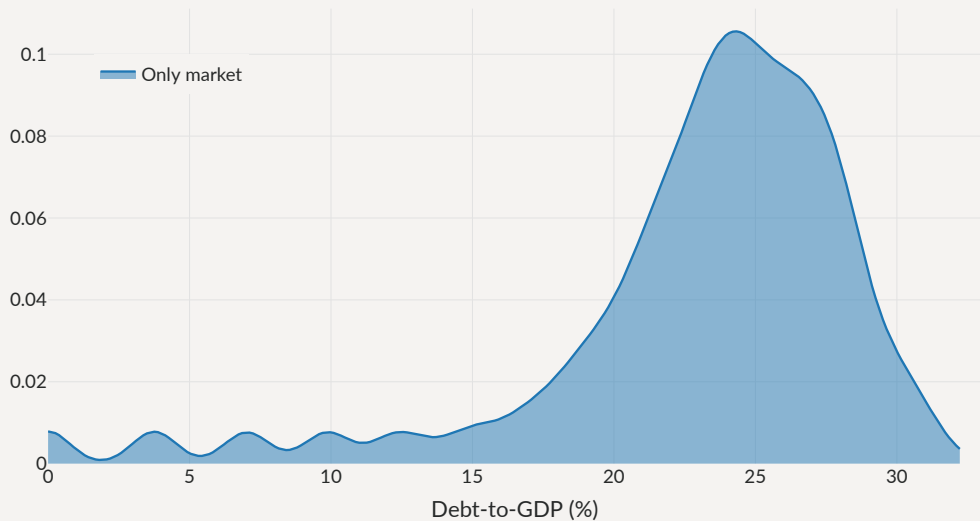
If **Limited** loans help repay the debt,

