ODIOUS LENDING
Debt relief as if morals mattered
nef is an independent think-and-do tank that inspires and demonstrates real economic well-being.

We aim to improve quality of life by promoting innovative solutions that challenge mainstream thinking on economic, environmental and social issues. We work in partnership and put people and the planet first.

nef (the new economics foundation) is a registered charity founded in 1986 by the leaders of The Other Economic Summit (TOES), which forced issues such as international debt onto the agenda of the G7/G* summit meetings. It has taken a lead in helping establish new coalitions and organisations such as the Jubilee 2000 debt campaign; the Ethical Trading Initiative; the UK Social Investment Forum; and new ways to measure social and economic well-being.
Many creditors have knowingly lent vast sums to oppressive and corrupt regimes. The proceeds of these loans were often stolen or wasted but successor governments are still expected to service them, while the creditors deny any responsibility. These are known as odious debts. nef (the new economics foundation) believes that the term ‘odious lending’ is a more accurate description.

Measuring the impact of these loans on the welfare of the citizens of the debtor countries would involve tracing the effect of servicing these loans through time. It would reveal that this impact continues to grow until the loans are cancelled and would highlight the urgency of setting up a mechanism to deal with the problem.

nef believes that a fair and transparent arbitration procedure is necessary to arrive at a resolution which would be just for creditor and debtor alike. Setting up an independent body to identify odious regimes and denying the right for creditors to pursue successor governments for payment would not only help to solve the problem of past odious loans but also create a powerful force in favour of democracy and justice for the future.
The case for debt cancellation on the grounds that vast loans were made to odious regimes, and should not be enforceable under international law, is gaining momentum. But until now, less attention has been given to how the repercussions of odious debt reverberate for many decades after an oppressive and corrupt borrower regime may have left the scene. Not only are successor governments saddled with paying off the loans, but because the borrowed money was often not put to productive use, there are inadequate funds to repay interest and capital. The result is a vicious circle of debt in which new loans have to be taken out by successive governments to service the odious ones, effectively ‘laundering’ the original loans. This defensive lending can give a legitimate cloak to debts that were originally the result of odious lending.

This nef research paper demonstrates the impact of odious debt, and how the impact continues to grow until the loan is cancelled. We also outline a proposal to address the problem of the original odious lending.

Long after odious debts are technically off the books, subsequent generations are still effectively paying for them. This nef research paper examines 13 clear cases that present a picture of the extent and impact of odious lending. These include:

- Indonesia, where in the region of US$151 billion relating to odious debts has already been ‘overpaid’ - twice the level of recorded debt. This means that Indonesia has made a cumulative net transfer to the North of US$138 billion to date - or 90 per cent of Indonesia’s GDP.
- Argentina, where in the region of US$77 billion relating to odious debts has already been ‘overpaid’ - 75 per cent of the country’s recorded debt.
- Nicaragua, where the odious debt is over five times the country’s total GDP.

The net loss to these countries economies’ often exceeds the total outstanding debt. This means that people in these – often desperately poor – countries end up paying three times for loans ostensibly taken out in their name: first they are oppressed by the regimes propped up and enriched by these loans; secondly they are impoverished by the cost of servicing the loans; and thirdly they are oppressed again by the penalties imposed if the odious regimes default.

Also, if debt cancellation only comes through the procedures of the Paris Club and the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative, they pay a fourth time when IMF conditionality imposes the often disastrous policies of trade and capital account liberalisation, privatisation, and restrictions on social expenditure.

For the ten countries identified by nef as having 100 per cent odious debt, we believe that all debt servicing is inappropriate. This means that they have been ‘overpaying’ their debt service and are due not just the cancellation of all their debts but are, in fact, owed a substantial repayment by the creditors, currently amounting
to US$383 billion. This is considerably more than their nominal debt that is still outstanding on paper.

**nef** is proposing a new process for dealing with the problem. We are calling for a new independent body that would assess the track record of regimes that incurred the debts and declare whether it was odious or legitimate. Loan contracts entered into by ‘odious’ regimes would then be deemed unenforceable.

With regard to the backlog of the past, debtor countries would be able to apply to an independent arbitration panel for a debt work-out. A moratorium would be declared on all debt service while the case was examined. Odious debts would be declared null and void before debt service could be considered on the rest. The key components of this system are:

- an internationally recognised independent body to decide on the odious nature, or otherwise of regimes
- on a country by country basis, arbitration panels consisting of representatives of: creditors to odious regimes (the ‘odious lenders’ of our title), legitimate creditors, present government and civil society with a mutually agreed chair to decide on debt work-out, designed to leave ANY country no worse off than they would have been if there were no odious loans.

As well as relieving legitimate governments of the burden imposed on them by undemocratic predecessors, this would make it much more difficult for future dictators and other corrupt regimes to raise loan finance, thus greatly strengthening the forces of democracy and justice.

We believe it is time for a new kind of debt relief for debts that have resulted from odious lending: debt relief as if morals mattered.
It forms one of three components of an integrated proposal for mechanisms to deal with current and future debt crises. The three components are:


2. Criteria by which this process would assess the level to which debts should be reduced on the basis of human rights (*Debt relief as if people mattered: A rights based approach to debt sustainability, www.jubileeresearch.org*).

3. Processes and criteria by which debts would be judged to be odious, illegal or illegitimate and the impact of odious debt on the net resource flow to a country (this research paper).

Subsequent research will examine the means to avoid and resolve financial crises, and suggest mechanisms to ensure that developing countries are able to access sufficient external financing on the right terms and conditions for sustainable human development.

If these proposals are to receive the backing needed to give them a chance to be implemented, they must be fully informed by global opinion, particularly in the South. We therefore encourage everyone who receives this both to distribute it as widely as possible, and to send their comments on it to the author, Steve Mandel, at stephen.mandel@neweconomics.org. Please indicate whether you are commenting in a personal capacity or on behalf of an organisation, and if so, please give the name of the organisation.

We would like to know your views on the following:

1. Do you have any comments on our approach to the definition of odious debt?

2. Is the general approach set out in the paper an appropriate way of assessing the extent of debt cancellation required related to odious debt? If not, what would be a better way of assessing this?

3. Do you have any comments on our proposals for institutions and processes for dealing with odious debt?

We would also appreciate your comments on the *Jubilee Framework* set out in *Chapter 9/11?* and on *Debt relief as if people mattered*.

If you would like to receive future papers in this series and others produced by nef’s *New Global Economy* programme, please contact Steve Mandel.
It seems inherently unfair if a blatantly corrupt and dictatorial regime (such as that of Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire, Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines or General Galtieri in Argentina) can take out loans in the name of its country, but without the consent of the people, steal the proceeds and then leave the unfortunate inhabitants and their children to pay back the creditors, without the creditors taking any responsibility for knowingly lending to these odious regimes. Yet this is what is currently happening, not only in what is now the Democratic Republic of Congo, but in the Philippines, in Indonesia, in Argentina, in Chile and elsewhere, often long after the perpetrators have left the scene. Loans knowingly made to odious regimes are themselves odious.

In certain cases, it would appear that decision-makers in the North have no difficulty in recognising that some sovereign debt is odious. The most recent and obvious example is that of Iraq. For example, John Snow, US Treasury Secretary, said: “The people of Iraq shouldn’t be saddled with those debts incurred through the regime of the dictator.” In introducing legislation in Congress for the relief of Iraqi debt, Representative Carolyn Maloney (D-NY) said: “There is a powerful moral case for relieving the Iraqi people of the debts incurred by Saddam’s murderous regime.” Even President Bush is on record as saying: “The future of the Iraqi people should not be mortgaged to the enormous burden of debt incurred to enrich Saddam Hussein’s regime. This debt endangers Iraq’s long-term prospects for political health and economic prosperity.”

What they see as applying to Iraq could equally be said to apply to a good number of other countries. Such decision-makers, however, have been highly selective in applying their understanding of the concept. It has only been in those cases where the North is in some way inheriting the debts or when for other reasons it is politically advantageous, that they adopt this approach. Campaigners and others are no longer content to leave the question to these self-serving and hypocritical interests. The genie of odious debt has finally been let out of the bottle by the Bush Administration’s call for special treatment for Iraq. It is time an objective review of all debts between South and North was undertaken and that lenders were called to account for their conscious lending to odious regimes.

Role of this research paper
There are a good number of papers setting out the moral and legal grounds for the cancellation of odious debt and the main issues on the question are set out in a recent discussion paper by Eurodad. This nef research paper does not seek to duplicate these but rather to illustrate the magnitude of the impact of odious debt on the net flows between North and South and thus on the welfare of the latter, and in particular to make the point that the impact of such loans carry on not only during the life of the original loan but also long after it has been repaid. Because funds have been diverted from potentially useful spending within the country to service it, and especially when new loans have been taken...
out to repay it, an odious loan will have a negative effect on the welfare of the recipient country until it has been cancelled and fair recompense made. We also present specific proposals for dealing with odious debts with the aim of promoting a discussion which could lead to a workable solution to the problem.

