#### The Showdown: USA vs. China

What Brought us here & How can it end?



#### Naeem Zafar

Twitter: @naeem

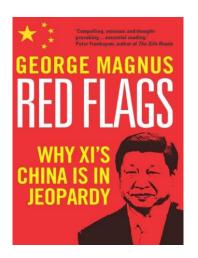
www.NaeemZafar.com

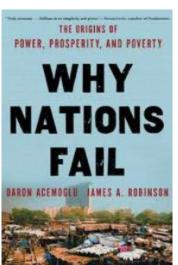
#### **Rise of China**

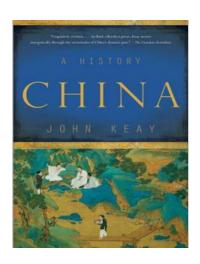
- Why did China suddenly became powerful after thousands of years?
- What does China want?
- Are we on a collision course?

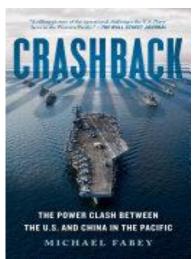


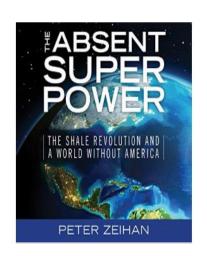
#### Based Largely on Knowledge Extracted from These Books

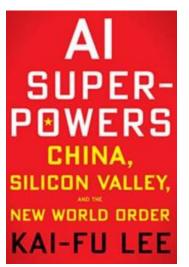












All rights reserved © Naeem Zafar

## How did we get here & where can we go from here?



#### What is Chinese Currency Called?

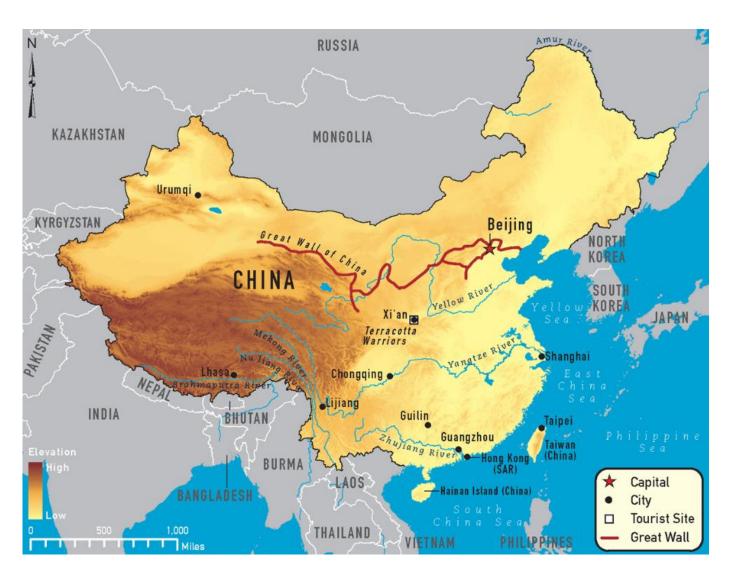
- RMB (Renminbi) is "people's money"
- Just like in UK the currency is called Sterling
- But you don't spend "Sterling" in a shop
- Chinese spend Yuan



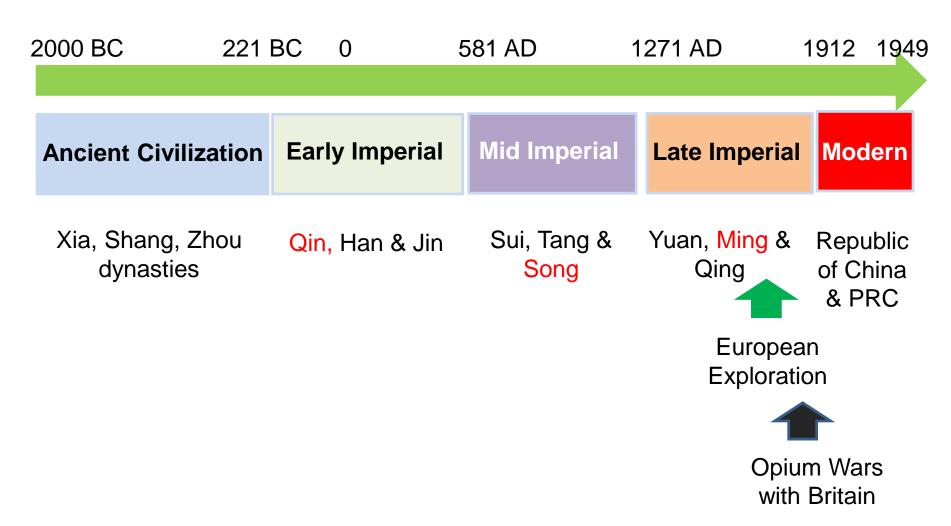
#### **Topics**

- 1. Brief history of China
- 2. The belated rise of China in 20<sup>th</sup> century
- 3. Tensions in US-China relationship
- 4. US options
- 5. Chinese options
- 6. The future

#### **Civilization Around Two Rivers**



#### **History of China**





## China Contributed 34% of World's GDP During Qing Dynasty

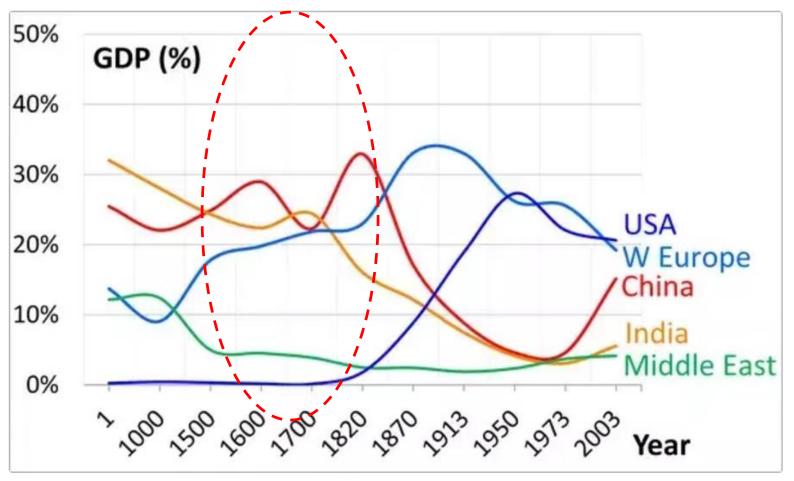


Image Link: Angus Maddison 🖪

#### **British Complaint 1830s?**

# Trade imbalance is not good!

#### **The Opium Wars**

- Two wars in the mid-19th century involving China & British Empire over British trade of opium & China's sovereignty
  - First Opium War (1839–1842) → created 5 ports & gave Hong Kong Island to Britain
  - Second Opium War (1856–1860) → 80 ports were opened

#### MAP 3: CHINA'S TREATY PORTS, 1860



Location of treaty port cities are approximations only. Present-day city names are used, with some commonly referenced alternative spellings/names listed in parentheses.

