# On Wars, Sanctions and Sovereign Default

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The views expressed herein are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis or the Federal Reserve System.

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#### Introduction

- February–April 2022
  - $\bullet$  Following the invasion of Ukraine, Russia faced a freezing of its international reserves (  $\approx$  30% of its GDP)
  - The goal was to hinder the financing of the war, but Russia was still allowed to use reserves to make debt payments
  - On April 4, 2002, the US Treasury blocked these payments, and Russia failed to meet its obligations
  - A few days later, Russia was declared in default
- This paper: we explore the role of restrictions on international reserves as economic sanctions and develop a simple model that can account for these events

#### Introduction

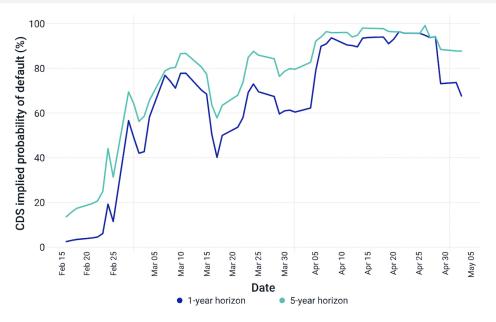


Figure 1: Default probabilities for Russian gov't bonds in 2022

## Introduction

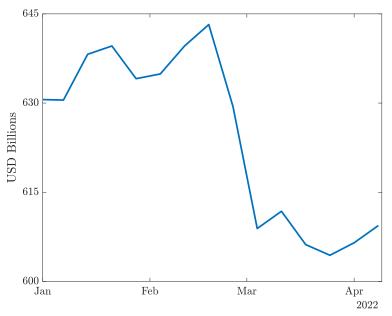


Figure 2: Russian Foreign Reserves in 2022

# Overview of the paper (1)

#### What we do

- Simple model of restrictions on int'l reserves as economic sanctions
- Two countries: debtor, Russia (sanctioned); creditor, US/West (sanctioning)
- Sanctioned country:
  - chooses default/repayment, borrowing and reserve accumulation
- Sanctioning country:
  - can impose restrictions on the use of use of reserves (by the other country)
  - $\bullet$  welfare decreasing in the utility of the sanctioned country  $\to$  geopolitical externality
- Solve for the Stackelberg-Nash equilibrium

Under what conditions would the sanctioning country choose hard enough restrictions that will trigger a default by the sanctioned country?

# Overview of the paper (2)

#### What we find

- For a low geopolitical externality, the optimal restriction involves squeezing the resources up to the point at which the sanctioned country is indifferent between repaying and defaulting 

  "soft" restrictions
- ullet For a high geopolitical externality, the optimal restriction becomes a complete freezing of reserves and this induces a foreign default ullet "hard" restrictions
- May sound surprising because default decision is optimal and so restrictions beyond the "soft" one do not actually hurt the foreign country
- <u>Key:</u> geopolitical externality is tilted towards the war period and a default reduces the foreign utility in that period

# A Model of Financial Sanctions and

Sovereign Default

#### **Elements of the Model**

- Model of the strategic interactions that result from international sanctions and the possibility of sovereign default
- Two countries: foreign (Russia) and the home (US/West).
  - Same utility function, u(c); same discount factor,  $\beta$
  - Home country has geopolitical externality
- There are also financial intermediaries with discount rate r
- Discrete time; infinite horizon
- Assume: (i) no uncertainty, and (ii)  $\beta(1+r)=1$

# Foreign Country (Russia)

- Starts period 0 with a portfolio  $(a_0^*, b_0^*)$  and receives constant income  $y^*$
- Reserves (a\*) are one-period non-negative, risk-free assets that may be subject to restrictions (sanctions)
- Debt  $(b^*)$  is long-term with a maturity parameter  $\delta$ . A bond issued in period t promises to pay:  $\kappa[1,(1-\delta),(1-\delta)^2,(1-\delta)^3,\dots]$

#### **Budget constraint under Repayment:**

$$c_t^* + g_t^* + \frac{a_{t+1}^*}{1+r} + \kappa b_t^* = a_t^* + y^* + q(a_{t+1}^*, b_{t+1}^*)[b_{t+1}^* - (1-\delta)b_t^*]$$

ullet  $g_t^* \equiv$  fixed war expenditures. Ass. the war last only one period,  $g_t^* = 0 \, orall t > 0$ 