The paper forms the third part of a three-pronged approach to debt relief from Jubilee Research at nef. One more paper is planned in the series, which will pull the three strands together and take account of feedback received on the first three research papers.

The first was Jubilee Research's research paper Chapter 9/11? Resolving international debt crises, calling for the establishment of a Fair and Transparent Arbitration Procedure (FTAP) based on the concept enshrined in Chapter 9 of the US penal code for domestic government structures. This report argues that a government entity should not be forced to default on its obligations to its citizens in order to pay its debts. In the event that it is unable to meet its debt servicing, an independent arbitration process should determine a debt work-out that takes into account the interests of all parties, including the citizens. An FTAP is needed to deal with odious debt, since an independent arbiter is essential if both parties (creditor and debtor) are to accept the process.

The second is the research paper on debt sustainability, Debt relief as if people mattered, published in June 2006, which proposed criteria for debt cancellation on the grounds that these debts are unpayable without seriously damaging people's rights to basic health, education and well-being. Some of these debts are also odious. Both approaches are valid – logically all odious debt should be cancelled first, regardless of the resources available to repay them, followed by an assessment of the sustainability of any remaining debts. In practice, however, it may take longer to set up and implement a robust procedure for assessing the odiousness of each debt than to assess sustainability, so it is urgent that the latter be addressed without delay.

**Typology of illegitimate debt**

Before looking at odious debt in detail it is useful to put it in the context of a discussion of the more general term 'illegitimate debt'. Many kinds of debt may be considered illegitimate. The term is used by different people to mean slightly different things and confusion can arise if care is not taken. We use the term odious debt in a precise manner as one form of illegitimate debt. It is therefore necessary to unpick the latter. (All debt considered illegitimate should be due for cancellation, but the reasoning and treatment may be different for different categories.) The typology is illustrated in Figure 1 and a brief discussion is set out below.

First there is illegal debt. This is where the legal procedures of the recipient country have not been followed. For example, the loan requires (but did not receive) authorisation by parliament or the executive, or the signatory was not authorised to sign. Creditors have an obligation to make sure that such procedures are followed and should take some responsibility if they were not. Failure to follow legal procedures should render the contract null and void. Yet there are clear cases where loans were contracted in a manner that violated national law.

Then there is odious debt, the main focus of this research paper, though as we, explain it should more accurately defined as odious lending. This concept is discussed in more detail in Annex 2. In essence it is where those taking out the loan do not have the right to impose the obligation of servicing the debt on the population of the country in whose name they ostensibly take on the loan, either because they have no proper right to be in power, or because they are seriously corrupt. This is not quite synonymous with dictator debt, since democratically elected leaders could equally be blatantly corrupt, but it does include all dictator debt. In all such cases, where the lender is in a position to know that this is so, the loan should be deemed odious and therefore uncollectible. For a discussion on the question of whether an odious leader, who has no proper right to be in power, could nevertheless contract a loan
and spend it to the benefit of the people, and that therefore successor regimes should be liable for servicing the debt, see the section on fungibility below. According to Roman law, proper consent is a binding condition for a contract to be valid. It could therefore be argued that an illegitimate regime cannot contract debt legally. This would render all dictator debt illegal as well as odious.

Thirdly, there is the concept of onerous debt. In the UK, under the Consumer Credit Act 1974 (Section 138) debts are recognised as being unenforceable if their terms are unreasonable. This could be applicable to some sovereign debt, especially in cases where the borrower could be considered to have had no choice in their financial circumstances but to accept the terms of the loan, a situation specifically referred to by the Act.14

Fourthly, there is the concept of unsustainable debt. Where a debt may be legal and used for the benefit of the people and in isolation its terms are not overly onerous, it may nevertheless be unpayable because of the overall level of indebtedness of the country relative to its debt-servicing capacity. The concept of debt sustainability is at present defined very narrowly by the creditors and has focused almost entirely on a country’s ability to pay in terms of its export earnings. National governments, however, have an obligation towards their citizens to provide their basic needs for clean water, health and education and at least not to frustrate their citizens’ attempts to meet their needs for food, clothing and shelter. The freedom of the population to pursue the meeting of these needs is a fundamental human right. If a government can only meet its debt servicing by failing to provide basic health and education services and by taxing its citizens so that they cannot pay for enough food or shelter, this violates these human rights.15 It is therefore essential that any concept of debt sustainability includes an assessment of a) what level of taxation is reasonable, and b) what minimum expenditure is required to enable a government to meet its obligations to its citizens. Only after this obligation is met can funds be set aside for debt servicing. Debts incompatible with human rights should be cancelled. This concept is explored in Debt relief as if people mattered.16

When reviewing resource flows between the North and the South, it is incumbent on analysts to take into account moral debts, of which there is a wide variety of sub-categories. By mentioning them only briefly, it is not our intention to belittle their importance in seeking justice in the world order. Indeed these debts owed by the North should also be taken into account in the overall balance between North and South once other categories have been settled, but should not delay more conventional debt work-outs based on the principles outlined in this paper and in Debt relief as if people mattered.

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Figure 1. A typology of illegitimate debt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ILLEGITIMATE DEBT</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>illegal</strong></td>
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<td><strong>odious</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>onerous</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>unsustainable</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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13 Figure 1. A typology of illegitimate debt
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First there is environmental debt. In a recent book Andrew Simms, nef’s policy director, argues that all citizens of the world have an equal right to the global commons of the world’s resources of air and sea. Those consuming more than their share – particularly of the atmosphere’s capacity to absorb carbon dioxide without irreversible damage to the environment – owe a debt to the rest of the world. This is a debt owed by the rich, overwhelmingly living in financial creditor countries, to the poor who largely inhabit the so-called debtor countries. This massive unacknowledged debt puts the financial debts of the South into a very different perspective.

Secondly, many argue that the blatant exploitation of the colonial era, when vast resources of the South were taken by armed force or grossly unfair and exploitative trading, where large profits were made from the slave trade at the cost of immense human suffering, leave the North with a large unacknowledged debt against which the present financial debts of the South are insignificant. There is also a case to be made for rather more recent historical debt arising from the effect of the disastrous policies pushed by the Washington consensus and the negative effects on people’s welfare of ill-considered structural adjustment policies forced upon the South by the Bretton Woods Institutions. Perhaps these should be regarded as reparations for past exploitation, rather than repayment of a debt; nevertheless, historical debt needs to be taken into account when looking at the broad picture of resource flows.

Another factor which needs to be taken into account in some instances is that of force majeure, when external circumstance, such as conflict, natural disaster or the application of sanctions against a neighbouring odious regime might radically reduce a country’s capacity to service its loans.

**Moral hazard and odious debt**

It is common amongst creditors to talk about the moral hazard involved in cancelling debt, i.e. if debtors know they can get debts cancelled they will borrow recklessly. This argument could equally be turned around. In reality, the absence of a working concept of odious debt, combined with the creditor-controlled debt work-out mechanisms currently in place, greatly reduces the financial penalties for unwise lending to sovereign governments compared with those that exist in the private loan market where a debtor can go bankrupt and the loan has to be written off. Commercial creditors, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, were not effectively subject to the discipline of the market place and could expect the multilateral agencies to bail out otherwise bankrupt governments so that their own – the commercial creditors’ – profits were secure. This applied in particular to export credit agencies (ECAs), who could expect their own country’s taxpayers to make good their losses, even if they were unable to enforce repayment by the Southern government (and hence the taxpayers of that country). Bilateral (country to country) loans have never been subject to the discipline of the market place and have often been driven by geopolitical considerations. However, what little discipline that might have been provided by the possibility of non-repayment is absent when countries are not allowed to go bankrupt.

This creates a serious moral hazard for the creditors – they know that regardless of how recklessly they lend to oppressive, kleptocratic, corrupt and incompetent regimes they can still expect to have their loans repaid by successor governments, at the cost of the continuing impoverishment of the people in whose name (and ultimately at whose expense) these odious debts were ostensibly incurred. The population loses out at least twice: the first time from the oppression and corruption of the odious regimes supported by the loans, and a second time from having to service and pay back the loans used to oppress them and enrich their oppressors.

Despite the egregious errors of past loans and the emphasis placed by World Bank President, Paul Wolfowitz, on the problems of corruption (which is, however, highly selective in its application), the practice of lending to oppressive and corrupt regimes continues – as with the recent World Bank loans to Uzbekistan, a country where Human Rights Watch, a well-respected and
independent NGO, concluded that torture was ‘widespread’ and its human rights record ‘disastrous’\textsuperscript{20}, and Laos, which features in the worst 18 countries in the world in Freedom House democracy ratings, and towards the bottom of Reporters Without Borders’ freedom-of-the-press ratings, of which One World’s Country Brief says “Basic freedoms, including the rights to freedom of expression, association and religion, remain severely restricted”\textsuperscript{21}. Pakistan, which features in Transparency International’s most corrupt countries list and whose ruler, Pervez Musharraf, took power in a military coup, has a current World Bank portfolio (fiscal 2006) of 17 projects under implementation with a net commitment of US$1.1 billion, despite numerous human rights abuses, documented in, amongst other places, \textit{Human Rights Watch} (December 2004, October 2003).

