Open letter to BlackRock, Zambia's creditors and the G20

Lower income countries are facing a series of financial shocks. Food and energy import costs have soared, interest rates are rising, and the dollar has increased in value. These shocks are all serving to intensify the debt crisis faced by many countries.

Over the last decade of low global interest rates, private lenders charged high-interest loans to lower income countries. The supposed logic for charging poorer countries far higher interest rates than richer countries was the greater risk of economic shocks that could make debt repayment more difficult. That risk has now materialised, firstly through a global pandemic, and now the price shocks and interest rate increases of 2022.

In 2020, the G20's response to the pandemic was to offer a suspension of debt service. However, because it only covered loans from governments and not those of private lenders and multilateral institutions, less than a quarter of debt payments were suspended for the countries which applied for the scheme.¹ The Debt Service Suspension Initiative (DSSI) was voluntary and only covered suspension of debt repayments rather than a restructuring of debt stock.

As well as making the scheme less effective, the voluntary character of the arrangement created a moral hazard whereby private creditors benefited from the fiscal space generated by the official debt suspension in order to keep obtaining debt repayment in full. This situation prevented countries from freeing up resources to fight the health and economic crises prompted by the pandemic. In addition, it incentivised private creditors to refuse to engage in any future debt relief initiatives, and continue to lend recklessly, by making it profitable to free-ride on the concessions offered by other creditors. The G20 then created a new Common Framework for debt restructuring that provides for coordinated official debt relief and requires private creditors to participate on comparable terms. Yet, 18 months after three countries applied for the scheme at the start of 2021 (Chad, Ethiopia and Zambia) none have yet had any debt restructured.

Negotiations in Zambia are now at a crucial stage. The country's public lenders, including China, have agreed to take part in a debt restructuring, on condition that private lenders also do so on the same terms.² Of Zambia's external government debt payments between 2022 and 2028, 45% are to Western private lenders, 37% to Chinese public and private lenders, 10% to multilateral institutions and 8% to other governments.³

The Common Framework calls for debt relief levels that are consistent with the debtor's capacity to pay and ability to maintain essential spending needs. To achieve this purpose, the cooperation of all types of creditors is crucial. This includes BlackRock, the world's largest asset manager, which is the largest owner of Zambian bonds, holding \$220 million.⁴ Because of the high interest rates and the fact Zambia's bonds have been trading at well below face value since 2018,⁵ many bondholders stand to make huge profits at the expense of both Zambian citizens and creditor countries if paid at face value. It is therefore imperative that BlackRock and other bondholders agree to fully engage in a large-scale debt restructuring, including significant haircuts, in order to make Zambia's debt sustainable.

It is of little help if the terms of a restructuring are so onerous that Zambia would still face debt distress and be forced to negotiate another restructuring soon.

Zambia's bonds are all governed by English law.⁶ In 2010, the UK parliament passed a ground-breaking Act to enforce a previous debt relief scheme, the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries initiative, on debts governed by English law. The UK should do the same again to ensure that all private creditors comply with the terms of G20 Common Framework debt restructurings. New York - the other key jurisdiction for sovereign debts - should do the same.

At a time of global crisis, it is economically inefficient and morally wrong for high interest debts to be paid to private lenders, while governments cut back on support for their own people. The world urgently needs a strengthened scheme to deliver debt restructuring for countries and people in need.

Signed-by:

- 1. Jeffrey Sachs, University Professor at Columbia University, USA
- 2. Jayati Ghosh, Professor of Economics, University of Massachusetts Amherst, USA
- 3. Philip Alston, Professor of Law, NYU School of Law, US, and former United Nations Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights
- 4. Raj Patel, Research Professor, Lyndon B Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas at Austin, US
- 5. Cephas Lumina, Visiting Professor of Law, University of Lusaka, Advocate of the High Court of Zambia and former United Nations Independent Expert on the effects of foreign debt and other related international financial obligations of States on the full enjoyment of all human rights, particularly economic, social and cultural rights (2008-2014)
- 6. Celine Tan, Professor of International Economic Law, University of Warwick, UK
- 7. Grieve Chelwa, Director of Research, Institute on Race, Power and Political Economy, The New School, New York, US
- 8. Jomo Kwame Sundaram, Emeritus Professor University of Malaya and former UN Assistant Secretary General for Economic and Social Affairs
- 9. Isabel Ortiz, Director Global Social Justice IPD, former Director at the United Nations ILO and UNICEF
- 10. Juan Pablo Bohoslavsky, Researcher (CONICET, Argentina), and former United Nations Independent Expert on the effects of foreign debt and other related international financial obligations of States on the full enjoyment of all human rights, particularly economic, social and cultural rights (2014-2020)
- 11. Karina Patricio Ferriera Lima, Lecturer in Commercial Law, University of Leeds, UK
- 12. Daniel Ozarow Senior Lecturer, Middlesex University Business School
- 13. Ugo Panizza, Professor of Economics and Pictet Chair in Finance and Development at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, Switzerland
- 14. Peter Doyle, Former Division Chief at the IMF's European Department
- 15. Oscar Ugarteche, Instituto de Investigaciones Econòmicas UNAM, Mexico
- 16. Andres Arauz, Senior Research Fellow, CEPR and former Minister of Knowledge Ecuador and former Central Bank General Director
- 17. James Thuo Gathii, Wing-Tat Lee Chair in International Law, Loyola University Chicago School of Law, US

- 18. Kunibert Raffer, Retired Professor of Economics, University of Vienna, Austria
- 19. Jason Hickel, Professor at the Institute for Environmental Science and Technology at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, and <u>Visiting Senior Fellow</u> at the International Inequalities Institute at the London School of Economics, UK
- 20. Leon Sealey-Huggins, Assistant Professor, Global Sustainable Development programme, University of Warwick
- 21. Kevin P. Gallagher, Director, Global Development Policy Center, Boston University, USA
- 22. Daniela Gabor, Professor of Economics and Macro-Finance, UWE Bristol, UK
- 23. Alan Cibils, Professor of Economics, Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento, Buenos Aires, Argentina
- 24. Amiya Kumar Bagchi, Emeritus Professor, Institute of Development Studies, Kolkata, India
- 25. Andrew M. Fischer, Professor of Inequality, Social Protection and Development, Institute of Social Studies (The Hague), part of Erasmus University Rotterdam
- 26. Manuel F Montes, Society for International Development
- 27. Özlem Onaran, Professor of Economics, University of Greenwich, UK
- 28. Kate Bayliss, Senior Research Fellow, School of Global Studies, University of Sussex, UK
- 29. Johnna Montgomerie, Professor of International Political Economy, Department of European & International Studies, King's College London, UK
- 30. Jan Toporowski, Professor of Economics and Finance, SOAS University of London, UK
- 31. Paul Gilbert, Senior Lecturer in International Development, School of Global Studies, University of Sussex, UK
- 32. Annalisa Prizzon, Senior Research Fellow, ODI, UK
- 33. Luke Cooper, Senior Research Fellow, London School of Economics, UK
- 34. Gibrán Cruz-Martínez, Assistant Professor Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain
- 35. Hulya Dagdeviren, Professor of International Development, University of Hertfordshire, UK
- 36. Laila Kadiwal, Lecturer in Education and International Development at the UCL Institute of Education, UK
- 37. Joseph Hanlon, Visiting senior fellow, London School of Economics, UK
- 38. C. Saratchand, Professor, Satyawati College, University of Delhi, India
- 39. Tanni Mukhopadhyay, Consultant UNDP
- 40. Aaron Schneider, Professor Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver, US
- 41. Pete Vechsuruck, Assistant Professor of Economics at the University of Rhode Island, US
- 42. Pablo Gabriel Bortz, Professor, National University of San Martin, Argentina
- 43. Sunanda Sen, Retired Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India
- 44. Thomas Kruse, Program Director, Rockefeller Brothers Fund
- 45. Mritiunjoy Mohanty, Professor of Economics, IIM Calcutta, Kolkata, India
- 46. Rajeev Rana, Assistant Professor Graphic Era University, DEU Dehradun Uttarakhand, India
- 47. Pinar Kahya, Researcher, Inonu University, Turkey
- 48. Paul Shaffer, Professor, IDST, Trent University, Canada
- 49. Dereje Alemayehu, Executive Coordinator, Global Alliance for Tax Justice
- 50. Ravi Bhandari, Professor of Economics, Skyline College, San Bruno, California, USA
- 51. Gustavo Indart, Professor Emeritus, Department of Economics, University of Toronto
- 52. Abhishek Shrestha, Program Director, Digo Bikas Institute, Nepal