#### **The Opium Wars**

- The wars weakened Qing dynasty & forced China to trade with the others
  - 30,000 box of opium was being sold into China annually (170-lbs per box)
  - ~15 million Chinese became addicts
  - Chinese economy went from biggest in the world to half its size

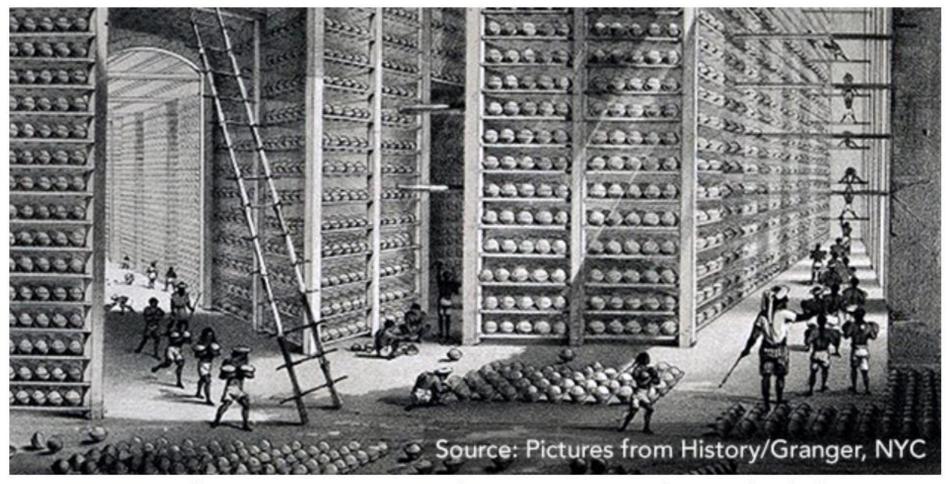
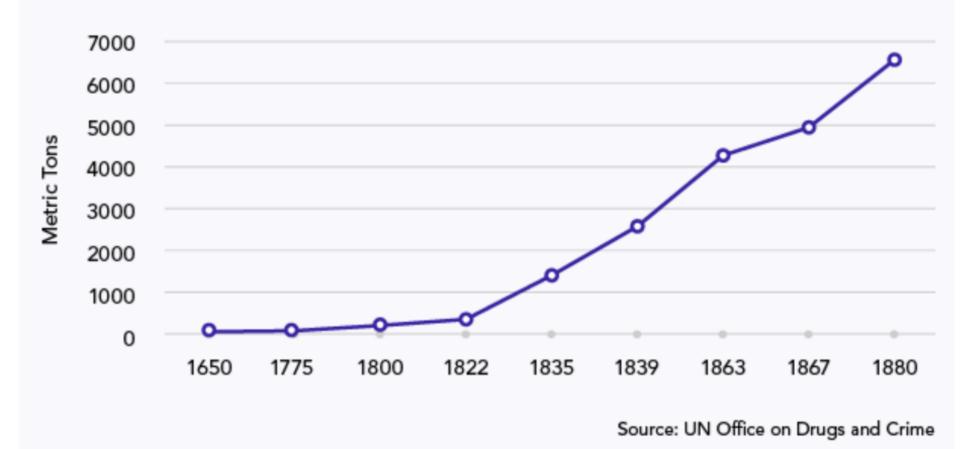
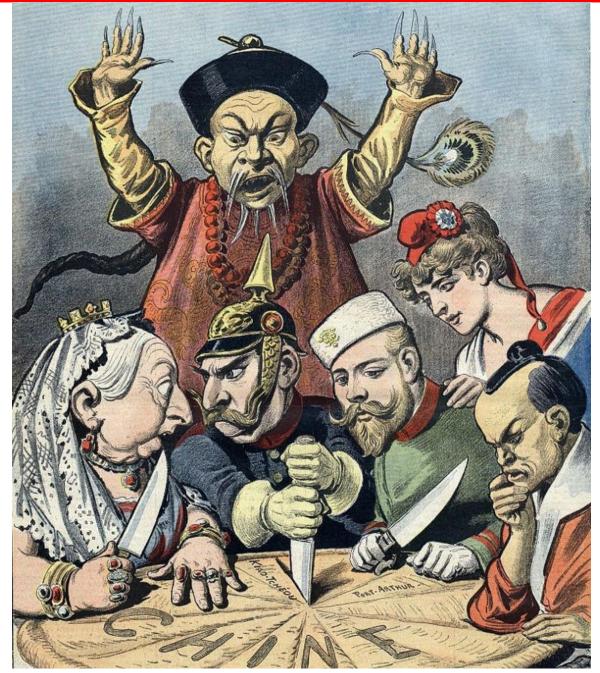


Figure 1: A "stacking room" in an opium factory in Patna, India. On the shelves are balls of opium that were part of Britain's trade with China.

#### **OPIUM IMPORTS INTO CHINA, 1650-1880**



Political
Cartoon with
Britain,
Germany,
Russia, France
& Japan
Dividing China



#### **September 21, 1949**

- In October 1949 after the defeat of the Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party), Chinese Communist Party established People's Republic of China
- Farmers had their land holdings forcibly redistributed to poorer peasants
- Crops deemed by the Party to be "full of evil" (e.g. opium) destroyed & replaced with rice







#### **Life in China 1950-1975**

- The Great Leap Forward by Mao was to rapidly transform an agrarian economy into a socialist society through rapid industrialization
- Large resources diverted to expensive new industrial operations, failed to produce much, & deprived agricultural sector of urgently needed resources
- Drastic decline in food output caused tens of millions of deaths in the Great Chinese Famine.

### Cultural Revolution: 1966-1976

Sociopolitical movement by Mao Zedong (power grab)

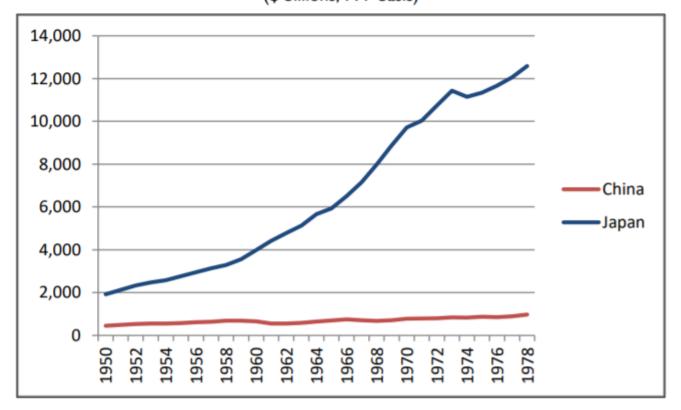


In 1966, Mao broke with Liu Shaoqi (right),

- Goal: to preserve Chinese Communism by purging remnants of capitalist & traditional elements from Chinese society, & reimpose Maoism as the ideology
  - Paralyzed China politically & negatively affected economy & society to a significant degree
  - Red Guard created millions died, killed, persecuted