\textbf{Box 1: Typology of loans}

\textbf{Commercial loans} – the creditor is a private financial institution, such as a bank.

\textbf{Official loans} – the creditor is a government or multilateral institution.

\textbf{Bilateral loans} – country to country.

\textbf{Multilateral loans} – between an international financing institution, such as the World Bank or Inter-American Bank and a country.

\textbf{Public loans} – the debtor is a government or a parastatal.

\textbf{Private loans} – the debtor is a private firm or individual. The loan may be publicly guaranteed as part of an export credit guarantee scheme, in which case default leads to the debt becoming official and public.

\textbf{Sovereign debt} – the debtor is a government.
The concept of odious debt as used in this research paper

An odious loan is one made to an odious regime, where the creditor should have been aware of this. The detrimental effect of this loan will last for ever until the loan is cancelled and just reparation made.

The concept of odious debt is again rising up the agenda, driven by events in Iraq, by frustration at the slow progress of official approaches to debt relief based on charity rather than justice, and a growing awareness of the injustice of the present economic order. Annex 2 sets out a brief review of the development of the doctrine in international practice and law.

Basic concept
According to Alexander Sack (see Annex 2) a debt is odious if, at the time of the loan:

1. There is a lack of consent on the part of the people.
2. There is a lack of benefit.
3. The creditor was in a position to know the above.

We would argue that:

1. A lack of consent exists whenever there is no real democracy (either because power has been taken by force or because of serious electoral fraud but not necessarily because of a one-party state if the constitution was openly approved in a democratic manner).
2. There is a lack of benefit either because of severe corruption, or because the proceeds of the loan are being used to strengthen a despotic or corrupt regime or the project is grossly ill-conceived.
3. The creditor may claim not to be aware of the first two conditions but this is not sufficient defence if they were in a position to know that this was the case.

Fungibility
Many writers on the doctrine consider the second point significant, arguing that odious regimes may nevertheless contract legitimate debt if the project directly funded by the loan is of benefit to the people (see Annex 2 for examples).

We argue, however, that even if the ostensible use of the funds was legitimate and corruption was kept within bounds, there is a prima facie case that, if the regime was odious, the granting of the loan will have eased the foreign exchange constraint, and released domestic funds for other, possibly nefarious purposes. Given that any strengthening of an odious regime can be regarded as entrenching it (thus prolonging the period of oppression), no loan to an odious regime can be considered wholly innocent. For example, the apartheid regime in South Africa quickly used the technique of floating bonds and loans for ‘innocent’ projects, such as investment in power supplies, even if foreign exchange was not needed to implement them, in order to ease the constraint that might otherwise have prevented them from buying arms for cash. We therefore conclude that for a debt to be odious, it is sufficient to show that those contracting the debt did not have the right to impose the burden of repayment on their successors (because of the absence of legitimacy or gross corruption) and that the creditor was in a position to know that this was the case. Certainly
the burden of proof should lie with the creditor (to prove benefit) in the case of an odious regime. Furthermore, it could be argued that the absence of proper consent will exist with any illegitimate regime, which should render the contract a contract with the regime and not with the state.

It could be argued that creditors should be given the opportunity to prove benefit from loans extended under odious regimes to the panel (described in our section below on proposals for dealing with the situation) when it reviews the extent of odious debt in detail. To the extent that they succeed, the figures in this report will be reduced.

**Effect of odious debt through time**

It is also a common view that although a debt contracted under an odious regime might indeed be odious, once it has been repaid (usually by taking out a new loan) by a successor government, it is then off the books and a question of history. In effect, illegitimate debt is seen as being ‘laundered’ when it is repaid in this way.

We contest this view. Any payment of interest or repayment of principal on an odious debt will leave the country worse off than it would have been had the odious debt never been contracted, because this entails either the use of resources which could have been used productively or the accumulation of new debts. We argue that an undemocratic and illegitimate government has no right to impose costs on the country’s population; and that a democratic successor government should not be worse off, in terms of its external indebtedness, than it would have been had no odious debt been incurred. This, the extent to which the country is worse off, is what we wish to measure and this effect will go on in perpetuity until the debt is cancelled.
Methodology for measuring the impact of odious debt

we compare the net transfer of resources with and without the flow from the disbursement of odious loans

Basic method
To measure the financial impact of odious debt, we compare the net transfer of resources from North to South with and without the flow from the disbursement of the odious loans. Throughout the life of the loan, interest is being incurred on the debt, which, if paid, means funds which could have been spent to the benefit of the country are transferred to the creditor, and if not paid, mount up as further debt. Repayment of the debt also prevents resources being used for the good of the people. Most frequently, new loans have to be taken out to repay the odious debt. These new loans may be incurred by a legitimate regime but they cannot be allowed to launder the odious debt.

If the odious debt had not existed the funds used to service it could have been put to good use. Furthermore, kleptocratic regimes often borrow more than their exchequers can pay and then default thus incurring penalties that rack up further debt. This way the people in these – often desperately poor – countries end up paying at least three times for the loans ostensibly taken out in their name: first they are oppressed by the regimes propped up and enriched by these loans, secondly they are impoverished by the cost of servicing the loans and thirdly they are oppressed again by the penalties imposed if the odious regimes defaulted. If debt cancellation only comes through Paris Club and HIPC procedures they pay a fourth time when IMF conditionality (without which a loan deal is currently not available) imposes often disastrous policies such as trade and capital account liberalisation, privatisation and restriction of social expenditure.

The loss does not even finish when some measure of debt relief is obtained. Unless the debt is cancelled precisely because it is odious, we argue that any debt relief should be assigned to legitimate loans first – if cancellation is achieved simply because of the level of debt, this should be assigned to legitimate debt which the state ought to be servicing, rather than letting dictators and odious creditors off the hook. Only when all the outstanding debt is odious do we treat cancellation as reducing the burden of odious debt. For an elaboration of the reasoning behind this see Box 3.

To measure the negative effect of odious debt, we therefore need to:

- Disregard the capital inflow of the odious debt.
- Capitalise all interest paid on odious debt.
- In the event that debt relief is granted reduce the accumulated total of odious debt only when 100 per cent of non-odious debt has been cancelled.

In principle, this provides a relatively straightforward way of estimating the extent of debt cancellation required to neutralise the effects of illegitimate debt. In practice, however, data and methodological problems (see Box 4) mean that the figures estimated below are approximate.
Box 2: A debt glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amortisation</td>
<td>Repayment of the principal of a loan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilateral loan</td>
<td>A loan from one country to another.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital or principal</td>
<td>The initial amount of the loan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitalisation</td>
<td>The incorporation of arrears of interest into the outstanding principal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debt service</td>
<td>Interest plus amortisation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disbursement</td>
<td>Payment of principal from creditor to debtor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escrow account</td>
<td>An account in which assets are held in trust by a neutral third party until the conditions are fulfilled for their release.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>Payment from debtor to creditor as the price of the loan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multilateral loan</td>
<td>A loan from an international financial institution, such as the World Bank or the Inter-American Bank.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net capital flow</td>
<td>Disbursement less amortisation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net transfer</td>
<td>Net capital flow less interest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>The initial amount of the loan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPG debt</td>
<td>Public and publicly guaranteed debt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rescheduling</td>
<td>Changing the terms of the loan, often to allow a longer repayment period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special drawing rights</td>
<td>Notional currency (valued by a basket of currencies) issued by the IMF see endnote 23.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Box 3: The assignment of debt cancellation

When debt cancellation is granted simply because of the overall level of indebtedness there is a question as to how this should be assigned between odious and non-odious debt. This depends on the assumptions made about how debt is accumulated. If debt is accumulated for individual projects, some of which happen to be during odious regimes and some of which do not; and the level of debt depends on the number and size of projects deemed worthy of a loan, it might be argued that debt cancellation should be applied pro rata between odious and non-odious debt. If, on the other hand, countries tend to borrow up to the limit that creditors are prepared to lend to them at the time, then odious debt crowds out legitimate debt that could have brought benefit to the people of the country. In this case, debt cancellation should be applied to legitimate debt first to measure the true loss to the country. Furthermore, if the purpose of declaring debt odious is to ensure that creditors take responsibility for bad lending, cancellation of debt which may now have been laundered into (say) multilateral debt, but which originated as odious commercial debt is letting the original irresponsible creditor off the hook. Taking these factors into account, we adopt the view that cancellation should first be assigned to non-odious debt.
Our main source of data is the Global Development Finance (GDF) database of the World Bank. This provides (from 1970 to 2004) data on stocks and flows related to public and publicly guaranteed (PPG) debt. Data collected includes:

- New funds disbursed
- Capital repaid (amortised)
- Stock disbursed and outstanding
- Interest paid
- Principal arrears
- Interest arrears
- Cross-currency valuation (see Box 4)
Debt forgiveness
Interest capitalised
Net change in interest arrears
Net flows on debt
Residual stock-flow reconciliation

**Practical application of the concept of odious debt**

We have considered all loans contracted during a period when a country was run by an odious regime as being odious, as explained earlier.\(^2{3}\) Difficulties can arise in assigning the epithet odious, for example when a dictator is overthrown by a coup, the leader of which has genuinely good intentions and succeeds in handing over to democratic rule (for example, Jerry Rawlings in Ghana in 1978) or, on the contrary, when democratically elected leaders go off the rails (for example, Hastings Banda in Malawi, Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines or Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe). There will, inevitably, be differences of opinion as to whether a regime should be described as odious. There will also be gradations of odiousness. The application in this paper is meant to be illustrative rather than definitive and the development of clear guidelines will be essential for the practical application of the concept by the bodies described below under the section *Proposal for dealing with odious debts*. In recognition of this and in order to allow readers to apply their own judgement, we have set up an Excel worksheet on the Jubilee Research website (http://www.jubileeresearch.org/) which enables users to alter the years which are labelled odious and to examine our calculation methodology in detail.

