### The International Debt Crisis - II

## The Explosive Emergence of the Debt Crisis

- --reading: "The Debt-Bomb Threat"
- --reading: "The Third World threat to the West's Recovery"
- --reading: "Austerity Pushes Brazil to the Brink of Social Upheaval"
- --reading: C.Herold, "Assaulting the Heavens: Class Struggle and the Brazilian Debt Crisis"

# The Debate over the IMF Solutions to the Debt Crisis

- --reading: annotated bibliography on this subject
- --reading: "IMF Austerity prescriptions could be hazardous"
- --reading: IMF's Camdessus defends, "Fund Policy on Adjustment & Financing"

# **Debt** "Bomb? $\Rightarrow$ explosion?

- --default would ⇒ collapse of debtor country economies, ↓ GNP
  - -- $\uparrow$  interest rates  $\Rightarrow \uparrow$  interest payment on debt  $\Rightarrow \uparrow$  debt service ratio (i repayment/export earnings)
  - --less profits available for investment k contraction of I, GNP
  - --likely austerity to follow, ↓ C as well as I, GNP
- --default would ⇒ collapse of creditor country economies, financial systems
  - --↓ debtor M's would  $\Rightarrow$  ↓ creditor X's  $\Rightarrow$  ↓ GNP
  - --collapse of creditor financial system
    - -- danger of chain of defaults
    - --big, highly exposed banks
    - --loan loss reserves only = 12% of exposure
    - --failures to collect already  $\Rightarrow \downarrow p$
    - --failures to collect already  $\Rightarrow \downarrow$  share values
    - --collapse would require FED to provide \$ to creditor banks in trouble
- -- dangers of social explosion
  - --in debtor countries: in response to contraction and subsequent austerity
  - --in creditor countries: in response to contraction and subsequent austerity

### **Solution Possibilities**

- --reschedule and roll over debt
- --debtors default or creditors write off debt
- --reduce debt (lower i, longer repayment)
- --increase loan loss reserves
- --create secondary market for debt and let value decline

#### **Actual Solution**

- --reschedule and roll over debt which ⇒ MORE debt, often with HIGHER interest rates
- --condition for roll-over = continued payback (\$100s of billions paid back in 1980s, 1990s)
- --IMF Conditionality: austerity
- --FED ↑ money supply somewhat allowing i to fall somewhat (still high but not SO high) (also decrease in interest rates for Consumption k partial reversal of SS policy)
- --all this bought time to cope with social/political relations
- --eventually (1987) Citicorp increased loan loss reserves (admitted debt would not be fully repaid)
- --eventually (1989) IMF accepted some debt reduction

### Case Study: Brazil

- --policy shifts result of grassroots/working class antagonistic opposition to govt policies
- --policy reversal in 1974 after initial austerity reaction to 4X ↑ oil prices
  - --reversal reaction to election loss, popular grassroots opposition to military regime
- --result of reversal was rapid build up of Brazilian debt, laying grounds for crisis, lots of money for C --policy reversal in 1979 after second oil price shock
  - --reversal was a reaction to reemergence of labor movement in ABC
  - --result was deepening of debt and continuing difficulty in repayment, cont'd crisis

- --debt moratoria in 1987
  - --due to delay in imposition of austerity due to govt fear of reaction in elections
  - --this resulted in failure of Cruzado Plan and refusal to pay debt

# Debate over the IMF

- --critiques of IMF "conditionality" and "structural adjustment" programs are of several sorts
  --compaints that the wrong people are being made to pay (not those who borrowed money); that debt
  repayment is used as an excuse for anti-labor, anti-consumption changes in policy; that while it may
  make sense for one country to reduce imports and expand exports, this can not be pursued by all, it is
  simply impossible and damages world trade; that the net effect is depression rather than restoration of
  economic growth
- --IMF responses: programs DO improve balance of payments, in long run WILL restore conditions of dev.