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**Articles** 

## Determinants of developing country debt: the revolving door of debt rescheduling through the Paris Club and export credits

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that, following debt restructuring, new export credit guarantees and/or loans were

forthcoming to these countries from the ECAS of the creditor countries that rescheduled their old debt in Paris Club negotiations during 2000–12.

## Keywords:

## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Samuel Barkin, Tina Zappile, Stephanie Rickard and Pablo Toral for helpful comments and suggestions. This work was supported by the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs at Pennsylvania State University, Altoona under Grant 276-11. Research assistance was provided by Makayla Zonfrilli and Justin Girven. Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the International Studies Association Annual Conference in San Francisco, CA, April 3–6, 2013 and at the International Studies Association Northeast Conference in Baltimore, MD, November 1–4, 2012.

## Notes

9. Ibid.

1. Street

2. Gunte

3. Oatley

4. Nooru

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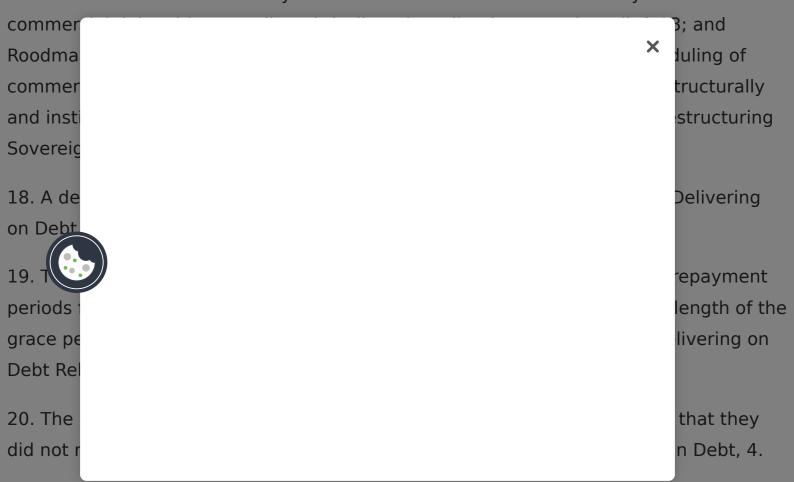
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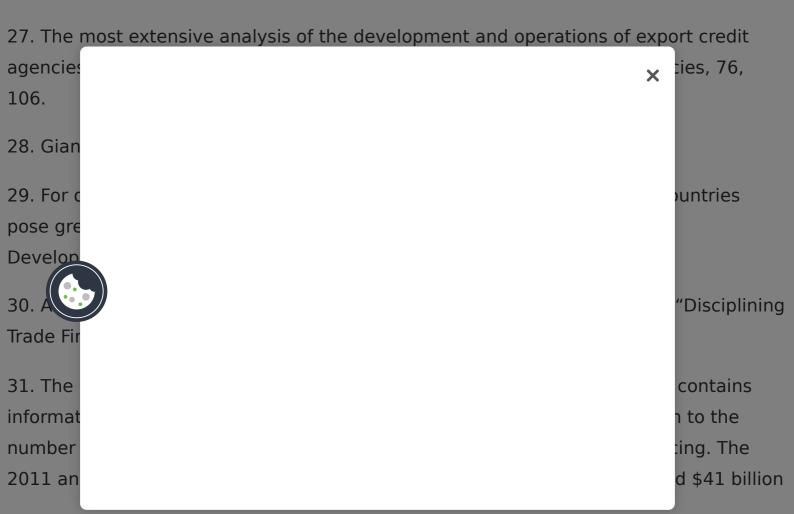
7. Gama

8. Cheru

- 10. Boorman, "Dealing Comprehensively, and Justly, with Sovereign Debt," 226.
- 11. This process is known as the 'subordination strategy', in which old loans are subordinated to new credits in order to continue with the flow of new credits in the form of guarantees or insurance. The process allows many of these countries to continue to be eligible for additional export loans. See M. Kuhn, Official Financing for Developing Countries, 24.
- 12. Gunter, "Achieving the MDGS," 50; Arslanalp and Henry, "Helping the Poor to Help Themselves," 175–176.
- 13. Fosu, "The Impact of External Debt on Economic Growth"; and Fosu, "Implications of the External Debt-servicing Constraint."
- 14. Taylor, "The Debt Problem of Sub-Saharan Africa," 10.
- 15. Greene, "The External Debt Problem of Sub-Saharan Africa," 841.
- 16. Ibid., 837. See also Rieffel, Restructuring Sovereign Debt, 4.
- 17. Low-income International Development Association (IDA) only countries that were heavily indebted could take advantage of the IDA Debt Reduction Facility also established in 1989. This facility was established to restructure and buy back