**Countries chosen**

We have chosen a number of countries to illustrate the effect of this approach, giving a good geographical spread but concentrating on clear-cut cases. We have also restricted the definition of odious to those years in which the regime was clearly oppressive, anti-democratic, or kleptocratic. The countries and dates of odious regimes used are listed in Table 1. For each we have made a potted history, concentrating on items which point to the odiousness of the regimes. These are attached as Annex 1.

**Table 1: Countries and dates of odious regimes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Africa</th>
<th>Latin America/Caribbean</th>
<th>Asia/Pacific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congo</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Up to 1979</td>
<td>1972–86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Africa</td>
<td>To April 1994</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>1969–85 1989 to date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary of results

Our results show that 10 of the 13 countries we examined have odious debt equivalent to all their outstanding debts. They have overpaid on their debt service and are owed a large amount by their so-called creditors.

Main results

Table 2 summarises the results of this approach for the 13 countries.

Ten of the 13 countries are shown to have odious debt at least equal to all their current outstanding debts, as a result of outward net resource transfers since the return of democracy – the debt-service they have paid on the odious debts they inherited has been greater than their total new borrowing. The other three have between 72 per cent and 94 per cent – though it should be noted that all three of these require 100 per cent debt cancellation under the debt sustainability criteria outlined in Debt relief as if people mattered. The total of odious debt for these thirteen countries amounts to US$726 billion, compared with a total recorded outstanding debt of ‘only’ US$345 billion.

For the ten countries with 100 per cent odious debt, all debt servicing is inappropriate. Accordingly, they have been ‘overpaying’ their debt service and are due not just the cancellation of all their debts but in addition are owed a substantial repayment by the creditors, currently US$383 billion, which is considerably more than the nominal debt they still have outstanding on paper. The case of Indonesia is particularly striking – the country has already paid US$150.6 billion relating to odious debt, which is more than twice as much as its remaining outstanding debt.

In addition, ten of the 13 countries have a negative net transfer when these odious debts are taken into account – there has been a net transfer from South to North (from the poor to the rich) amounting to US$292 billion and yet on paper they are recorded as owing the North a further US$345 billion. (Again Indonesia stands out with a cumulative net transfer of US$138 billion to the North.) Of the remaining three, Malawi has a net transfer of zero and Nicaragua is only positive because of an anomaly in the figures relating to transfers prior to 1989 for which reconciliation details are missing. The last country (Haiti) has a positive net transfer, but it amounts to only one-sixth of its outstanding debt.

Table 3 compares the odious debt accumulated by each country with its average income. Five of the 13 countries have odious debts exceeding their income. The worst case is that of Nicaragua, where odious debt is well over five times the national income, followed by the Congo, whose odious debt is close to three times its income. Only two countries have odious debt of less than half of their national incomes.
Table 2: Summary of results of analysis for the period 1970 to 2004.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total PPG debt (US$ billion)</th>
<th>Proportion of odious debt</th>
<th>Total odious debt (US$ billion)</th>
<th>Cumulative net transfer (CNT)</th>
<th>CNT taking odious debt into account</th>
<th>Over-payment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>72.9</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>223.5</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>-138.4</td>
<td>150.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>103.9</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>180.7</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>-33.3</td>
<td>76.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeriaa</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>94.8</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>-41.7</td>
<td>63.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>-31.1</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>-17.7</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>37.6</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>-12.9</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>-6.0</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>-4.7</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo, Dem. Rep.</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>-5.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>2.6a</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>93.7%</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>84.2%</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>72.0%</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.2a</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>344.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>726.0</td>
<td>142.2</td>
<td>-288.7</td>
<td>382.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a The figures here are from before the 2005 deal with the Paris Club.

b This is anomalous and relates to unexplained increases in debt recorded as positive transfers prior to 1989.

Table 3: Odious debt and income per person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Odious debt per capita (US$)</th>
<th>Per capita income (Atlas method) 2004 (US$)</th>
<th>Ratio of odious debt to income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>958</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>563.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo, Dem. Rep.</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>274.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>145.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>4,730</td>
<td>3,720</td>
<td>127.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>100.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>1,027</td>
<td>1,140</td>
<td>90.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>678</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>85.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>1,170</td>
<td>72.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>68.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>1,369</td>
<td>2,360</td>
<td>58.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>26.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>3,630</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Illustrative detailed results

Detailed results for eleven of the countries are presented in Annex 3. We present the results for the Philippines and Malawi as examples.

Figure 2 shows the results for the Philippines (years of odious regime are in bold). The figure shows nominal outstanding PPG debt as the series with circles (○). In 2004, this stood almost at its maximum ever, at US$35.6 billion. The series (●) shows the cumulative net transfer – the net flow of resources between the North and the Philippines, taking into account loan disbursements, capital repayments, any debt cancellation and interest paid. This demonstrates that the balance sheet was most in the Philippines favour in 1987, when it reached US$16.0 billion; was roughly static between then and 1994 (US$15.5 billion); but since then the flow has been shifting in favour of the North, although with brief reversals between 1997 and 1999 and again between 2001 and 2003. The overall situation in 2004, even in nominal terms, was that the net flow of resources to the Philippines was down to US$3.7 billion – less than a quarter of its peak – and yet debt outstanding was ten times this. In other words, the country had paid US$11.8 billion more to its creditors than it had received in loans since 1994, but still owed almost more than it had ever done.

The bottom line (—) shows the effect on the cumulative net transfer of taking odious debts into account. It demonstrates that in every year since 1975 the people of the Philippines have been worse off than if they had never received any loans. In 2004, this was at its worst during the period studied, at US$31.1 billion, or US$375 per person. Finally, the series (△) shows the difference between the net transfer with and without the concept of odious debt. Because interest was still being paid on odious debts this difference grew throughout the period studied, even when the regime was legitimate. This situation can mean that all outstanding debt has to be counted as odious many years after the regime has changed. In the case of the Philippines, it is striking that the effect of debt being odious – the difference between the net transfer with and without odious debt being taken into account – is much the same as the total debt.
In Figure 3, we illustrate the evolution of the relationship between odious debt, interest on odious debt, nominal debt, and actual non-odious debt, again with reference to the Philippines. In this case, accumulated interest on odious debt far outweighs odious debt and even total nominal debt outstanding. Odious debt is seen to fall between 1995 and 2000 with debt forgiveness that exceeds any non-odious debt, but never to the extent that prevents accumulated interest continuing to grow. Even if all outstanding debt were to be cancelled, there would still be a major balance owed by the North, since the overpayment on odious debt and interest thereon far exceed outstanding debt. The total odious debt amounts to US$851 per person in a country where average income per person is US$1,170.

These results are similar for most of the countries surveyed. The case of Malawi, one of the three countries that do not have 100 per cent odious debt in 2004, is illustrated in the Figures 4 and 5 (years of odious regime are in bold).

Total PPG debt can be seen to grow almost throughout the period under review, with only the years 2000 and 2001 showing a decline – as the country reached Decision Point in the HIPC process and part of its debt was cancelled. Cumulative net transfer – taking disbursements, repayments, cancellation and interest payments into account – is shown to grow fairly steadily, reaching a peak of US$2.8 billion in 2004. Even with the case of Malawi, however, the cumulative modified net transfer (after taking into account the effect of odious debt) is negative in all years. (In 2004, however, the figure is close to zero, as a result of the transfers in the last three years.) Nevertheless, the difference between the net transfer and the modified net transfer is shown to grow throughout the period, as will happen so long as there is outstanding odious debt, rising to US$2.8 billion in 2004. This is almost the same as the unmodified net transfer and 84 per cent of the total debt outstanding. If odious debt had not been incurred, the debt would have been reduced by US$248 for every person in Malawi, a figure which is equal to 150 per cent of its per capita income.
Figure 5 illustrates how in 2004 actual non-odious debt (US$520 million) is a small proportion of total nominal debt (under 16 per cent) and only a little over one-third of debt incurred under democratic rule. Accumulated interest on odious debt is roughly 50 per cent more than non-odious debt and actual odious debt is roughly four times as much.
Proposal for dealing with odious debts

We propose that any government declared legitimate by an independent international body should have the right to have part or all of its debts considered for cancellation on the grounds of borrowing by one or more past odious regimes.