# Foreign Country – Sanctions

$$c_t^* + g_t^* + \frac{a_{t+1}^*}{1+r} + \kappa b_t^* = a_t^* + y^* + q(a_{t+1}^*, b_{t+1}^*)[b_{t+1}^* - (1-\delta)b_t^*]$$
 (1)

#### Two additional constraints in t=0:

1. A restriction on the use of reserves:

$$\frac{a_1^*}{1+r} \ge \underline{a} \tag{2}$$

- Assume  $\underline{a} \leq a_0^*$ , Russia cannot be forced to  $\uparrow$  its reserves
- Encompasses the case  $\underline{a} = a_0^* \kappa b_0^*$ , which restricts reserves for purposes other than debt repayments
- Harshest punishment:  $\underline{a} = a_0^*$ , reserves can't be used at all and interest payments can't be repatriated
- 2. Russia cannot issue new bonds:

$$b_1^* \le b_0^* (1 - \delta) \tag{3}$$

# Foreign Country – Value of Default

#### Two costs of default:

- Income cost,  $\phi^D$ : captures direct income costs of defaulting (above and beyond those coming from *other sanctions*) as well as reputational concerns
- Financial exclusion: lasts 1 period (the war period). This is w/o lost of generality

#### Budget constraint under default:

$$c_0^* + g^* = y^* - \phi^D$$

already assumes harshest sanction:  $\underline{a} = a_0^*$ . Also w/o lost of generality

#### Value of default:

$$V_D^*(a_0^*) = u(y^* - \phi^D - g^*) + \frac{\beta}{1 - \beta}u(y^* + ra_0^*)$$
 (4)

# Foreign Country - Value of Repayment

- Assumption 1. (Binding reserve constraint) The foreign country's initial gross positions and government spending satisfy:  $g^* + \kappa b_0^* a_0^* > (1 \beta)(1 \delta)b_0^*$ .
- This guarantees that (2) and (3) bind.

#### Value of Repayment:

$$V_R^*(a^*, b^*; \underline{a}) = \left\{ u(c^*) + \frac{\beta}{1-\beta} u \left( y^* + (1-\beta) \left[ \underline{a}(1+r) - (1-\delta)b^* \right] \right) \right\}$$
(5)
subject to
$$c^* = y^* + (a^* - \underline{a}) - \kappa b^* - g^*$$

- the cont. value already imposes no-default for  $t \geq 1$  (which holds cond. on repayment in t=0)

# Foreign Country - Default Decision

**Default decision.** The decision to default at time 0 is as follows:

$$d^{*}(a^{*}, b^{*}; \underline{a}) = \begin{cases} 0 & \text{if } V_{R}^{*}(a^{*}, b^{*}; \underline{a}) \geq V_{D}^{*}(a) \\ 1 & \text{if } V_{R}^{*}(a^{*}, b^{*}; \underline{a}) < V_{D}^{*}(a) \end{cases}$$

**Assumption 2.** (Def. costs) We assume  $\phi^D$  is such that the government chooses

- 1. to repay when there are no restrictions on the use of reserves , and
- 2. to default when the harshest possible reserve restriction is imposed ( $\underline{a} = a_0^*$ ).

**Lemma 1.** (Threshold sanction,  $\hat{a}$ ) Suppose Assumption 2 holds. Let  $(a^*, b^*)$  be the initial financial position, then there exists a restriction on the use of reserves  $0 \le \hat{a} \le a_0^*$  such that  $V^R(a^*, b^*; \underline{a}) \ge V^D(a^*)$  if and only if  $\underline{a} \le \hat{a}$ .