- 21. Birdsall et al., Delivering on Debt Relief, 24-25.
- 22. Borensztein et al., Living with Debt; and Lora and Olivera, Public Debt and Social Expenditure.
- 23. A detailed study of these issues is provided in Gupta et al., "Debt Relief and Public Health Spending." For a more detailed analysis of the development of the HIPC as a response to increased poverty in countries under IMF and World Bank programmes, see Blackmon, "Rethinking Poverty."
- 24. Birdsall et al., Delivering on Debt Relief, 24-25.
- 25. A book chapter by Bird and Powell examining debt relief initiatives did mention the involvement of ECAS by noting that aid agencies of creditor countries did not want to see increases in aid budget monies for low-income countries used for old ECA credits, see Bird and Powell, "Debt Relief in Low-income Countries," 181–182. However, the omission of developing country debt incurred as a result of ECA activity is surprising in articles such as Easterly, "How Did Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Become Heavily Indebted?"
- 26. Eurodad, Exporting Goods or Exporting Debts?



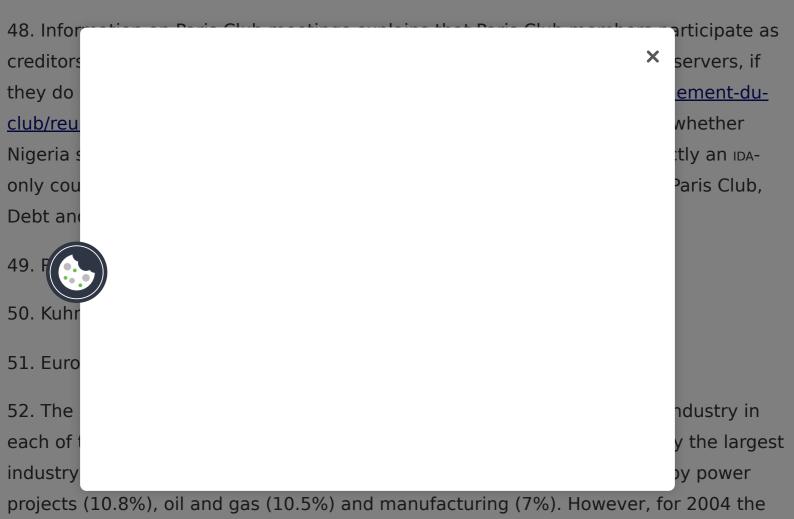
- worth of US exports and an estimated 290,000 US jobs at more than 3600 US companies. US Export-Import Bank, Annual Report, 2011, 4.
- 32. For specific reasons as to why firms used the financing provided by the US Export-Import Bank in order to mitigate the risks of doing business in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, see Blackmon, In the Shadow of Russia, 83–88. For detailed information on specific firms that use ECAS to support their projects in developing countries, see Blackmon, "Global Companies," 300–315.
- 33. Kuhn et al. Officially Supported Export Credits, 12, 14.
- 34. All definitions are taken from the World Development Indicators/Global Development Finance Database series definitions. The permanent url for database information is at <a href="http://go.worldbank.org/B53SONGPA0">http://go.worldbank.org/B53SONGPA0</a>.
- 35. The World Bank defines low-income economies as having a GNI per capita of \$1005 or less and lower middle-income economies as having a GNI per capita of \$1006 to \$3975, as of May 2012. <a href="http://data.worldbank.org/news/new-country-classifications">http://data.worldbank.org/news/new-country-classifications</a>, accessed October 26, 2012.
- 36. These debt indicators are found in the World Development Indicators/Global Development Finance database.



- as a typical export credit agency. They come in all shapes and sizes.'
- 44. For example, I was able to receive information from the UK's ECGD for 2000–04 via a Freedom of Information Request through email correspondence.
- 45. US Export-Import Bank, Annual Report, 2004, 16.
- 46. Current information available at Individual Transaction Information. <a href="https://www19.edc.ca/edcsecure/disclosure/DisclosureView.aspx?yr=2009&lang=EN">https://www19.edc.ca/edcsecure/disclosure/DisclosureView.aspx?yr=2009&lang=EN</a>.

Information from 2001–10 was sent to the author via email from an EDC representative.