#### **Chinese Economy**

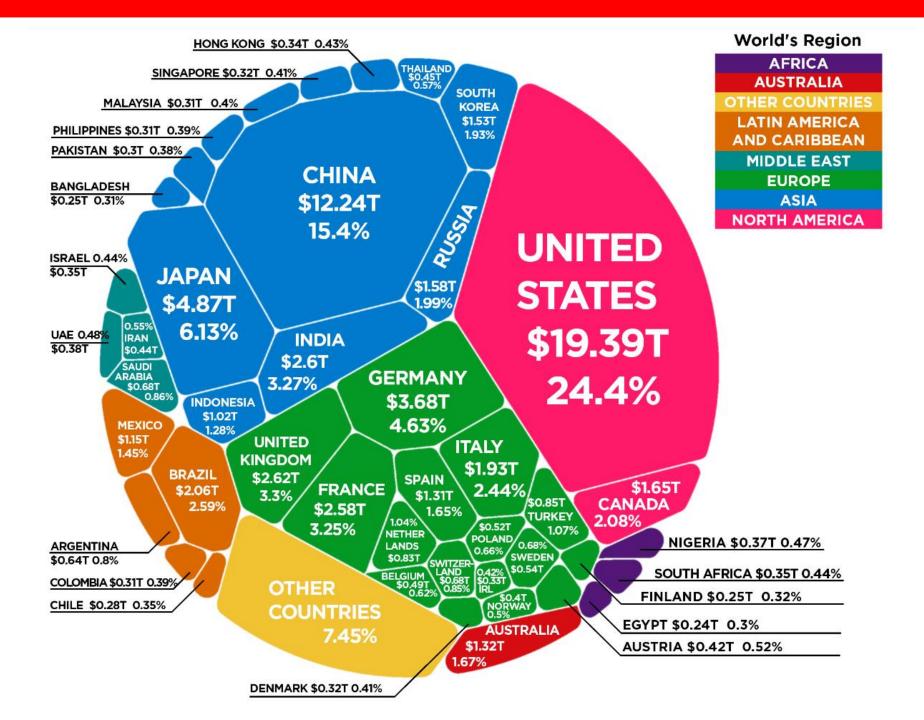
Figure 2. Comparison of Chinese and Japanese Per Capita GDP: 1950-1978 (\$ billions, PPP basis)



Source: Angus Maddison, Historical, Statistics of the World Economy: 1-2008 AD.

#### The Rise of China

 How did a sleepy, economicallychallenged country rose to become the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest economy in the world?



#### Nixon in China (1972)?

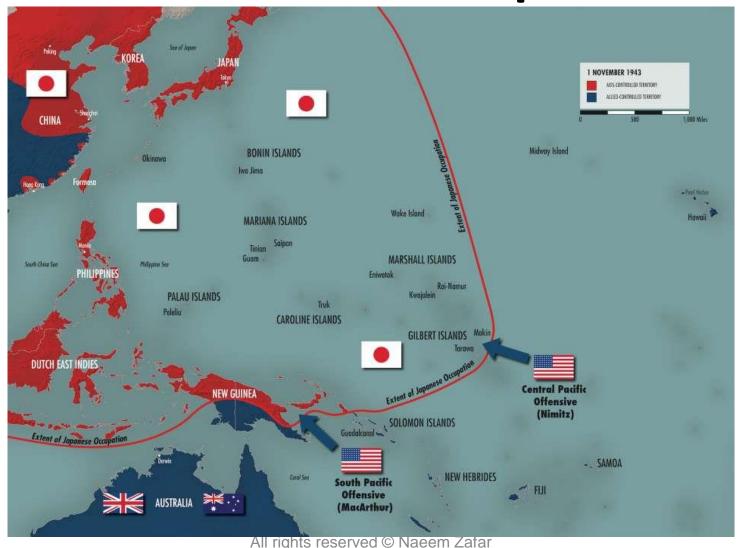


Mao Zedong (Party Chairman)



Chu Enlai (Prime Minister)

#### Historically China's Biggest Problem was Japan



#### Bretton Woods Conference July 1 – July 22, 1944



# Deciding the Post WWII World



- 730 delegates from 44 allied countries gathered
- Will US outline a Pax Americana?
- Delegates expected US to impose tariff & duties on all trade, post administrators to all European allies & their colonies & empires

#### **Bretton Woods Conference**

- Established the
   International Bank for
   Reconstruction and
   Development (IBRD) and the
   International Monetary
   Fund (IMF) & the World
   Bank
- But there was more ...





### Can the World Recover Without Global Trade?

- Can trade be done without a strong Navy?
- Most navies were destroyed by Nazis in war
  - US, Britain & maybe Japan remained
- Without a Navy, trade routes cannot be protected & without trade there was little hope of recovery

### Navy!



All rights reserved © Naeem Zafar

### First country to dominate all seven oceans in the history of the world

Nothing moves without American's explicit permission



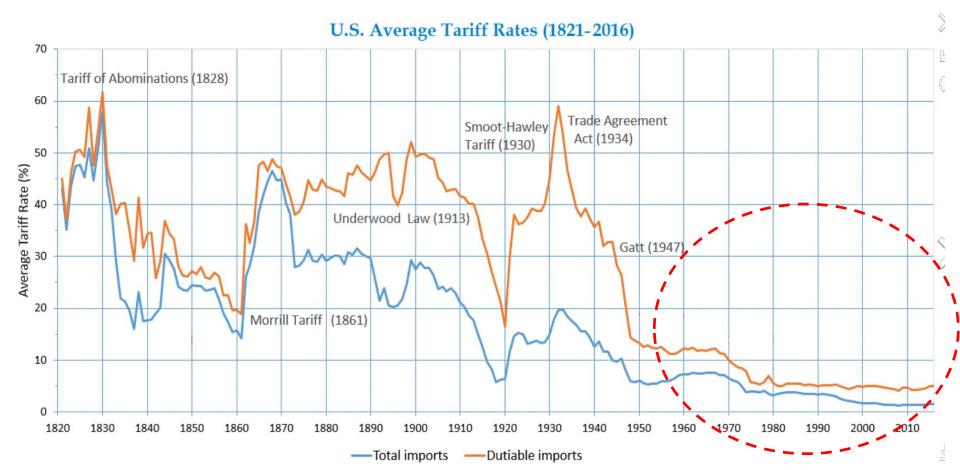
### American Proposal Stunned the Audience

- No Pax, no tariffs on trade, property or income, no quotas, no tax, no customs restriction, instead America will open its markets for all and <u>hope</u> to see others open their markets to USA
- 2. Americans will use their naval power to guarantee the security of all maritime trade regardless of who was trading with whom

#### **American Grand Plan**

- 1. Free trade
- 2. Protection of all maritime trade to ensure economic growth & stability
  - Also prevents other nations to invest in building a Navy
- 3. Marshall Plan
  - To enable others to become prosperous enough to buy American goods & services