We hope the following proposals will stimulate thought and active debate. They are by no means definitive or conclusive. Readers are encouraged to comment on their reactions to stephen.mandel@neweconomics.org.

We propose four basic principles for dealing with odious debt:

1. Unrepresentative and undemocratic governments do not have the right to impose external debts on subsequent representative and democratic governments.

2. Creditors act irresponsibly in lending to such governments, thereby promoting their continuation in office, and therefore forfeiting the right either to profit from such loans or to recover the capital so provided.

3. Representative governments should be no worse off, in terms of external indebtedness as a result of such odious debts having been incurred by previous governments than they would have been had such debts not been incurred.

4. Arbitration over the extent and treatment of odious debts should be in the hands of an independent international body, which is neither a creditor in its own right, nor controlled by creditors, and which conducts its activities in a transparent fashion.

The following is proposed as a process for resolving odious debts within an international legal framework in accordance with these principles.

Dealing with odious debt requires two types of judgement: first, on whether a particular government is legitimate or odious; and second, on the extent of debt cancellation which should take place as a result of borrowing by odious governments. In principle, it would be possible for a single body to make judgements on both dimensions of the issue. We consider, however, that the very different nature of the two issues implies a need for two distinct processes – particularly as the former has a potential importance far beyond the issue of debt cancellation.

We therefore support Jayachandran and Kremer’s 2005 proposal for an international body which would declare (in advance of any loans) that a certain regime is odious. This would have the effect of giving fair notice that any loan contracted by the regime would not need to be honoured by a successor government, thereby also reducing the incentives for lending to odious governments. To avoid ambiguity, we would also propose that the same body should also declare representative and democratic governments to be legitimate when they take office.
It is important, however, that the process of declaring a regime odious (or legitimate) should be genuinely independent, and that the body charged with doing so act objectively on the basis of internationally agreed principles, to avoid governments being inappropriately declared legitimate (or odious) for commercial or political reasons. Such a quasi-judicial function could be undertaken under the auspices of an international judicial body, such as the International Court of Justice. Whatever body is entrusted with this task, it should be so constituted as to avoid the risk of succumbing to perverse incentives: either for the international community to bestow legitimacy on odious regimes for political reasons or for lenders to odious regimes to try to extend the life of the regime in order to increase the chances of their being repaid.

Should loans be made to a government thus declared odious, all loan contracts signed on the authority of that government should be automatically rendered unenforceable under international law, for example through an amendment to Article VIII.2(b) of the IMF’s Articles of Agreement. By removing the assurance that debt service would be paid even during the life of the odious government, this would strengthen the disincentive to lend even to relatively secure odious governments.

If an odious government were nonetheless successful in borrowing, a legitimate successor would have the right to invoke an arbitration process to secure cancellation of its odious debts, as outlined in our earlier paper Chapter 9/11? This proposes that an ad hoc arbitration panel be set up to conduct a fair and transparent debt work-out for each country finding itself unable to service its debts without compromising the human rights of its citizens. We now propose that this body should comprise one person appointed by the debtor, one person representing debtor civil society, and one appointed collectively by the creditors to the legitimate government, and one by the creditors to its illegitimate predecessor, with an independent Chair chosen by mutual agreement.

Such a fair and transparent arbitration process (FTAP) is essential if justice is to be secured. The existing mechanisms for debt relief (the HIPC Initiative, the Paris Club and the London Club) are run entirely by the creditors, violating the most basic rules of impartiality and transparency. They operate as prosecutor, judge and jury, often in an arbitrary manner, and impose conditions designed to benefit/advance the creditors’ ideological, geopolitical and/or commercial interests.

The role of the arbitration panel would be to produce an inventory of the debts outstanding, and to determine which were legitimate and which were odious. Those debts deemed to be odious would then be cancelled, without compensation to the creditors concerned. The payment of all debt servicing into an escrow account should be sufficient incentive to creditors to participate in the panel process. There may be a problem if a powerful sovereign creditor refuses to recognise the outcome of the arbitration process, using non-judicial means to put pressure on the debtor to pay. This is discussed further below.

The debt cancellation, once established, would be enforced through the application of IMF Article VIII.2(b), as amended. There should be a right of appeal by either party, at least on grounds of failing to follow due process – for example, to the international judicial body charged with judging the legitimacy of governments, or to another independent international body.

In principle, having established the extent of debt cancellation required on odious debt grounds, the panel should, if so requested by the debtor government, go on to consider whether further debt cancellation is required on sustainability grounds, according to the criteria outlined in our paper, Debt relief as if people mattered, and to establish a debt work-out process accordingly. (The members of the panel may need to change at this point since the interests of the creditors might be better represented by one from official creditors and one from commercial creditors, odious creditors no longer having an interest in the case.)

Although the determination of odious debt logically precedes that of unsustainable debt, the urgency of cancelling unsustainable debt from a humanitarian perspective, coupled with the delays inevitably entailed in the process of establishing odious debt cancellation, makes this sequencing potentially problematic.
We therefore propose that the panel make a *prima facie* estimate, based on available data, of the possible range of sustainable debt (based on the human rights approach), and the amount of legitimate debt.

- If the *maximum* estimate of sustainable debt indicates a need for **100 per cent cancellation**, sustainability should be considered first, as this would in any case result in the complete cancellation of odious (as well as legitimate) debts. All debt-service payments should cease pending the finalisation of the work-out.

- If the *minimum* estimate of sustainable debt indicates a need for **zero cancellation** on sustainability grounds, only odious debt need be considered.

- If neither of these conditions is fulfilled, odious debt should be considered first, but debt-service payments should be reduced (*pro rata* for all creditors) to a level consistent with the *maximum* estimate of sustainable debt, to be paid into an escrow account, pending adjudication.

As well as new odious governments coming to power in the future, however, it is also necessary to deal with the legacy of current odious governments when they are ultimately succeeded by future representative and democratic governments; and current representative and democratic governments which have inherited a higher level of indebtedness as a result of past odious regimes. These scenarios give rise to different issues.

The first case indicates a need for the international body charged with establishing the legitimacy of *future* governments to perform the same role with respect to *current* governments, so that lenders have a clear indication that any further loans to governments deemed odious will not be serviced. When a legitimate government succeeds an odious government, it would be entitled to establish an arbitration panel to consider the cancellation of odious debts, and the process would continue as above – except that illegitimate debts arising from *previous* odious governments could also be considered, as outlined below, at the same time.

If, for any reason, no pronouncement had been made on the legitimacy or otherwise of an outgoing government at the time of succession, a legitimate successor government should be entitled to divert debt-service payments on the debts it considers odious to an escrow account pending judgement by the arbitrating body. The arbitrating body should consider urgently whether there is a *prima facie* case for the debts to be deemed odious. If it finds that there is a *prima facie* case, debt-servicing should continue to be paid into an escrow account pending a definitive ruling.

The case of current legitimate successors to past odious governments is more complex, because much of the debt inherited from such governments will have been serviced in the mean-time. This will both launder the odious debt – as the legitimate government will usually have been borrowing from other creditors to repay it – and increase the amount – as interest will have been paid, possibly by incurring further debt.

We propose that any government declared legitimate by the international body described above should have the right to have part or all of its debts considered for cancellation on the grounds of borrowing by one or more past odious regimes. It would do so, in the first instance by seeking a judgement from the responsible body that one or more past regimes were odious. Debt-servicing on the contested debts should be paid into an escrow account pending this judgement, to ensure a fair burden sharing between creditors – to prevent a rush to the exit as some creditors seek to avoid losses and to give an incentive to creditors to participate in the debt work-out.

If the government were successful in this first stage, it would be entitled to request the establishment of a panel to consider debt cancellation. If it were unsuccessful, normal debt-service would be resumed.

In line with the basic principle that a legitimate government should be no worse off as a result of odious debt, we propose that a total amount of debt should be
cancelled equivalent to the value of the debt incurred by the odious government, plus the accumulated interest on those debts and on debts which have directly or indirectly been incurred in order to service them, calculated on a pro rata basis.