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

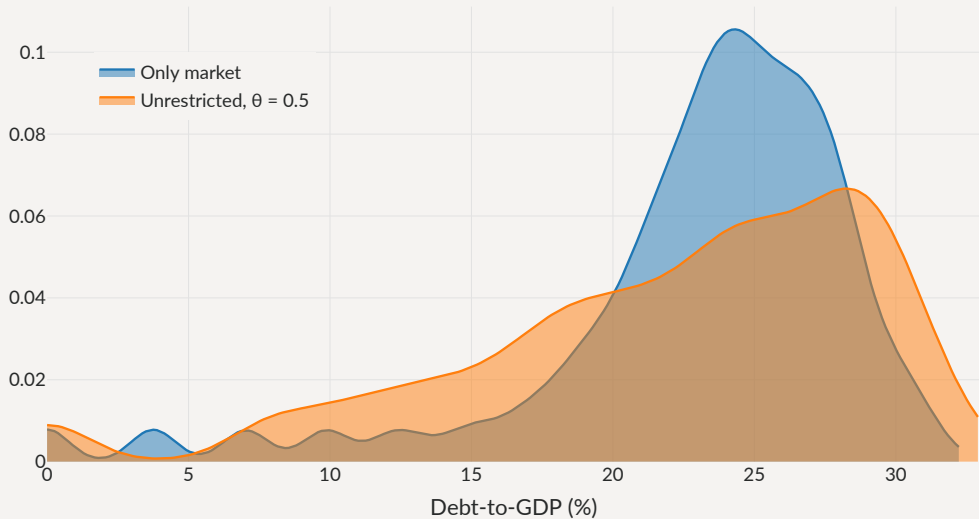
## Debt Levels with Loans

Distribution of debt levels



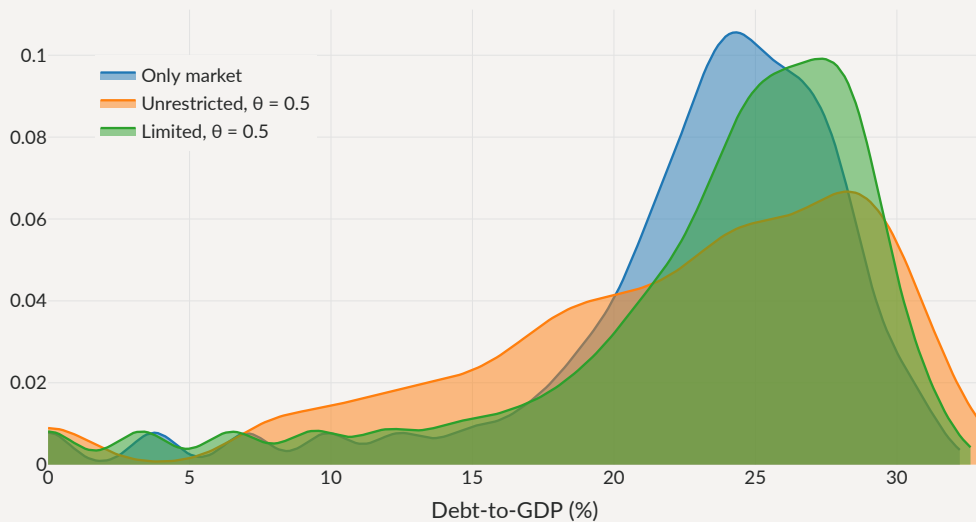
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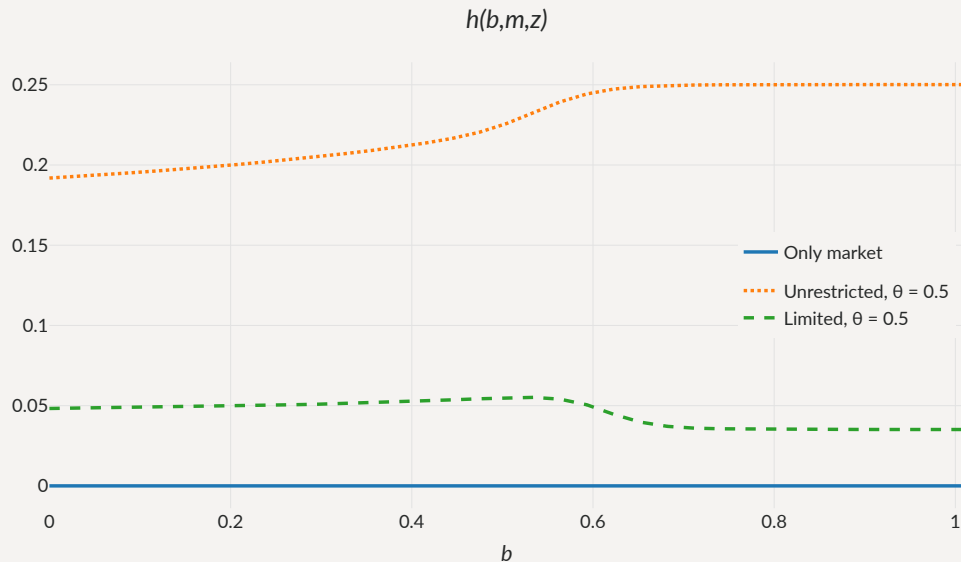
# Debt Levels with Loans

Distribution of debt levels



# Monopolist's Profits

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





## 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
- Strongly negative cross-elasticity of bilateral terms to market debt  
→ goes against market discipline of spreads

$$u'(c) \left( q + \frac{\partial q}{\partial b'} i + \frac{1}{1+r_b} \frac{\partial m'}{\partial b'} + \frac{\partial \frac{1}{1+r_b}}{\partial b'} m' \right) = \beta \mathbb{E} [u'(c)(1 - \mathbb{1}_D)(\kappa + (1 - \delta)q' + \dots)]$$

