

On Eurobonds

Angel Ubide
Head of Economic Research

Friday Oct 17th, 2025



REALTIME ECONOMICS

Now is the time for Eurobonds: A specific proposal

Olivier Blanchard (PIIE) and Ángel Ubide (Citadel)

May 30, 2025 9:18 AM

Angel Ubide's views are strictly his own and do not represent those of Citadel



Why now: three main reasons

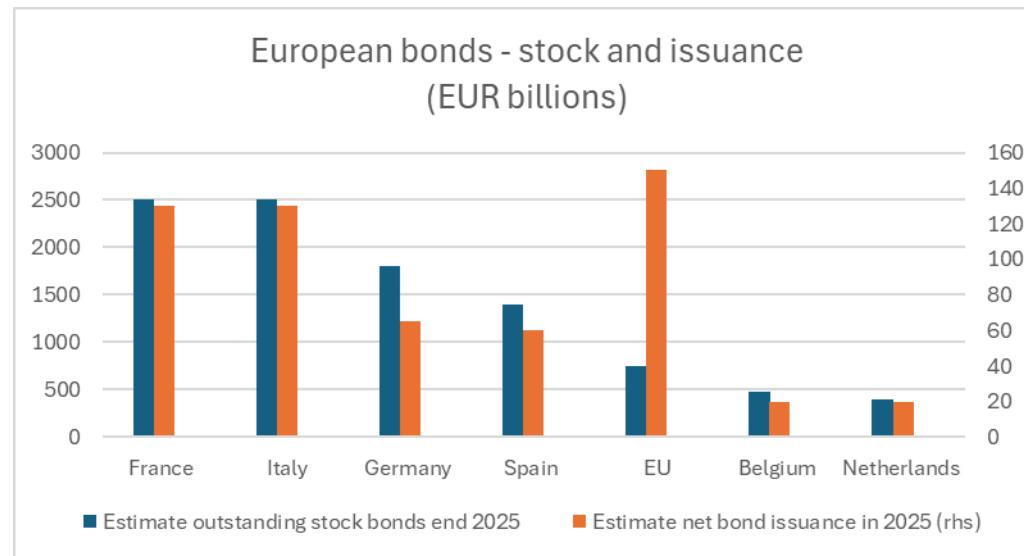
- **The need:** urgency for Europe to achieve **strategic autonomy** given recent geopolitical changes.
 - Strategic autonomy this requires **both military/security and financial strength**, and a necessary condition for financial strength is a large, deep and liquid safe asset
- **The opportunity:** **Growing global demand for European assets**, as changes in the global rules order has raised doubts about the role of the USD as safe asset.
 - Offering a large, deep and liquid Eurobonds market will **meet this demand to rebalance portfolios** away from USD.
- **The institutional support:** **ECB's shift in stance on the International Role of the Euro**, which has transitioned from a neutral stance – neither promote, nor oppose – towards a stance of promoting it
 - The Euro **can't be an international currency without a large, deep and liquid safe asset**.

What we propose

- **Replace up to 25% of GDP of EU countries debt with Eurobonds.**
 - This can be done with a combination of
 - **exchanging** current national bonds by Eurobonds
 - **refinancing** future national bond maturities coming due with Eurobonds.
- **Back the Eurobonds by a transfer of a share of VAT revenues of each member state.**
 - This commitment would be enshrined in **legislation** in each member state
 - At current interest rates, it would only require **about 1% GDP**
- **Eurobonds would enjoy a double guarantee:**
 - The legal commitment to **transfer** the VAT revenues
 - The EU's **legal** commitment, as an issuer, to **service** its debt.

Eurobonds already exist – we propose to increase their size 5x

- **Eurobonds already exist:** EU bonds and bills + infrastructure (collateral, repo, futures)
- **The stock:** it will be close to 1tr EUR by end 2026, **bigger** than NL debt
- **The flow:** EU bonds and bills are the **biggest** EU issuer in both 2025 and 2026.



Source: European Commission



Current Eurobonds vs Our Proposal

Current Eurobonds



Our proposal



What we do NOT propose vs what we DO propose

- We do **NOT** propose to **earmark** Eurobonds for specific spending programs
- We do **NOT** propose to use Eurobonds to **increase** debt and deficits beyond current plans
- We do **NOT** propose a **joint and several guarantee** like the original Blue/Red proposal
- We **propose** to optimize debt management to meet **new demand** and **reduce** financing cost for all countries
 - **Objective:** Eurobonds to achieve **negative beta** like US Treasuries and increase stability of EU economy
 - **Spillover:** A deep, liquid Eurobond yield curve will support a deep, liquid European **corporate bond market**
 - **Result:** **reduce financing costs for both public and private sector**



Issues

- **Why 25% GDP?**
 - To combine **depth and liquidity** for Eurobonds with **depth and liquidity** in national bond markets
 - What about countries with low debt/gdp? **Coalition of the willing**
- **Do Eurobonds imply that national bonds will be *junior and at risk*?**
 - Not in CDS sense: no waterfall – just separate revenue pools
 - Eurobonds would be **“super senior”** – default on Eurobonds is political default on EU
- **Why exchange *and* refinancing?**
 - Refinancing too slow and no control of composition across the curve
 - **No actual exchange**: purchase + issuance. No pari-passu issue.
- **Will national yields increase?**
 - Maybe initially/in some countries: **incentive for responsible national fiscal policy**
 - Over time, national demand and a more stable eurozone will lower funding costs for all countries
 - **Cuts tail of losing market access** – (analogue to ample reserves for banks)



Issues

- **Does the ECB need to participate?**
 - Eurobonds must be part of future structural portfolio and eligible for QE
- **Why doing this if EU bonds trade at a *positive spread* over bunds?**
 - Precisely to *reduce* the spread - spread exists because of *small size* and *uncertainty about rollover of NGEU*
 - “*The European Union needs to issue more joint debt to avoid a decline in liquidity and higher spreads* for bonds already issued by EU institutions” Andy Hill, International Capital Market Association
 - *Certainty* over future issuance would also facilitate *inclusion in sovereign bond indices*
- **Why not ESBies?**
 - A true safe asset needs the *legal and political commitment* of governments - ESBies would lack it
 - If there was demand for ESBies probably the private sector would have already offered them

The summary: The right time for a key reform

- **Eurobonds**: a key element in effort to **strengthen** the EU economy and **boost** the international role of the euro
 - Letta Report: **Defragment** the Single Market -> increase market size
 - Draghi Report: **Defragment** investment -> boost productivity
 - Eurobonds: **Defragment** government debt -> lower financing costs
- **Fix a deadline**: by Jan 1st, 2028 – no deadline, no action
- **Failure to do it**: implies accepting **higher** financing costs and a more **unstable** economy

IMPORTANT NOTICE

ALL TRADEMARKS, SERVICE MARKS AND LOGOS USED IN THIS DOCUMENT ARE TRADEMARKS OR SERVICE MARKS OR REGISTERED TRADEMARKS OR REGISTERED SERVICE MARKS OF CITADEL.