In the first instance, debts owed to creditors who lent to the odious government should be cancelled (including loans by those creditors to any legitimate successor government, which will effectively be laundered odious debt), up to the value of their original (odious) loans plus accumulated interest, calculated as above. Any remaining debt cancellation needed to compensate for odious debt should be shared among all remaining creditors pro rata with their remaining exposure. The latter (the non-odious creditors, that is) should, however, be entitled to reclaim the value of the cancelled debts, plus legal expenses, from the original lenders and from members of the odious regimes and their beneficiaries, through an international legal process, presumably under the auspices of the International Court of Justice. The original lenders should, in their turn, be entitled to pursue those liable in order to recoup their losses, though this should not be at the expense of successor governments pursuing compensation for stolen domestic assets. At present the only possibility for successor governments or creditors to recoup losses is through the national courts of the country where the funds (or their ostensible owner) are now to be found. This is not at all satisfactory – national courts are prone to be less than enthusiastic about pursuing creditors domiciled in their country and southern governments will have difficulty in enforcing judgement in their favour against creditor governments. Indeed, the prestige of international bodies will be essential to reduce the effectiveness with which powerful creditor governments might resist a ruling against them by the panel and to counter the non-judicial pressure on southern governments not to pursue their claims.

At present, as discussed earlier in this paper, there are a large number of countries which, prima facie, have legitimate governments that have inherited substantial odious debts; the aggregate amount is likely to represent a substantial proportion of the total external debts of developing countries. A process, such as that outlined here, would therefore have a considerable case-load at the outset. A similar situation applies in the case of unsustainable debt.

Consideration might therefore be given to the establishment of a standing body to support the process of dealing with odious debt (and, indeed, unsustainable debt) as an interim measure, until the backlog of cases was cleared. Such a body could, for example, provide facilities and technical and administrative support to arbitration panels. It would, however, be essential that such a body was both independent and transparent.

Once the backlog was cleared, cases of either odious or unsustainable debt should occur only occasionally, allowing each case to be dealt with by a free-standing panel.

As shown in Table 2, there has been very substantial overpayment by these debtor countries to their creditors as a result of odious debt. We argue that the panel needs to adjudicate on this overpayment as well as on the cancellation of outstanding loans. While this is important and involves very substantial sums, it will undoubtedly be controversial and complicated and so should not be pursued before cancellation of outstanding loans.
Conclusions

We can unequivocally state that a large amount of odious debt exists, and requires total cancellation

Many developing countries’ debt burdens arise largely or wholly as a result of odious debts and the subsequent borrowing necessary to service them because of the absence of mechanisms for their cancellation. The figures above are illustrative of the orders of magnitude relating to 13 clear-cut cases. In the nature of things it is not possible to extrapolate these findings to other countries. Nevertheless it is clear that application of the concept to other countries would identify very substantial debt which should be cancelled as odious. Joe Hanlon estimates that a total of US$735 billion of debt can be attributed to dictators in 23 countries. His figure does not take into account our concept of overpayment, and is therefore more comparable to the US$345 billion of outstanding debt for the 13 countries in this study.

We have set out a proposal for mechanisms to deal effectively with the continuing burden of odious debt, and with any future accumulation of such debts, through a fair and transparent arbitration process. While this may take some time to establish, given the vested interests at stake and the undemocratic nature of the global economic governance system, we argue that cancellation of the existing unsustainable debt should not be delayed.

A fair, transparent and independent arbitration procedure is urgently required to examine the debts of the South to determine which should be declared odious and cancelled forthwith. Not only will this relieve millions of people from the burden of the debts that were incurred without their consent and with little or no benefit to them, the process would also hasten the end of a number of regimes that are currently oppressing those unfortunate enough to live under them, since the creditors who are currently propping them up will suddenly find that they can no longer afford to ignore the crimes they are effectively bankrolling.
## Annex 1: Potted history of odious regimes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Conclusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asia and Pacific</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>1949–67</td>
<td>Sukarno recognised as president by Dutch. Ousted by General Suharto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1967–98</td>
<td>Suharto takes country on swing to Pro-West, kills many as alleged communists.</td>
<td>Military dictatorship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>May 1998 to date</td>
<td>Flawed democracy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Independence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1969–71</td>
<td>Yahya Khan president, appointed by Ayub Khan, declared martial law. Held elections in 1970 but postponed calling National Assembly because Mujibur Rahman won by landslide in East. Civil war till Bangladesh independent at end of 1971</td>
<td>Military dictatorship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1972–77 (July)</td>
<td>Yahya hands over to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, winner of election in West.</td>
<td>democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1999 to date</td>
<td>Pervez Musharraf military ruler, promising elections for 2007</td>
<td>martial law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1986 to date</td>
<td>In Feb Mrs Aquino took office. Ramos elected in 1992. Estrada in 98.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo DRC (formerly Zaire)</td>
<td>1965–96</td>
<td>Mobutu took over in a military coup. Declared himself head of state and a one-party state. Occasional elections but only one candidate. Great strife since 1994.</td>
<td>Military dictatorship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1997 to date</td>
<td>Kabila ousted Mobutu and was assassinated in 2001. Succeeded by his son. Elections promised.</td>
<td>Fragile post conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Country</strong></td>
<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
<td><strong>Notes</strong></td>
<td><strong>Conclusion</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>1957–64</td>
<td>Nkrumah Government.</td>
<td>Started out popular and democratic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964–66</td>
<td>One–party state under Nkrumah as President for life.</td>
<td>But then dictator</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966–69</td>
<td>Coup (supported by the US) National Liberation Council Government</td>
<td>Military but heading to democracy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970–71</td>
<td>Kofi Busia Prime Minister</td>
<td>Elected but severe inflation and economic problems</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972–79</td>
<td>Acheampong - military dictator, took over in bloodless coup. Ousted by Akuffo in 1978</td>
<td>Military dictatorship</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979 (June) to Sept 1979</td>
<td>Jerry Rawlings took over in bloody coup – nevertheless popular. Held elections.</td>
<td>Military dictatorship</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 1979 to Dec 1981</td>
<td>Hilla Limann elected President, but corrupt and unpopular.</td>
<td>Elected but flawed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 1981 to Dec 1992</td>
<td>Rawlings takes over in another coup against little opposition. Parties banned but consultations led to new constitution 1992</td>
<td>Military but relatively popular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 1993–99</td>
<td>Rawlings continues but as elected President</td>
<td>Democratic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 2000</td>
<td>John Kufuor, not Rawlings' choice, elected in free elections</td>
<td>Democratic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>1962–66</td>
<td>Banda as head of MCP, independence in 1964,</td>
<td>Democratic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966–68</td>
<td>One-party state declared</td>
<td>One-party state</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968 to June 1993</td>
<td>President becomes President for life until after unrest. Referendum restores multi-party democracy.</td>
<td>Undemocratic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1994 to date</td>
<td>Muluzi elected President in free election. Re-elected in 1999. Succeeded by Mutharika of same party. Now a coalition government.</td>
<td>democratic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>Legal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979–83</td>
<td>1979 elections brought Shehu Shagari to power. He served until after the 1983 elections, which he claimed to have won, but some disputed this and by end of the year there was another coup. Buhari was initially popular because Shagari was seen as corrupt, if democratically elected in the first place.</td>
<td>Ostensibly democratic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Country | Period | Notes | Conclusion |
--- | --- | --- | --- |
Nigeria (cont’d) | 1983–93 | Buhari may have tried to root out corruption, but was far from democratic and inflation was rife. In 1986 and 1990 there were attempted coups that failed. In 1992 there was an election but this was annulled. Abiola won the follow-up election in June 1993, but again Babangida tried to annul it. This time unrest was widespread and by August Babangida resigned, appointing a civilian, who only lasted three months before Sani Abacha took over in November 1993. | Military dictatorship |
1994–98 | In June 1994 Abiola was arrested for treason after he declared himself President, with much backing. In 1995 Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight others were hanged. In 1996 Abiola’s wife was killed. In June 1998 Abacha died. | Military dictatorship |
1999 to date | Olesogun Obasanjo was elected in the first election for 16 years. He also won the 2003 election. However, it would be hard to say the Government was legitimate, being so corrupt. Efforts to reduce corruption appear to be having an effect. | Ostensibly democratic |
South Africa | Up to 1990 | Apartheid regime, condemned by numerous UN resolutions from 1973 onwards. In 1990 President De Klerk announced that he would dismantle apartheid. | Clearly odious |
1990 to Apr 1994 | Transitional period. No universal suffrage but movement towards democracy. | ? |
April 1994 to date | ANC government elected by universal suffrage. | Democratic |
1971–85 | Nimeiry President. Imposed Sharia law on the South in 1983, which reignited a civil war. Ousted in military coup. | Progressively more oppressive |
1985–89 | Civil war with the South. Technically a democratic government. | Flawed democracy |
1989 to date | Omar el Bashir President. Civil war with the South officially over in 2005, but Darfur conflict vicious. | Military |
|**Latin America and Caribbean**| | | |
Argentina | 1943–45 | Military government with Peron. | |
1955–66 | Series of short-lived governments, some elected, others military. | Mixed |
1966–73 | Another coup. Series of military-appointed presidents. | Dictatorship |
1976 to Dec 1983 | Series of military dictators. Dirty War ensued ending with elections in December judged fair. | Dictatorship |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Conclusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1983–89</td>
<td>Alfonsin Government.</td>
<td>Elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>1957–71</td>
<td>Duvalier regime. Initially elected but quickly became vicious dictator.</td>
<td>Dictator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1971 to Feb 1986</td>
<td>Baby Doc regime.</td>
<td>Dictator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feb 1986 to Dec 1990</td>
<td>Series of provisional governments.</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dec 1990 to Sept 1991</td>
<td>Aristide elected fairly but ousted in coup. Elite alarmed by radical policies.</td>
<td>Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sept 1991–93</td>
<td>General Cedras in power.</td>
<td>Military rule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sept 1993 to June 1995</td>
<td>Transitional government.</td>
<td>Interim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>June 1995 to Jan 1999</td>
<td>Aristide party re-elected. Preval elected as President in Feb 1996 but Aristide broke with Preval by end of 1996. Tension increased until Preval started ruling by decree.</td>
<td>Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jan 1999 to Feb 2004</td>
<td>Elections in May 2000 flawed, though Aristide’s party won almost all seats. Aristide elected in November but on low turnout with opposition boycotting elections. Situation deteriorated badly. Aristide eventually left the country (resigned or kidnapped?)</td>
<td>Chaos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>Up to 1979</td>
<td>Somoza</td>
<td>Dictatorship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1979–84</td>
<td>Sandinista Government after revolution.</td>
<td>Not democratic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1984–90</td>
<td>Sandinistas elected. Some dispute over election ended when he lost the next election.</td>
<td>Flawed democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1990 to date</td>
<td>Had four elections. Some corruption but generally OK.</td>
<td>Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>1948–56</td>
<td>Military dictatorship of Manuel Odria.</td>
<td>Dictatorship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1956–63</td>
<td>Right wing military favoured but elected government (Ugarteche). Inconclusive election in 1962.</td>
<td>Elected but flawed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1963–68</td>
<td>Belaunde Terry elected President.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1968–80</td>
<td>Military rule (Alvarado &amp; Bermudez).</td>
<td>Dictatorship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>May 1980–85</td>
<td>Belaunde re-elected.</td>
<td>Elected but flawed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Period</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 1985–90</td>
<td>Alan Garcia takes over after election. Considered autocratic. Fighting Sendero Luminoso in relatively dirty war.</td>
<td>Elected but flawed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1990–2000</td>
<td>Fujimori elected in 1990, tried to serve three terms but had to resign and flee in Nov 2000, with corruption charges hanging over him. Continuation of dirty war</td>
<td>Elected but flawed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 2001</td>
<td>After caretaker government, Toledo wins free election.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Annex 2: The development of the concept of odious debt