# Home Country (US/West)

#### **Preferences:**

$$W = \sum_{t=0}^{\infty} \beta^t u(c_t) - \eta u(c_0^*)$$

- $\eta > 0$  measures the intensity with which **H** wishes to punish **F** during the war
- Note: we use  $u(c_0^*)$ , but the <u>key</u> is for the geopolitical externality to be relatively more important during the war period
- Home's portfolio:  $\alpha b_0^*$  and other net-foreign-assets  $k_0$ .
- Given constant income y and constant return on its portfolio (1 + r), Home's consumption is

$$c_t = y + (1 - \beta) [\alpha b_0^* (1 - d^*) + k_0], \quad \forall t \ge 0$$

## **Home Country - Welfare**

$$W(\underline{a}; d^*) = \frac{1}{1-\beta} u \left( y + (1-\beta)(\alpha b_0^*(1-d^*) + k_0) \right) - \eta u(c_0^*(\underline{a}, d^*))$$
 (6)

- $c_0^*(\underline{a}, d^*) \equiv \text{consump.}$  available to **F** as a function of  $\underline{a}$  and its default decision  $d^*$ .
- **H**'s welfare is entirely determined by the **F**'s default decision and by  $c_0^*(\underline{a}, d^*)$
- **H** can alter both with its sanctions, <u>a</u>
- <u>Trade-off:</u> imposing restrictions reduces the geopolitical externality, but it may trigger a default, which implies fewer resources for H.

# **Equilibrium**

Stackelberg-Nash eqm. H moves first by setting  $\underline{a}$ , F moves second by choosing  $d^*$ 

**Definition 1. (Stackelberg-Nash equilibrium)** A Stackelberg Nash equilibrium is a policy for the home country  $\underline{\mathbb{A}}$  and a best response for the foreign country  $\mathbb{D}^*(\underline{a})$  such that

$$\underline{\mathbb{A}} = \operatorname{argmax}_{\underline{a}} W(\underline{a}; \mathbb{D}^*(\underline{a})),$$

where

$$\mathbb{D}^{*}(\underline{a}) = \begin{cases} 0 & \text{if} \quad V_{R}\left(a^{*}, b^{*}; \underline{a}\right) \geq V_{D}\left(a^{*}\right), \\ 1 & \text{if} \quad V_{R}\left(a^{*}, b^{*}; \underline{a}\right) < V_{D}\left(a^{*}\right), \end{cases}$$

and  $V_R$ ,  $V_D$  and W were defined in (4), (5), and (6), respectively.

- Solve by backward induction.
- Distinguish the payoffs when F defaults and when it repays (which is a function of  $\underline{a}$ )

# **Home Country's Optimal Policy**

Let us define the payoff function  $\tilde{W}(\underline{a}) = W(\underline{a}; d^*(a, b; \underline{a}))$ . We have that

$$\tilde{W}(\underline{a}) = \begin{cases} \frac{1}{1-\beta} u(y + (1-\beta)(\alpha b_0^* + k_0)) - \eta u(y^* - g^* + a_0^* - \underline{a} - \kappa b_0^*) & \text{if } \underline{a} \leq \hat{a}. \\ \frac{1}{1-\beta} u(y + (1-\beta)k_0) - \eta u(y^* - g^* - \phi^D) & \text{if } \underline{a} > \hat{a}. \end{cases}$$

- $\tilde{W}(\underline{a})$  is strictly increasing in  $\underline{a}$  if  $\underline{a} \leq \hat{a}$  while it is independent of  $\underline{a}$  if  $\underline{a} > \hat{a}$ .
- $\tilde{W}(\underline{a})$  features in general a discontinuity at  $\underline{a} = \hat{a}$ .
- It follows that H's policy satisfies <u>a</u> ≥ â.
   In particular, the solution is either <u>a</u> = â or any <u>a</u> > â.
- In other words: conditional on inducing F to repay, H squeezes F's resources up to the point at which it becomes indifferent between repaying and defaulting.
- When the geopol. externality  $\eta$  is low, the outcome is that the H induces repayment. However, if  $\eta$  is large, it's optimal for H to induce default.

## Equilibrium – Proposition 1

**Proposition 1.** (Threshold externality,  $\hat{\eta}$ ) There exists a threshold

$$\hat{\eta} = \frac{u(y + (1 - \beta)(\alpha b_0^* + k_0)) - u(y + (1 - \beta)k_0)}{(1 - \beta)\left[u(y^* - g^* + a_0^* - \hat{a} - \kappa b_0^*)\right] - u(y^* - g^* - \phi^D)} > 0$$

such that:

- if  $\eta \leq \hat{\eta}$ , the home country chooses  $\underline{a} = \hat{a}$  and the foreign country repays, and
- if  $\eta > \hat{\eta}$ , the home country sets  $\underline{a} > \hat{a}$  and the foreign country defaults.