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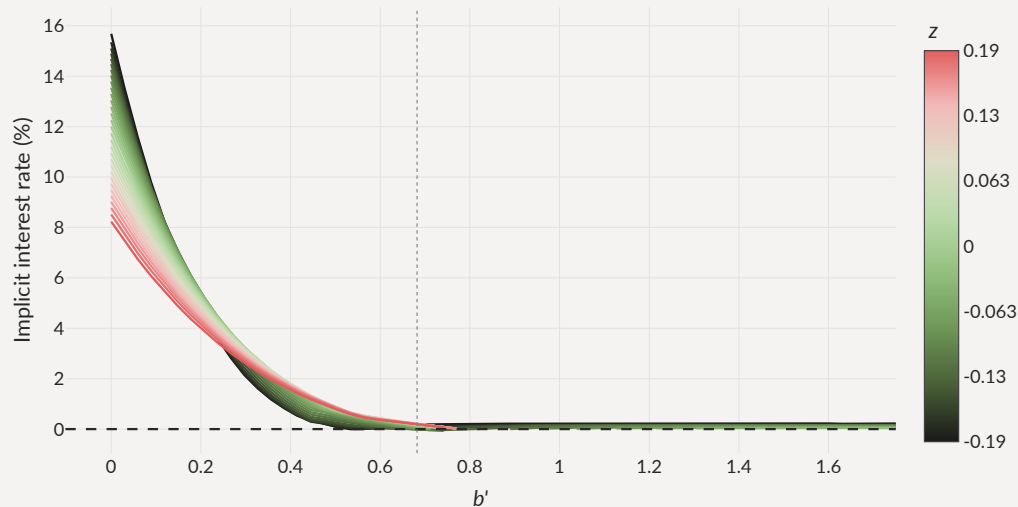
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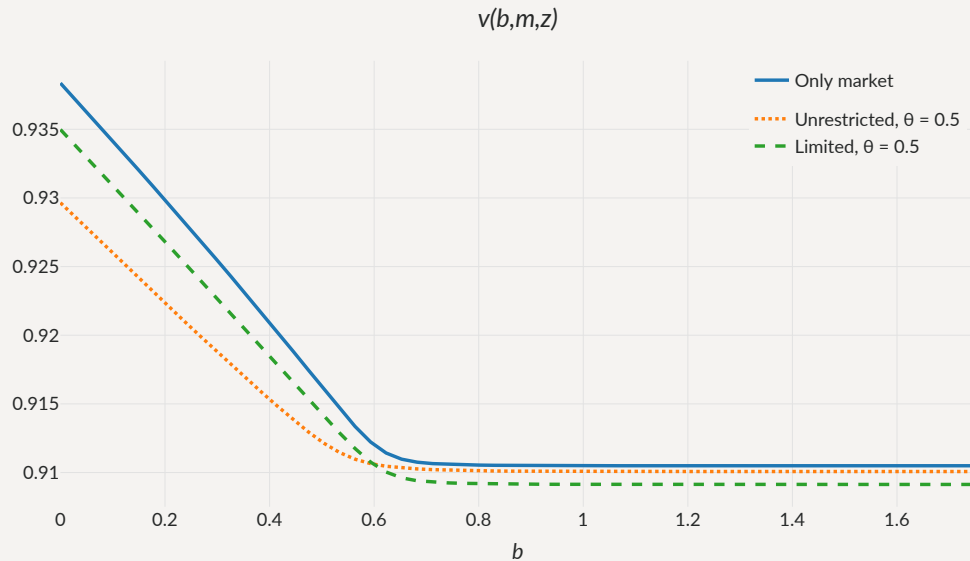
Surplus on loan requires spreads  $> 0$ : monopolist provides **incentives** for risk taking

Loan interest rate (Limited)



# Welfare Effects of Bilateral Loans

Limited  $\succcurlyeq$  Unrestricted, but...



# Programming the Large Lender

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- 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)	714	623	921	1,038
Std spread (bps)	399	315	552	612
$\sigma(c)/\sigma(y)$ (%)	113	115	115	113
Debt to GDP (%)	22.5	23.5	22.8	22.5
Loan to GDP (%)	0	0.71	0.972	1.06
Loan spread (bps)	–	682	1,264	536
Corr. loan & spreads (%)	–	62.5	48.1	71.1
Default frequency (%)	5.72	5.13	6.92	7.72
Welfare gains (rep)	–	0.21%	-0.079%	-0.2%