The development of the concept of odious debt in international practice

On 13th October 2005, the incoming Norwegian coalition government signed an agreement known as the *Soria Moria Declaration* after the Oslo hotel where it was signed. It says:

- "The UN must establish criteria for what can be characterised as illegitimate debt, and such debt must be cancelled."
- "The Government will support the work to set up an international debt settlement court that will hear matters concerning illegitimate debt."

This is the first formal recognition by a Northern government of the concept of illegitimate debt as a general principle despite the statements by US politicians quoted at the start of this paper.

It has, however, been invoked in practice, if not in name, on a good number of occasions. Perhaps the first instance is the fourteenth amendment to the US Constitution passed in 1868 after the Civil War, which declared the debts of the Confederation raised “in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States” to be null and void. This was, however, rather an internal matter, so rather it is the capture of Cuba by the US from Spain in 1898, which provides the first true instance in international practice. When Spain tried to get the US to honour debts owed by its colony, Cuba, it was rebuffed on the grounds that the debt had been “imposed on the people of Cuba without their consent and by force of arms”. Similarly, in 1900, Britain refused to pay the debts of the Boer republics it had conquered on the grounds that the debts had been taken out to fight the war against Britain, while the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 specifically relieved Poland of the debts said to have been incurred by the Germans in their occupation of the country. Equally the doctrine was behind the 50 per cent cancellation of Poland’s debt in 1991 by the Paris Club, following the fall of the Iron Curtain, when the West was keen to boost the fortunes of countries emerging from communist rule, long before such terms were available to Southern governments. The most recent example is that of Iraq. It would appear that this line of argument was quietly dropped once the implications for other countries of what was being said was realised. Nevertheless, it formed the backdrop for the subsequent major (and unusually generous) cancellation of Iraqi debt by the Paris Club.

Nevertheless, in most cases, creditors have argued strenuously against cancelling debts on these grounds, however extreme the case might be. Hanlon cites certain notorious cases (often involving countries the West wanted to keep on side during the Cold War), for example, the loans made by the IMF to Zaire, even after their own appointee seconded to the Central Bank wrote a memo which said that corruption was so serious that there was “no (repeat no) prospect for Zaire’s creditors to get their money back”. Zaire’s foreign debt grew from US$4.6 billion to US$12.9 billion after this, before Mobutu – who came to power in a coup in 1965 – was overthrown in 1997, and in spite of the fact that Zaire had practically stopped repaying its debts in 1982.

Another blatant case was that of Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines who fled into exile with between US$5 and US$13 billion. The corruption and oppressive nature of his rule were well known for many years. Although democratically elected he suspended *habeas corpus* in 1971 and declared martial law in 1972. Although martial law was lifted and elections held in 1981, the opposition decided to boycott the elections as unfair. In 1986 Benigno Aquino, a leading opposition politician, was assassinated. Marcos was finally ousted in a popular uprising in 1986.
Then again, long after the United Nations began in 1973 to describe the apartheid regime in South Africa as a crime against humanity, and explicitly argued that such actions supported and prolonged the existence of the odious regime, loans continued to flow to the Nationalist Government. Such frequent declarations by the UN General Assembly comply with all the requirements of Jayachandran and Kremer (see below) for prior pronouncement of odiousness. These and plenty of other examples of clearly odious debt can be found. (An outline of the history of the countries in our study is given in Annex 1.)

As Joe Hanlon writes:

> “Loans for a nuclear power station on an earthquake fault bought by a corrupt dictator, loans to a state which is officially committing a crime against humanity (South Africa), loans to an oppressive dictator who they knew would never repay (Zaire), and loans to a dictatorship with the money staying in London (Argentina under Galtieri) satisfy all the conditions for odious debts knowingly made. At this point, we argue that there is a prima facie case that, at the very minimum, some of these debts are odious and are the liability and responsibility of the lenders. This is the critical assertion. The IFIs and other lenders have fought very hard against this, because until now they have not had to take any responsibility for incompetent and corrupt lending.”

The World Bank is as guilty as any of the major creditors of lending to corrupt regimes and for spurious or ill-prepared projects. Yet in its Articles of Agreement, it is bound to:

> “set some regulations that guarantee that each loan fund is solely used to achieve the objective in accordance to the objectives of the loan itself, by giving considerations over economic and efficiency issues and ignoring political or other non economic influences or considerations”.

The Bank claims this clause prevents it from discriminating against odious regimes, but again this has been selectively applied. For example, it supported Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire primarily because major shareholders wanted to keep this person whom they saw as a bulwark against communism in power and on their side, but loans to left-wing regimes have been noticeably absent in the case of, for example, Sandinista Nicaragua or Allende’s Chile.

**Development of the doctrine of odious debt in international law**

The doctrine of odious debt has been discussed at length in a number of public places, most recently in the *Third World Quarterly*, in February 2006. Here Joe Hanlon traced the history of the doctrine in international law, starting with the fourteenth amendment to the US Constitution of 1868 which repudiated the debts of the Confederate States as being raised in rebellion to the USA, through the examples already cited above and via the ruling by US Supreme Court Justice Taft in an arbitration ruling in 1923 in favour of Costa Rica’s refusal to pay the Royal Bank of Canada for a loan made to a former dictator, to the formalisation of the concept of odious debt by Alexander Sack in 1927. Generally, Sack maintained, the label can be applied where there was an absence of consent on the part of the people, where there was no significant benefit to them and the creditor was aware or should have been aware of the situation.

In 1977, when acting as a special *rapporteur* to the International Law Commission when they drew up Draft Articles on the Obligations of Successor States, Mohammed Bedjaoui, now a judge of the International Court of Justice, argued:

- **From the standpoint of the Successor State, an odious debt can be taken to mean a State debt contracted by the predecessor State to serve purposes contrary to the major interests of either the successor State or the territory that is transferred to it.**
- **From the standpoint of the international community, an odious debt could be taken to mean any debt contracted for purposes that are not in conformity with contemporary international law and, in particular, the principles of international law embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.**
Following Bedjaoui, Charles Abrahams argued in 2000 that

"International jurisprudence now imposes a duty on governments to uphold a core of fundamental rights or prohibitions. Pre-eminent amongst the prohibitions are acts of aggression, slavery, genocide and racial discrimination."\(^{45}\)

"Consistent with the primacy given to this core of rights is the principle that upholding these rights takes precedence over commercial treaties between states or contractual business or financial obligations of any kind. Thus Article 103 of the Charter of the United Nations stipulates

"...In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail.”

As well as supporting the primacy of human rights over the financial interests of creditors, this opinion points to the responsibility of creditors to uphold fundamental human rights by not supporting regimes which are clearly violating those rights, such as the many examples listed in this paper.