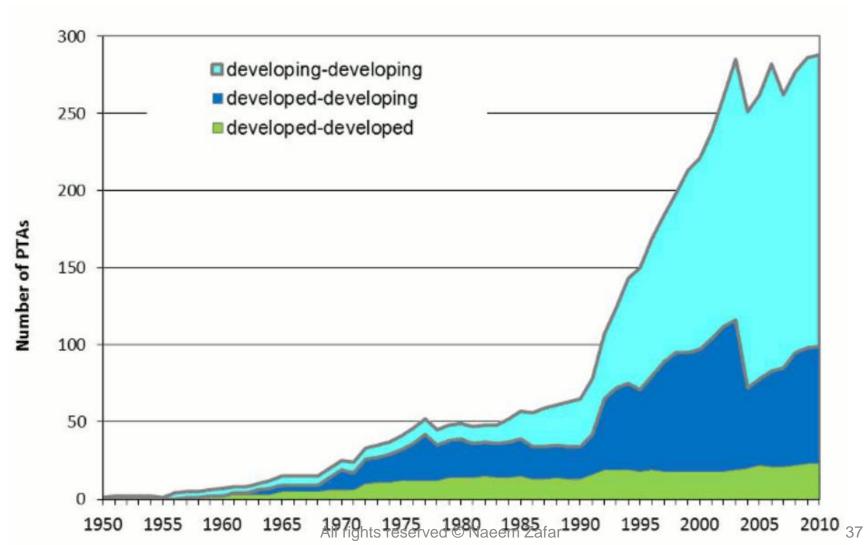




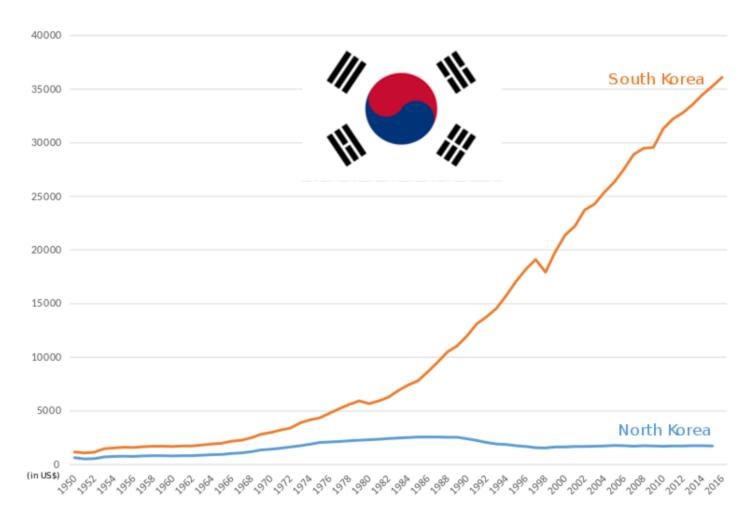
Source: US Departement of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States 1789-1945, U.S. International Trade Commission, dataweb.usitc.gov

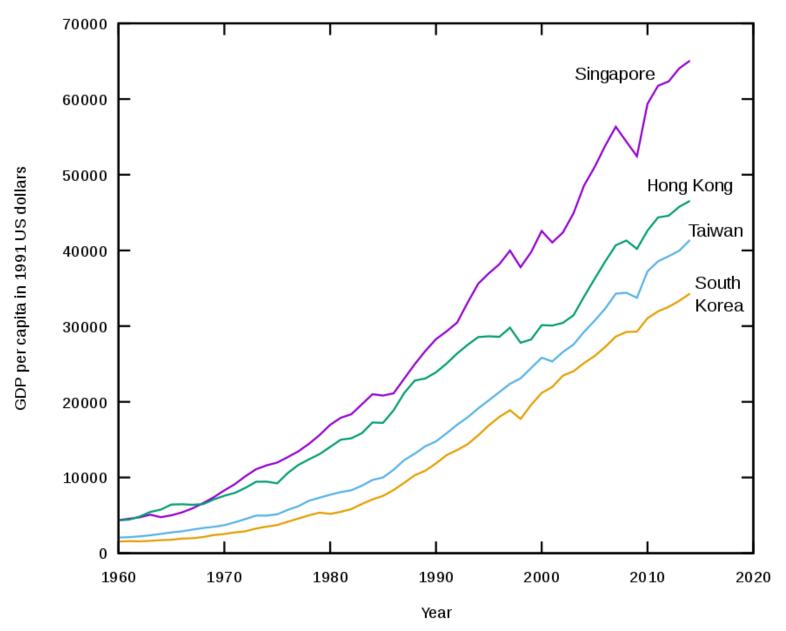


### Number of Preferred Trade Agreements Skyrocketed



#### **South Korean Miracle**





All rights reserved © Naeem Zafar

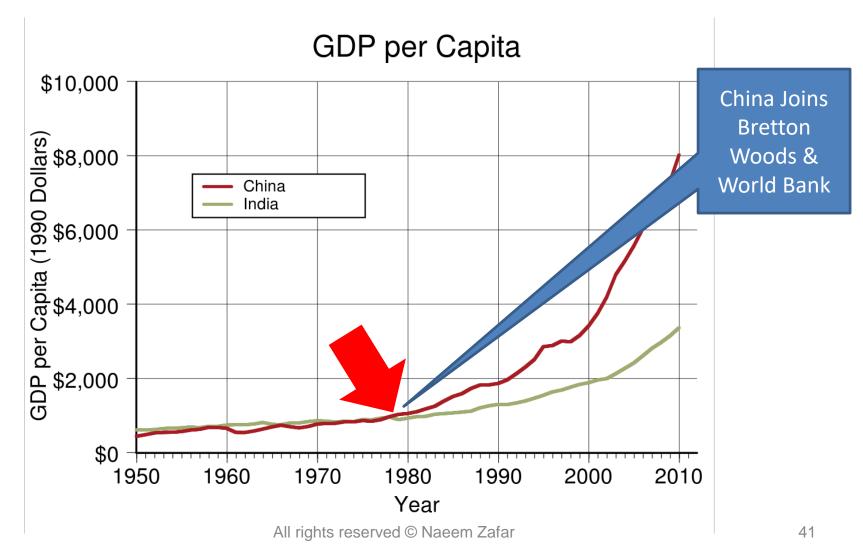
#### **But China Suffered Under Mao**

- Great Leap Forward 1958-1962 was a failed attempt to modernize & industrialize
- The Cultural Revolution 1966-76 followed to curb dissent (Maoism)



Il rights reserved © 中国人民解放军是毛泽东思想大学权

## 1949-1979: China maintained policies that kept the economy very poor, stagnant, centrally controlled, vastly inefficient, and relatively isolated from the global economy





## **Enter the Era of Economic Growth**

Deng Xiaoping 1904:1997

- Chinese politician who was the paramount leader of the People's Republic of China from 1978 until his retirement in 1989
- After Chairman Mao Zedong's death in 1976, Deng led China through far-reaching marketeconomy reforms
- One-child policy initiated

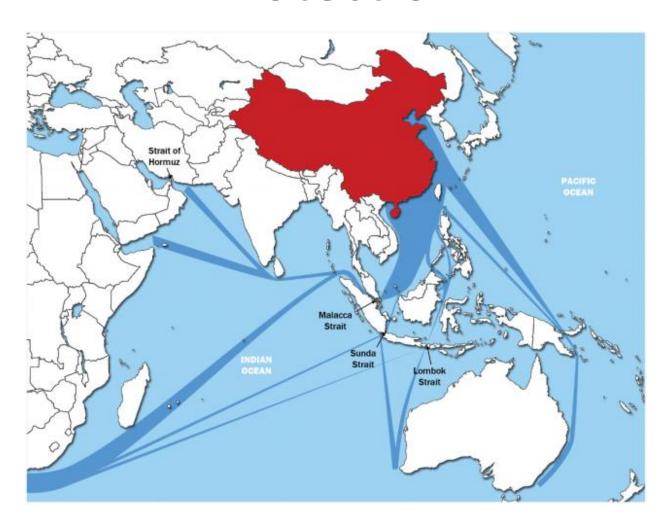
#### Why Deng Xiaoping Matters

- Deng took the reins of power and began to emphasize the goals of "four modernizations"
  - economy, agriculture, scientific & technological development & national defense
- Announced ambitious plan of opening & liberalizing the economy
  - In just a few years they worked wonders as the world watched in amazement
  - Focus on exports

## China Could Not Trade without Bretton Wood's Protection

- Japanese naval power brought under US influence
- Pacific trading routes opened & protection guaranteed by US Navy
- Europeans pushed back to the Atlantic