- 53. Alicia Puyana, Professor, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), Mexico
- 54. Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, Professor of International Affairs, The New School, New York, US
- 55. Molly Anderson, William R. Kenan Jr. Professor of Food Studies, Middlebury College, US
- 56. Chirashree Das Gupta, Associate Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India
- 57. Sattwick Dey Biswas, Research Fellow, Institute of Public Policy, Banglore, India
- 58. Ana Maria R. Nemenzo, National Coordinator, WomanHealth, Philippines
- 59. Leonardo E. Stanley, Associate Researcher at the Centre for the Study of State and Society (CEDES), Argentina
- 60. Arthur MacEwan, Professor Emeritus of Economics, University of Massachusetts Boston, US
- 61. Lara Merling, Senior Policy Advisor, Boston University Global Development Policy Center, US
- 62. Ma. Victoria Raquiza, Associate Professor, University of the Philippines Diliman
- 63. Mwangi wa Githinji, Associate Professor of Economics University of Massachusetts-Amherst, US
- 64. David G Legge, Scholar Emeritus, Department of Public Health, La Trobe University, Melbourne and People's Health Movement
- 65. Benny Kuruvilla, Researcher at Focus on the Global South
- 66. Emilia Reyes Program Director, Equidad de Género: Ciudadanía, Trabajo y Familia, Mexico
- 67. Francisco Cantamutto, Associate Researcher at the Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas y Sociales del Sur UNS-CONICET, Bahía Blanca, Argentina
- 68. Mariama Williams Manager & Principal Consultant, Integrated Policy Research Institute
- 69. Radha Paudel, Founder/Global South Coalition for Dignified Menstruation
- 70. Krishnakumar S, Associate Professor, Department of Economics, Sri Venkateswara College, University of Delhi, India
- 71. Priti Darooka, Managing Trustee, Programme on Women's Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
- 72. Geri Mason, Professor of Economics, Seattle Pacific University, US
- 73. Sonal Raghuvanshi, Researcher, Centre for Financial Accountability, India
- 74. Anita Nayar Director, Regions Refocus
- 75. C P Chandrasekhar, Senior Research Fellow, PERI
- 76. Anu Chenoy, Retired Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India
- 77. Cheryl-Lyn Selman, Researcher and special Projects Lead at the Institute for Economic Justice, South Africa
- 78. Eduard Marinov, Associate Professor, New Bulgarian University
- 79. Machiko Nissanke, Emeritus Professor of Economics, SOAS, University of London, UK
- 80. Bodo Ellmers, Director, Financing for Sustainable Development Program, Global Policy Forum
- 81. Elisa Van Waeyenberge, Professor of Development Economics, SOAS University of London, UK
- 82. Thomas Lagoarde-Segot, Professor of Economics, KEDGE Business School, France
- 83. Mah Hui Lim, Chairman, Third World Network
- 84. Anis Chowdhury, Adjunct Professor, School of Business, Western Sydney University, Australia

