## **Discussion of**

# Political Economy of Sovereign Debt: A Theory of Cycles of Populism and Austerity

by Dovis, Golosov, and Shourideh

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#### Model delivers

- · Cyclical behavior
- $\cdot$  "Populist" phase: low inequality, external borrowing
- "Austerity" phase: high inequality, debt deleveraging

What to like

- Elegant theory
- $\cdot$  Overshooting component rare with fully rational, optimizing agents
- · Makes sense of seemingly inefficient behavior

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- Productivity types + labor income taxes + endogenous labor supply
  - ... Tax revenues lower earnings inequality but depress output
  - ... Efficiency / equity tradeoff
- Sovereign borrowing + no shocks and/or complete markets
  - ... Can borrow to finance transfers
  - ... Can default ex-post: risk-free subject to debt limit
  - ... Time inconsistency: debt limit is endogenous (+ state-dependent)
- · Overlapping generations + financial income taxes + save in government bonds
  - ... Can tax old people's savings (aka domestic default): reduce inequality with no distortion
  - ... Domestic debt + transfers reduces consumption inequality when income inequality is high
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## The key: two interacting sources of time inconsistency

Need for both debt repayments gives rise to sustainability constraint

$$\mathsf{H}(\mathsf{Y}) \leq rac{\hat{eta}}{eta} \left(\mathsf{W}(\mathsf{B}') - \underline{\mathsf{W}}
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- · Choice of debt and inequality are both time-inconsistent
- · Key: tradeoff is time-inconsistent: Overdoing one adjustment = cheap incentives

Debt	t	t + 1
	t	t and $t + 1$

- When foreign debt is high
  - ... Need high output  $\implies$  high inequality
  - ... Issue domestic debt to finance transfers
  - ... Repayment of domestic debt costly tomorrow

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**Two Comparisons** 

## Phelan and Stacchetti (2001)

- $\cdot$  Similar model with
  - Endogenous labor supply
  - Savings
  - · Time-inconsistent taxes
- Time inconsistency: capital accumulation
  - · Want tax capital ex-post, promise low taxes ex-ante
- No cycles? Example with  $k_0 > k^*$  overshoots initial capital reduction
  - Only link between t and t + 1 is the capital stock
  - To induce savings, can subsidize labor today or 'promise' low taxes ... Same result



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## Stop & Go Dynamics

- Phenomenon also studied by Latin American structuralists
  - ... Díaz-Alejandro, Ferrer, Braun and Joy, etc...
  - ... More about shocks/imperfect planning than purposeful overshooting
- · Also two phases (but with different names)



- Testable differences:
  - Growth in 'Go' phase v. low labor and output in 'populist' phase
  - REER depreciation in 'Stop' phase v. high after-tax wages in 'austerity'?

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Recession to compress demand

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#### Excellent theoretical exercise

- ... All assumptions needed, sharp characterization, basic idea applies to many setups
- · Last comments
  - ... Quantitative performance?
    - ... Baseline is a little underwhelming
    - ... Three-period model seems to have larger effects
    - ... Would a full life-cycle give more traction?
  - ... How to think about best SPE?
    - ... Harsh punishments: better model for US / Advanced Europe?
    - ... Eurozone crisis, LatAm coups fit more with shocks than planning?
    - ... Are all SPEs cyclical?

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