47. I was provided with data from the ECGD's Annual Review and Resource Accounts for 2000–04 by a representative of the department under a Freedom of Information Request, but was denied data prior to 2000 because the ECGD representative estimated that it would take longer than the approved time of 40 hours to process my request. Before its financial report for 2000–01, the ECGD did not publish a list of guarantees in its annual report. I was provided with EDC data on its export credit activity for 2001–10, including on which countries received guarantees and/or loans from it, with amounts, and the month, day and year of the financial support, by a representative of EDC. However, I was informed that the disclosure policy for EDC began in 2001, which meant that only transactions from that date onwards were available.



- category 'all other' comprised 33.3%, a category which encompasses many projects detailed in this article. US Export-Import Bank, Annual Report, 2004, 69.
- 53. UK ECGD, Annual Review and Resource Accounts, 2004–05, 2005–06 and 2008–09.
- 54. Current information available at Individual Transaction Information.

  <a href="https://www19.edc.ca/edcsecure/disclosure/DisclosureView.aspx?yr=2009&lang=EN">https://www19.edc.ca/edcsecure/disclosure/DisclosureView.aspx?yr=2009&lang=EN</a>.

  Information from 2001–10 was sent to the author via email from an EDC representative.
- 55. World Bank, Global Development Finance, 177.
- 56. Kenya's PPG Multilateral Debt also increased during this time from \$2836 million in 2000 to \$3426 million in 2005 and to \$4110 million in 2010. Thus Kenya saw increases in both PPG Bilateral Debt (attributed in part to increases in export credit facilities) and PPG Multilateral Debt from 2000 to 2010. World Bank, Global Development Finance, 177.
- 57. Paris Club, "Paris Club Creditors agreed on December 10, 2001 with the Government of the Republic of Ghana to a Restructuring of its Public External Debt," press release, <a href="http://www.clubdeparis.org/sections/communication/archives-2001/ghana/viewLanguage/en">http://www.clubdeparis.org/sections/communication/archives-2001/ghana/viewLanguage/en</a>, accessed May 2012. For detailed information on the HIPC process, including the criteria for reaching the decision point and completion point, see Blackmon, "International Economic Institutions and Global Justice," 4028–4029.

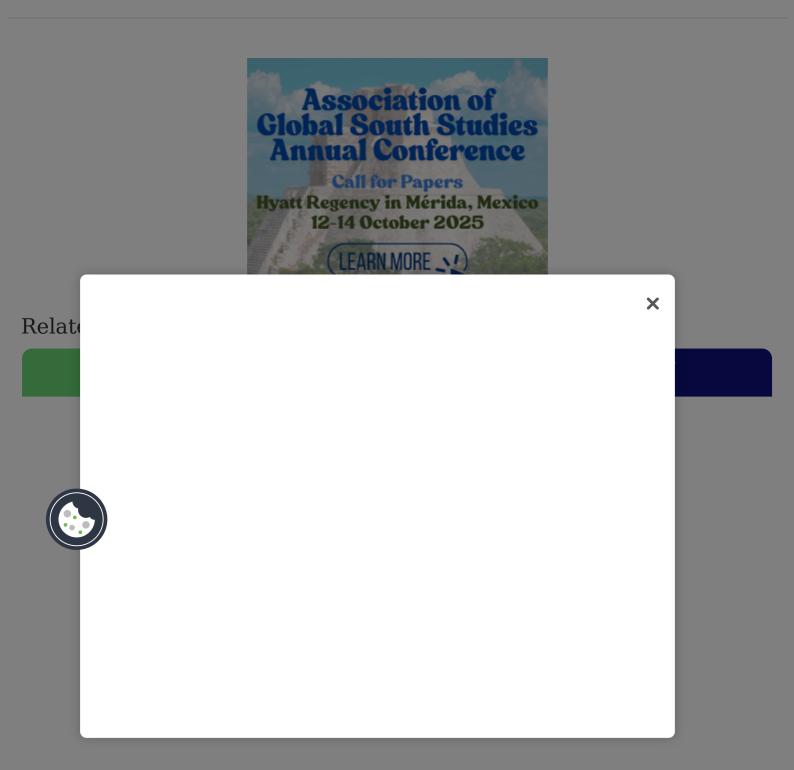


- 63. US Export-Import Bank, Annual Report, 2010, 23.
- 64. World Bank, Global Development Finance, 149.
- 65. UK ECGD, Annual Review and Resource Accounts, 2008-09, 12.
- 66. Current information available at Individual Transaction Information.

https://www19.edc.ca/edcsecure/disclosure/DisclosureView.aspx?yr=2009&lang=EN. Information from 2001–10 was sent to the author via email by an EDC representative.

67. World Bank, Global Development Finance, 149.

68. Ibid.



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