- 85. Munalula Ngenda, Doctoral Researcher, Politics and International Studies, SOAS, University of London, UK
- 86. Barry Herman, Member, Advisory Board, Social Justice in Global Development
- 87. Aishwarya Bhuta, Policy Analyst, Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability, India
- 88. Joan Grant Cummings, Volunteer Convenor, Regional Network of Caribbean Women
- 89. Radhika Balakrishnan, Professor, Department of Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies, School of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, US
- 90. Leith Dunn, Honorary Research Fellow, University of the West Indies
- 91. Jean-Francois Ponsot, Full Professor of Economics, Universite Grenoble Alpes, France
- 92. Antoinette R. Raquiza, Professor, University of the Philippines
- 93. Yavuz Yasar, Professor, University of Denver, US
- 94. Gita Sen, General Co-coordinator, DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era)
- 95. Nick Bernards, Associate Professor, University of Warwick, UK
- 96. Philip Cerny, Professor Emeritus of Politics, University of Manchester, UK
- 97. Andreas Bieler, Professor of Political Economy, University of Nottingham, UK
- 98. Ben Richardson, Reader in International Political Economy, University of Warwick, UK
- 99. Mridul Eapen, Hon. Fellow, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum, India
- 100. Gautam Bandyopadhyay, National Coordinator, Nadi Ghati Morcha, India
- 101. Singumbe Muyeba, Assistant Professor, Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver, US
- 102. Shalmali Guttal, Executive Director, Focus on the Global South
- 103. Friederike Strub, Gender & Macroeconomics Lead, Bretton Woods Project
- 104. Bhumika Muchhala, Senior Advisor and Advocate, Third World Network
- 105. Jo Michell, Associate Professor of Economics, UWE Bristol, UK
- 106. Amy Horton, Lecturer in Economic Geography, University College London, UK
- 107. A. Kerem Ozdemir, Faculty Member, Istanbul University/School of Business, Turkey
- 108. Andreas Antoniades, Senior Lecturer in Global Political Economy, University of Sussex, UK

For further detail see:

Connelly, Patricio Ferreira Lima and Tan (2022), 'Submission of Evidence to the House of Commons International Development Committee for the inquiry into debt relief in lowincome countries, examining the impact of high levels of debt on development and the tools and strategies employed to reduce the debt burden', 22 June 2022 <u>https://committees.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/109458/pdf/</u>

Connelly, Patricio Ferreira Lima and Tan (2020), 'Proposal for debt suspension legislation' The IEL Collective, Law and Finance Working Group, 3 June 2020 <u>https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/law/research/centres/globe/ielcollective/working-</u> <u>groups/lawfinance/debt/proposal for debt suspension legislation - final.pdf</u>

References

³ Debt Justice (2022), 'African governments owe three times more debt to private lenders than China', 11 July 2022 <u>https://debtjustice.org.uk/press-release/african-governments-owe-three-times-more-debt-to-private-lenders-than-china</u>

⁴ Inman, P (2022). 'BlackRock urged to delay debt repayments from crisis-torn Zambia', 11 April 2022 <u>https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/apr/11/blackrock-urged-to-delay-debt-repayments-from-crisis-torn-zambia</u>

⁵ For example, the price history of Zambia's bond maturing in 2024 is available here: <u>https://markets.businessinsider.com/bonds/sambia-republikdl-bonds 201424 regs-bond-2024-xs1056386714</u>

⁶ Zambia Ministry of FInance (2012, 2014 and 2015), Bond prospectuses, various issues, 2012, 2014, 2015: <u>https://ftalphaville-cdn.ft.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Zambia2012bond.pdf</u> <u>https://www.rns-pdf.londonstockexchange.com/rns/3764E_-2014-4-8.pdf</u> <u>https://www.rns-pdf.londonstockexchange.com/rns/3230U_-2015-7-28.pdf</u>

¹ Financial Times (2021), 'G20 plan for Covid debt relief to poor countries falls short', 12 October 2021 <u>https://www.ft.com/content/00b21f50-b8e2-4460-835d-98e26354f404</u>

² Paris Club (2022), 2ND MEETING OF THE CREDITOR COMMITTEE FOR ZAMBIA UNDER THE COMMON FRAMEWORK', 18 July 2022 <u>https://clubdeparis.org/en/communications/press-release/2nd-meeting-of-thecreditor-committee-for-zambia-under-the-common</u>