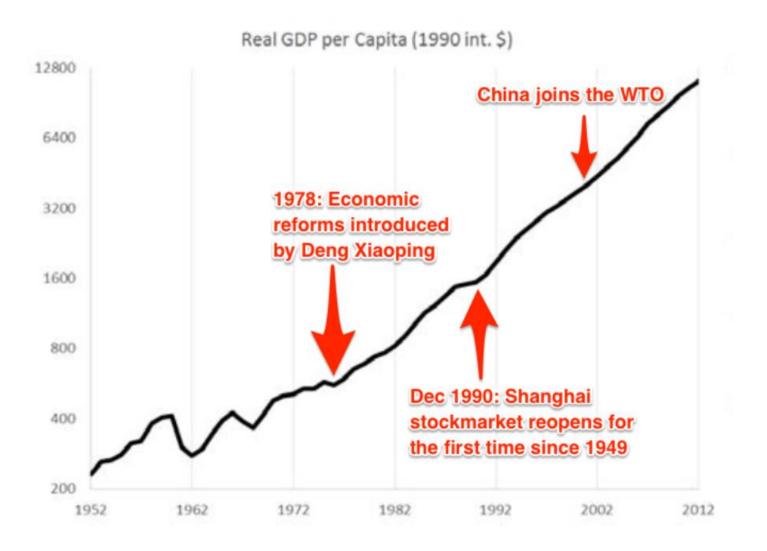
## China Could Not Export Without Protection



#### **Cold War: China Mattered**

- Keeping markets open for American good & services was paramount
- If China is open for business we wanted to engage & make them less "red"
- Under Deng, local municipalities & provinces were allowed to invest in industries that they considered most profitable, which encouraged investment in light manufacturing
  - shifted strategy to light industry & export-led growth good for a developing country coming from a low capital base

#### **China Rises!**



### **Political Changes**



1949-1976

#### What Does China Want?

- Become regional super power & beyond
- Not be dependent on the western technology
- Open trade routes that she controls
- Full employment to control unrest
- Control of information, economy & people

#### What Does USA Want?

- Soft-power globally
- Control of all sea-lanes to ensure free trade
- Ability to move force when & where it sees fit
- Keep troubles away from its shores

#### China Has a Few Problems!

- 1. Secure access to fuel, food & raw material
- 2. Expansive borders to defend
- 3. The debt crisis
- 4. Demography issues
- 5. Governance issues

### **Geography & Borders**

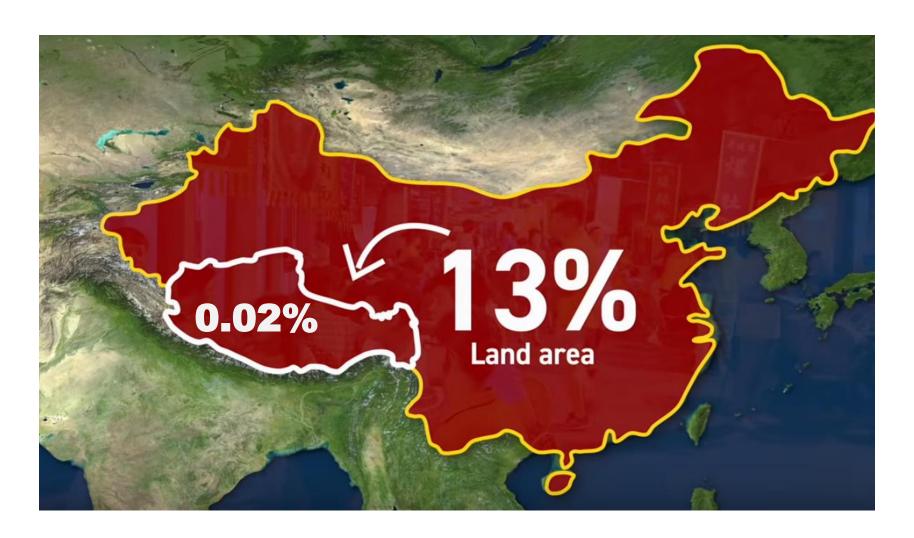
# China's Defense Needs are Huge 13,700 miles of borders



### **Tibet**



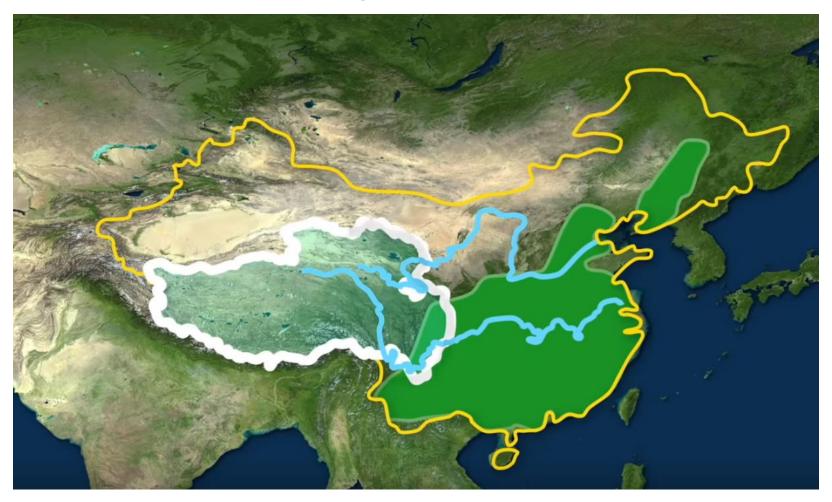
### **Tibet is Lightly Populated**



### **Tibet is Ethnically Different**



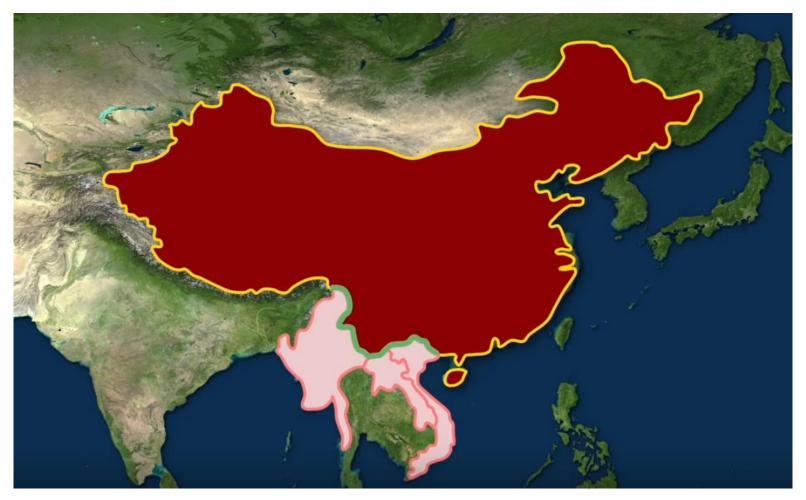
# But Tibet is Strategically Very Important



# Chinese Border with Southern Neighbors is Very Penetrable



# China 2m Army VN, Laos + Myanmar 1m



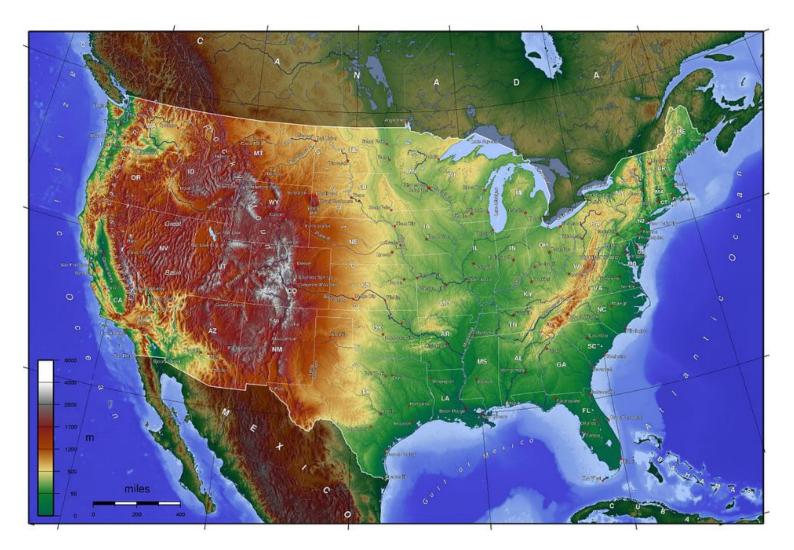
## US & Allies Are Too Close for Chinese Comfort