## Concluding remarks

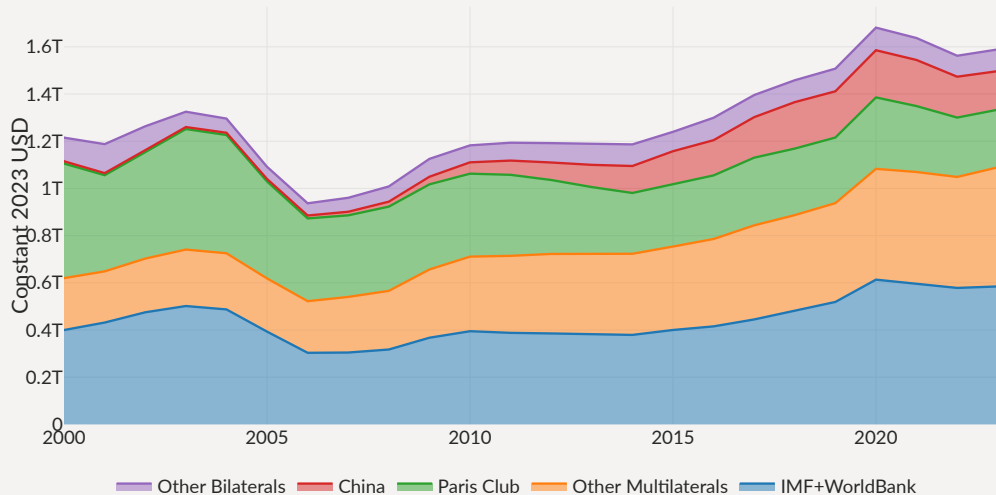
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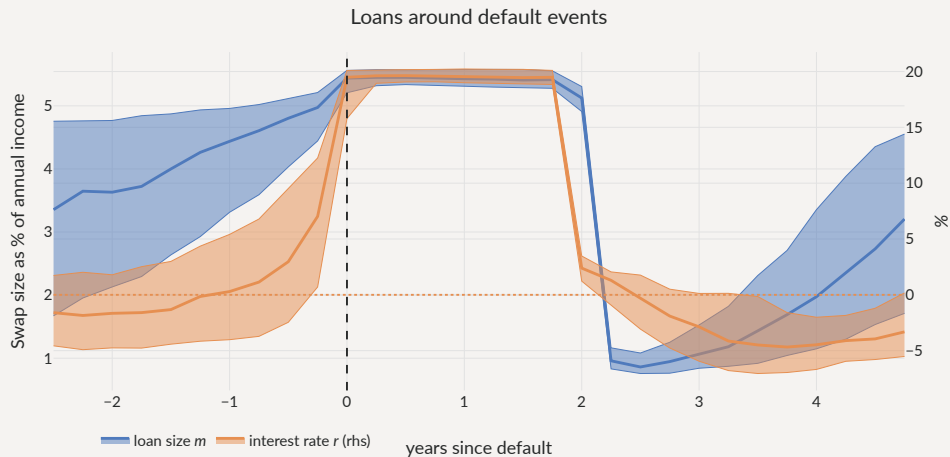
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- Simple model with monopolist/fringe structure
  - ... example of situation where cross-elasticity emerges
- Strong interaction between two markets for sovereign debt
  - ... cross-elasticity induces risk-taking, more defaults, welfare losses
  - ... even if bilateral loans are not used intensely on the equilibrium path
- 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...

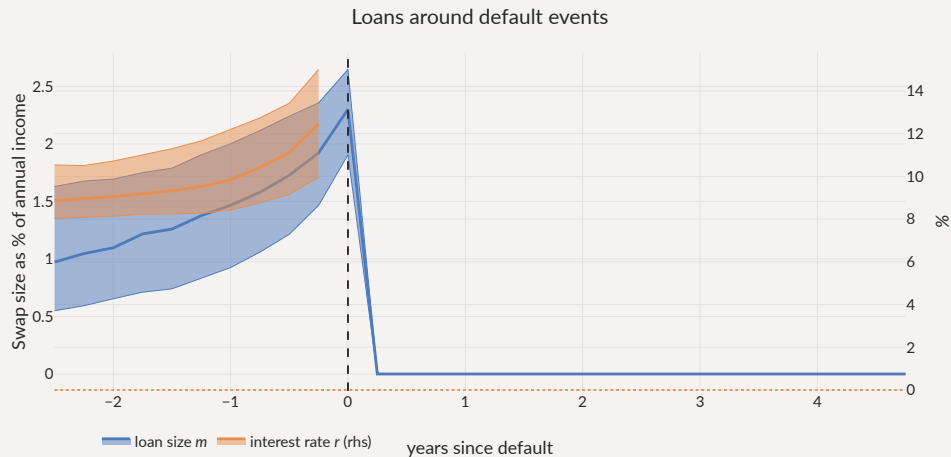
## Total Official Debt



- Further conditioning on default events lasting exactly two years



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



Swap drawings  $m'$  (Limited)