## Discussion of Proposition 1

- Proposition 1 underscores how the model can account for the evolution of the motivating facts: first "soft" restrictions, then "hard" ones.
- Theoretically, the finding that a creditor may find it optimal to push the debtor into default is perhaps surprising
  - ightarrow subtle because the decision to default by F is optimal, which means that restrictions larger than  $\hat{a}$  do not actually hurt F
- <u>Crucial feature:</u> H suffers more from current than future F utility flows (externality tilted towards present, war period).
- Show in an Appendix that if the H were to face a constant geopolitical externality over time, it would never be optimal to trigger a default. It would choose  $\eta = \hat{\eta}$ .

# A Simple Calibration

# **A Numerical Example**

**Goal:** gauge the quant. effects of the geopol. external. and argue that under plausible params. the model can account for the events surrounding the Russian default

- Parameterize F using Russian data and H using US data
- ullet Log utility for both countries. 1 period =1 year
- Normalize y = 1, make  $y^* = y/14$ .
- ullet World interest rate r=0.01 and eta=1/(1+r)
- Russian portfolio:  $a_0^*=0.3y^*$ ,  $b_0^*=.2y^*$ ,  $\delta=0.14$  (maturity  $\approx 6.8$  yrs.)
- US initial portfolio:  $k_0 = -0.6y$ ;  $\alpha = 0.5$  (Russian debt held by foreigners)
- Given previous parameters:
  - Set  $g^*$  to min. value that satisfies Assumption 1
  - Set  $\phi^D$  so that  $\hat{a} = a_0^* \kappa b_0^*$

# A Numerical Example - Parameter Values

Income in H	У	1
Income in F	<i>y</i> *	<i>y</i> /14
World interest rate	r	0.01
Discount factor	$\beta$	1/(1 + r)
Initial Reserves in F	$a_0^*$	$0.3  y^*$
Initial Debt in <i>F</i>	$b_0^*$	$0.2  y^*$
Coupon decay rate	$\delta$	0.138
Other net-foreign-assets in H	$k_0$	-0.6 y
H's exposure to $F$ 's debt	$\alpha$	0.50
Default cost	$\phi^D$	$0.13  y^*$
War spending	$g^*$	$0.28  y^*$
Geopolitical externality	$\{\eta^{Low}, \eta^{High}\}$	{0.03, 0.05}

#### Results - Value Functions and Thresholds

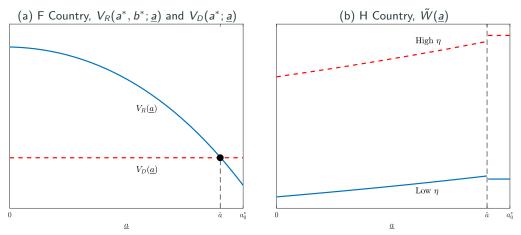


Figure 3: Value functions for Home and Foreign Countries

- ullet Low  $\eta$ : squeeze but don't trigger default; High  $\eta$ : trigger default
- $\hat{\eta} = 0.04 \rightarrow H$  is willing to suffer a 0.01% decline in permanent consumption to reduce the utility of F to its level under default

# Conclusions

#### **Conclusions**

- Present a simple model to think about the implications of restrictions on the use of international reserves as economic sanctions
- We find that soft restrictions come at no cost for the sanctioning country—they
  restrict resources available to the sanctioned country without negative
  consequences for the sanctioning country.
- However, hard restrictions (e.g. a complete freezing of reserves ) can trigger a default.
- Even though the decision to default is an optimal response by the sanctioned country, we show that a complete freezing of reserves may be optimal when the geopolitical externality is high

# Conclusions (2)

- Extensions:
  - Income uncertainty; preference shocks (e.g. a shifter in the geopolitical externality)
  - Interact with other sanctions: trade (most clear case)
  - Discrete vs. Continuous punishment technologies

• Exciting research topic. Lots to explore. **Congrats** again to the *Kiel Institute* on this new venture!