# 80% of Mideast Oil to China Flows Through Straits of Malacca



### **US Borders are Secure – Naturally**



**US Expanded Atlantic Border by Treaty or Physical** Access



US Expanded
Pacific Border
by Treaty or
Physical
Access



### Defining: "Navigable River"

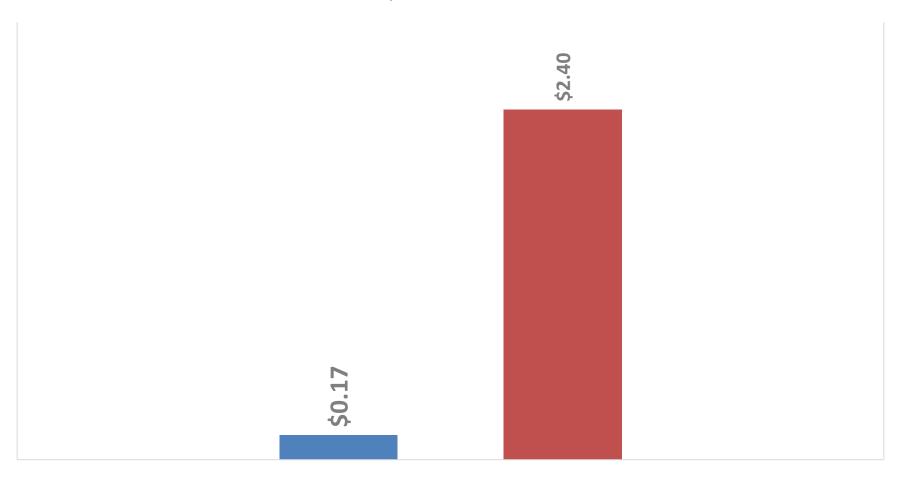
• At least 9 ft. of draft, nine months in a year



All rights reserved © Naeem Zafar

#### **COST OF MOVING GOODS**

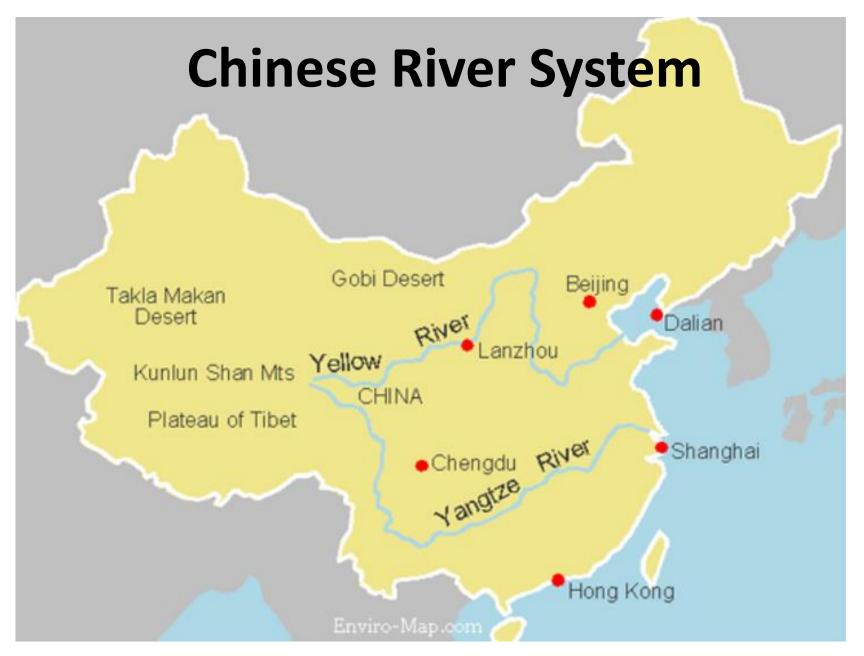




**COST PER CONTAINER-MILE** 

### **US River System**

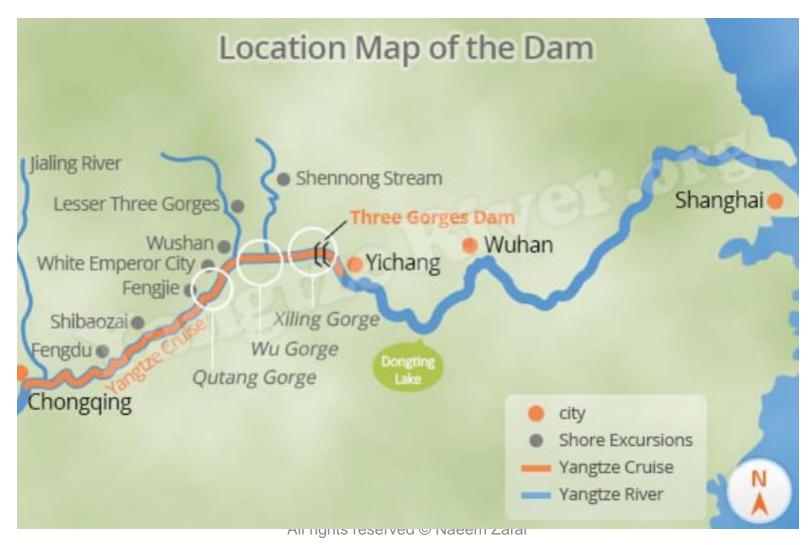




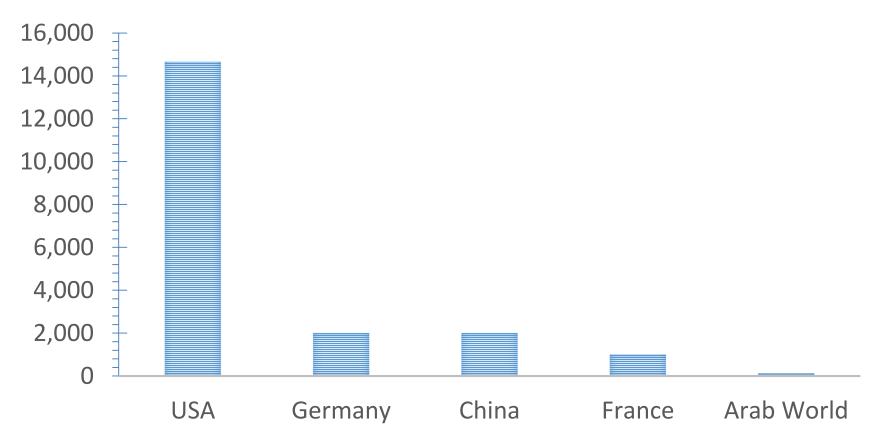


The Ferocious Yellow River (Huang He) 3,395 miles long Since 602 B.C., the river has changed course 26 times & produced 1,500 floods killed millions