The Centre for International Sustainable Development Law of Canada produced a working paper, Advancing the odious debt doctrine, for the Canadian Ecumenical Jubilee Initiative in March 2003 which examined in great detail the status of the concept in international law. Jeff King, one of its authors, concluded:

"The analysis .. indicates that the doctrine of odious debt can be clearly defined, has a fair bit of support under the traditional categories of international law, and can be modified to withstand prima facie theoretical objections.... after examining the state practice, general principles of law and writings and judicial decisions, it seems that there is much more material available to make such an argument than one would initially think. If nothing else, I hope that this paper has succeeded in establishing that there are legally persuasive arguments in favour of the morally compelling doctrine of odious debt."\(^{46}\)

In a paper published in April 2005, Odious debt, by Seema Jayachandran and Michael Kremer on the UCLA Department of Economics website, the two Harvard/UCLA economists update a paper they published on the IMF website (and elsewhere).\(^{47}\) This argues for the setting up of a sufficiently well-respected international body to adjudicate on the odiousness of current regimes and to declare that future loans to these regimes would be odious and unenforceable, while leaving the question of past loans aside [author's emphasis]. They argue that this form of sanction would be more effective than trade sanctions, which countries have an incentive to evade. The appearance of this paper on the IMF's website suggests that the concept is gaining respectability, even in unlikely circles.

In his 2006 article, Hanlon concludes:

"Certain debts are odious or illegitimate and fall with the regime and are not owed by successors:

- Loans taken to strengthen a despotic or oppressive regime are odious.
- A lender must act in good faith, and cannot collect on a loan it knew, or should have known, was being misused.
- Debts can be considered odious if they are used for personal rather than state purposes.
- The burden of proof is not on the successor state to prove odiousness, but for the lender to prove legitimacy. [We would add “once the odious nature of a previous regime had been ascertained by an impartial international body.”]"
Annex 3: Detailed results

Argentina

Figure 6. Argentina: Effect of odious debt on net transfers

Figure 7. Argentina: Comparison of odious and non-odious debt
Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire)

Figure 8. Democratic Republic of Congo: Effect of odious debt on net transfers

Figure 9. Democratic Republic of Congo: Comparison of odious and non-odious debt
Figure 10. Ghana: Effect of odious debt on net transfers

Figure 11. Ghana: Comparison of odious and non-odious debt
**Figure 12. Haiti: Effect of odious debt on net transfers**

![Graph showing the effect of odious debt on net transfers in Haiti.](image)

**Figure 13. Haiti: Comparison of odious and non-odious debt**

![Graph comparing odious and non-odious debt in Haiti.](image)
Figure 14. Indonesia: Effect of odious debt on net transfers

Figure 15. Indonesia: Comparison of odious and non-odious debt
Figure 16. Nicaragua: Effect of odious debt on net transfers

Figure 17. Nicaragua: Comparison of odious and non-odious debt
Figure 18. Nigeria: Effect of odious debt on net transfers

Figure 19. Nigeria: Comparison of odious and non-odious debt
Pakistan

Figure 20. Pakistan: Effect of odious debt on net transfers

Figure 21. Pakistan: Comparison of odious and non-odious debt
Figure 22. Peru: Effect of odious debt on net transfers

Figure 23. Peru: Comparison of odious and non-odious debt
Figure 24. South Africa: Effect of odious debt on net transfers

Figure 25. South Africa: Comparison of odious and non-odious debt
Sudan

Figure 26. Sudan: Effect of odious debt on net transfers

![Graph showing the effect of odious debt on net transfers in Sudan.](image)

Legend:
- Disbursed and outstanding (US$ bn)
- Cumulative modified net transfer
- Difference
- Cumulative net transfer (US$ bn)

Years of odious regimes indicated in bold.

Figure 27. Sudan: Comparison of odious and non-odious debt

![Graph showing the comparison of odious and non-odious debt in Sudan.](image)

Legend:
- Cumulative odious debt excl. interest
- Nominal non-odious debt
- Nominal debt outstanding
- Accumulated interest on odious debt
- Of which, actual, non-odious debt

Years of odious regimes indicated in bold.
Odious debt arises from loans which should never have been extended in the first place because of the oppressive, tyrannous or corrupt nature of the regime to which they were granted. nef believes that such ‘odious debts’ would be better defined as ‘odious lending’.

According to the IMF, the SDR is an international reserve asset, created by the IMF in 1969 to supplement the existing official reserves of member countries. The SDR also serves as the unit of account of the IMF and some other international organizations. Its value is based on a basket of key international currencies.

When looking at resource flows between the North and the South, it is also incumbent on analysts to take into account moral debts owed by the North to the South, notably environmental and historical debt. Another category of circumstance that might justify the cancellation of otherwise legitimate debt is force majeure.

I am grateful to Celine Tan for her presentation at the Eurodad Conference in February 2006 which informs this discussion.

It can also be argued that the rich countries have a moral obligation to provide resources to meet these basic needs.

Mandel 2006 op. cit.

For a further discussion of this see Hanlon 2006 op. cit.

It can also be argued that the rich countries have a moral obligation to provide resources to meet these basic needs.


Export Credit Agencies are set up as government agencies to promote exports from their own country and are not designed as development agencies. OECD rules have been gradually tightened up to reduce the effective subsidy provided by the low-cost insurance against default provided to exporters, but it only works in promoting exports to the extent that it undercuts the cost of commercial insurance. Some governments have increased the emphasis on ECAs’ role in assessing the developmental value of the ventures they support but they have frequently, at least in the past, been used for covering such ‘undevotional’ deals as arms exports, for example.

ECAs provide insurance to private companies exporting to Southern governments and companies, but require Southern governments to guarantee the debts of private companies from their country. This was particularly prone to give rise to corrupt debt and was the source (for example) of much of the debt owed to UK by Nigeria. Private companies would default on obligations to private firms in the North, which would convert private, commercial debt into official, public debt.

According to the IMF, the SDR is an international reserve asset, created by the IMF in 1969 to supplement the existing official reserves of member countries. The SDR also serves as the unit of account of the IMF and some other international organizations. Its value is based on a basket of key international currencies.

In 1970, debt stock accumulated in prior years was labelled according to the nature of the regime in 1970. This makes little difference to the overall figures as any debt prior to 1970 is in all cases dwarfed by subsequent borrowing.

The level of debt recorded as outstanding.

Debt recorded less total odious debt.

World Bank, World Development Indicators for 2004, current dollars, atlas method.

Reaching Completion Point and thus getting all HIPC and MDRI cancellation will change this but the country has been languishing between the two points since December 2000.


This Article states that “Exchange contracts which involve the currency of any member and which are contrary to the exchange control regulations of that member maintained or imposed consistently with this Agreement shall be unenforceable in the territories of any member.”

The interests of the two groups of creditors are in conflict.

The HIPC process is rather more transparent than the Paris Club, since the main terms for debt relief are on record, but the conditions imposed by the IMF are determined by IMF staff with little or no transparency.

See glossary in Box 2.

Hanlon 2006 op. cit.

Ibid.

The Paris Club consists of the main creditor countries with a secretariat in the French Foreign Ministry. The London Club is the equivalent of major commercial creditors.


Hanlon op. cit., quotes World Bank officials who estimate that a third of all aid to the Philippines was stolen by Marcos.

The case for apartheid debt to be declared odious was elaborated in particular by Charles Abrahams, University of Leiden, thesis for LLM degree, 2000.

The Bataan nuclear power station in the Philippines was built on an earthquake fault at the foot of a volcano by US firm Westinghouse. It has never been commissioned but the loans made to build it (and to bribe Marcos to let the contract to the ‘right’ companies) are still being repaid.


Hanlon 2006 op. cit.

Sack 1927 op. cit.

There is an argument to be made that in the presence of widespread corruption or oppression, the fact that the loan may have been used for beneficial purposes is irrelevant if this freed up domestic funds for other, illicit or oppressive purposes (the concept of fungibility).

Abrahams 2000 op. cit.

Khalfan et al 2003 op. cit.

Tackling climate change: We are living beyond our means. Conventional economic growth based on the profligate use of fossil fuels threatens to bankrupt both the global economy and the biosphere during this century. nef believes that improving human well being in ways which won’t damage the environment is real growth. Only that can ensure the planet is a fit place to live for generations.

nef works for the environment by promoting small-scale solutions such as microrenewable energy. nef is also working to challenge the global system. At the moment the rich become richer by using up more than their fair share of the earth’s resources, and the poor get hit first and worst by consequences such as global warming. nef pushes for recognition of the huge ‘ecological debts’ that rich nations are running up to the majority world.

nef works to confront the destructive reality of climate change in many ways: building coalitions to halt climate change and get those under threat the resources they need to adapt; proposing legal and economic action against rich countries who refuse to act; calling for protection for environmental refugees, and for a worldwide framework to stop global warming based on capping dangerous emissions and equal per person entitlements to emit. With original research we expose new problems and suggest solutions.