## Three Gorges Dam: World's Largest: 22.5 Gigawatt [Hoover Dam is 2GW)



#### MILES OF NAVIGABLE RIVERS



### **Agriculture & Industrialization**

### **China: Geographic View**



### The Chinese Geography

- China lacks the great fertile planes with river systems that US is blessed with
- Yellow River is extremely flood-prone
  - Several times a year, large scale flooding
  - Unlike the Nile that flows in a valley, Yellow does not
  - Broad & flat flood plains causes huge population displacement
    - 1 million died in 1933 & also in 1997
    - Huge maintenance projects since 1997
- This impacts development of political system

### World's Largest Construction Project (In Han Dynasty)?

- Construction of river levees around the Yellow
  - To protect the population & agriculture
- The silt problem
  - All rivers carry silt, Yellow's unusually heavy
  - Unable to dump this silt to floodplain, Yellow is essentially a "managed canal"
  - Steady accumulation of sediment raised the river-bottom
     needed higher & higher levees
- It now an "aqueduct" where bottom is above the ground → broken levee → huge flood



### Impact on Agriculture

- Northern Chinese Planes (NCP) are fertile & large (158,000 Sq. Miles)
  - Equal to Nebraska, Iowa & Illinois combined
- All Yellow lower watershed is in NCP making it hard to maintain & control for consistent irrigation → requiring armies of people

### The Fragmented Plains

- Yellow is not navigable (due to heavy engineering)
- Capital-poor nature of North-Western China makes it hard to invest in infrastructure
- Eastern-West is also a problem
  - Holding the river in place saps all manpower

### **Lack of Local Political Centers**

- Most of manpower applied to feeding people
  - Taking away from building armies to protect
- Successful Chinese government must be tightly manage
  - So that masses can be hurled, if needed, to engineering problems
  - Millions have died over the centuries
    - (7-million in Mao's war of independence alone)



#### Wheat vs. Rice Cultivation

- Wheat requires sowing, harvesting & thrashing
- Rice paddy requires:
  - Prep before planting
  - Plant stalk by stalk in specially prepared clay beds
  - Clay beds must hold water, can be fertilized, flooded, emptied, flooded again & dried
  - Harvested stalk-by-stalk, threshed, threshed again
  - Re-flooding & re-fertilization of the clay beds
- All this busy work leaves little time for political powers, industrialization or capital accumulation

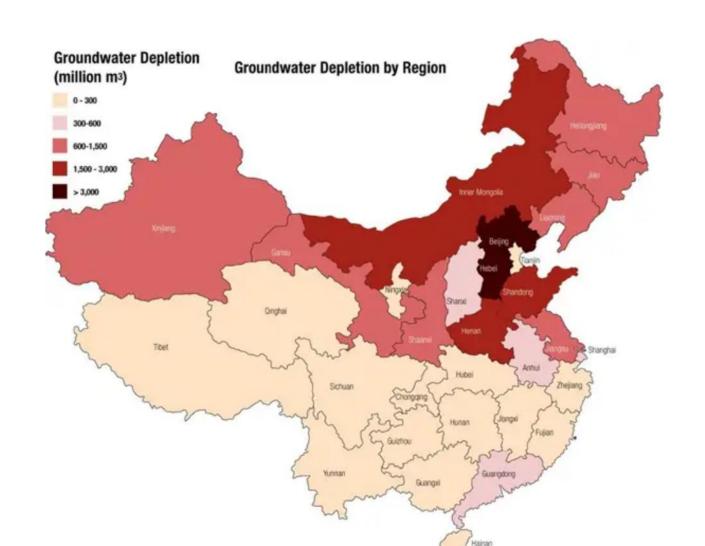
# Rice Farming Leaves no Manpower for other Industrialization



# They Had to Feed the Growing Population



### Beijing, Tianjin & Hebei region (120m people) have less water per head than Saudi Arabia!



### Central China is Capital Rich but not Integrated with Politically Strong North

- Yangtze river is sole navigable river (1,700 miles out a total 9,000 miles in system)
- But it cuts through mountains & creates fractured parcels of land

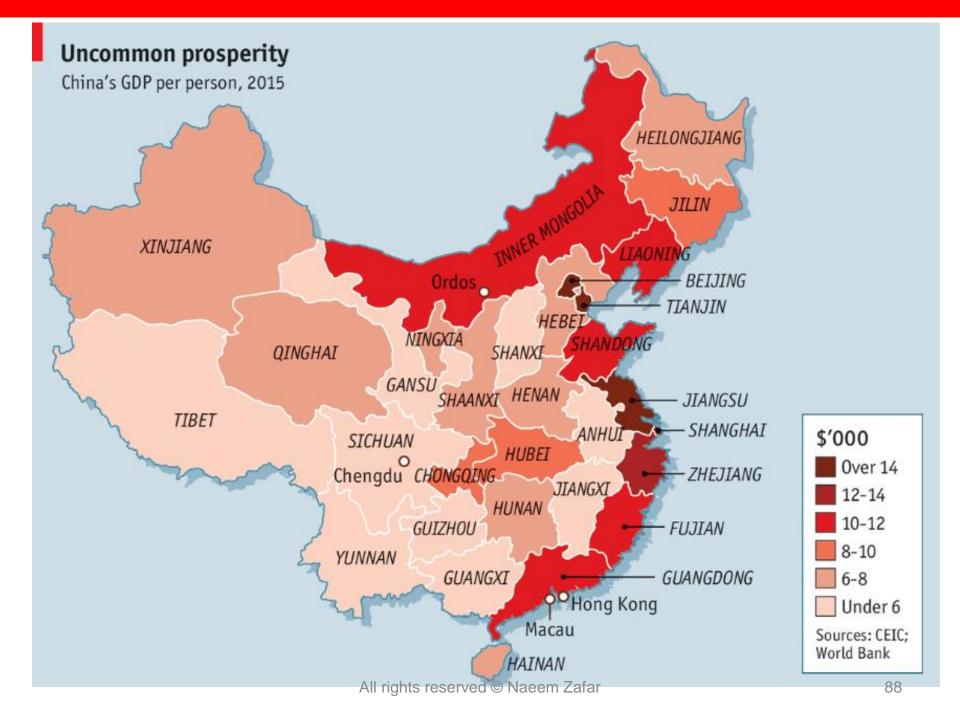


# Central China More Aligned with its Trading partners

- Trading from Shanghai to Tokyo, London, San Francisco
- Northern China aligns with the wealth of central China
  - Power alternates between North & Central every 10-years

### Southern (Coastal) China

- Tropical south is socially & politically disconnected with the North
- Have deep water & functioning ports (very rugged mountainous coast)
  - North's coast is sandy & not conducive to shipping
  - China has not been a naval power
- Coast attracts sea-faring foreigners
  - But hard for northern & interior regions to access



### **Extreme Poverty in Western China**



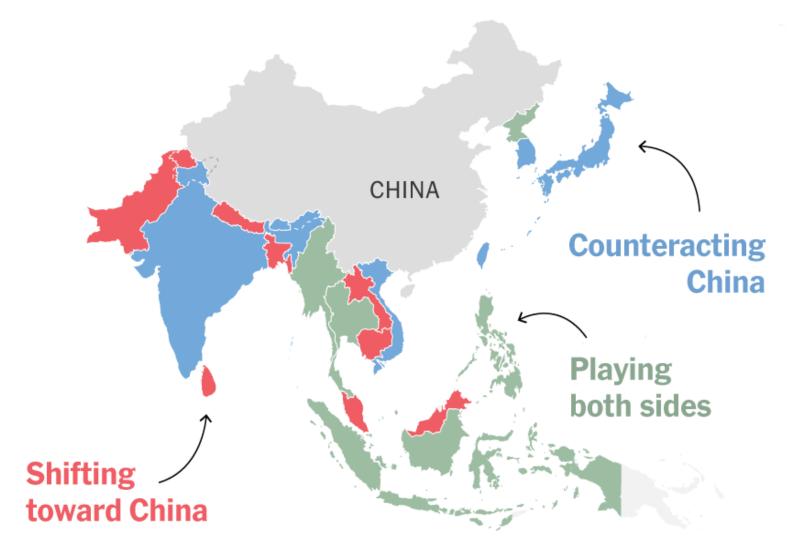


# Holding it an a "Unified Country" is a Fulltime Job

- Local power centers emerged: 56 ethnic groups
- Remoteness forces a need to align local warlords
- Full time effort needed by the leaders to squash decenters & hold power



### **Geopolitical Forces: China's Allies?**

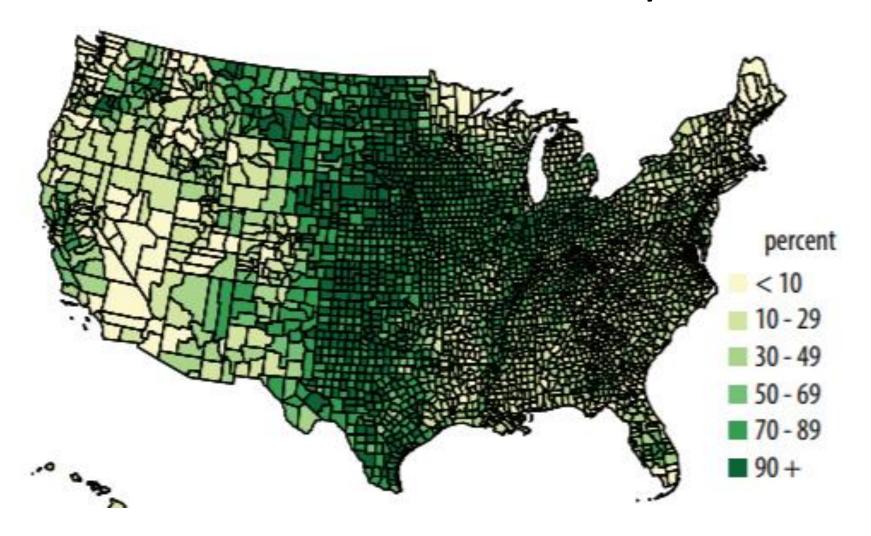


### **USA: Land Rich with Capital**

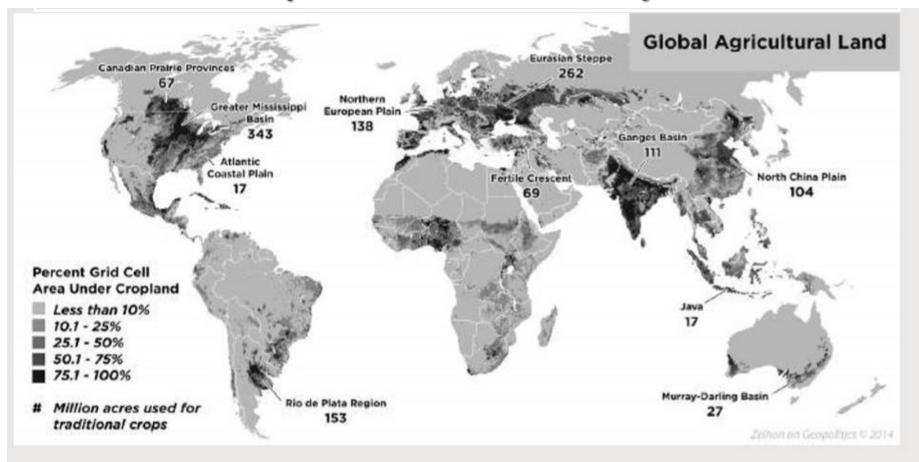
- Interconnected waterways means ease of transporting goods anywhere
- No need to spend capital on artificial infrastructure 

   more available capital for industrialization
- Vastness of land = less government

### In US 40% of Land is Farmland 915 Million acres & 2.1 million farms/ranches



# US has the largest continuous agriculture landmass in the world: 139m hectares (350 Million Acres)

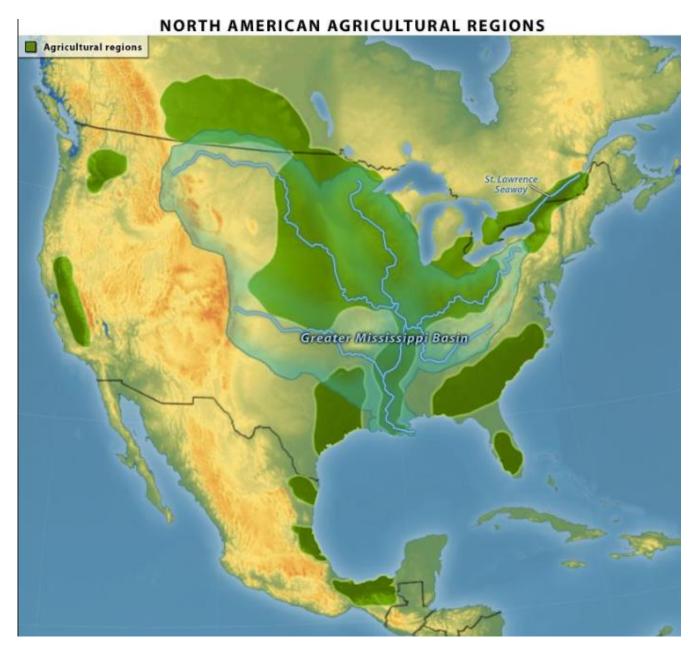


### Top 10 States Ag Land: 662,000 Sq. Miles

| States Ranked by Value of Agricultural Sales Per Square Mile |                   |   |  |                            |
|--|-------------------|---|--|----------------------------|
| Rank   | State             | Total Crop and<br>Animal Sales<br>(NASS 2012) | Land Area<br>(square miles)<br>(US Census) | Sales \$'s/<br>Square Mile |
| 1  | IOWA              | \$30,821,532,000                              | 56,273                                     | \$547,714                  |
| 2  | DELAWARE          | \$1,274,014,000                               | 2,489                                      | \$511,858                  |
| 3  | INDIANA           | \$11,210,818,000                              | 36,420                                     | \$307,820                  |
| 4  | NEBRASKA          | \$23,068,756,000                              | 77,348                                     | \$298,246                  |
| 5  | ILLINOIS          | \$17,187,052,000                              | 57,914                                     | \$296,769                  |
| 6  | CALIFORNIA        | \$42,627,472,000                              | 163,695                                    | \$260,408                  |
| 7  | MINNESOTA         | \$21,280,185,000                              | 86,936                                     | \$244,780                  |
| 8  | NORTH<br>CAROLINA | \$12,588,142,000                              | 53,819                                     | \$233,898                  |
| 9  | оню               | \$10,064,085,000                              | 44,826                                     | \$224,514                  |
| 10   | KANSAS            | \$18,460,564,000                              | 82,278                                     | \$224,368                  |

### In a bad year USA produces 1b bushel of wheat, 9b bushel of corn, 2.5b bushel of soybean

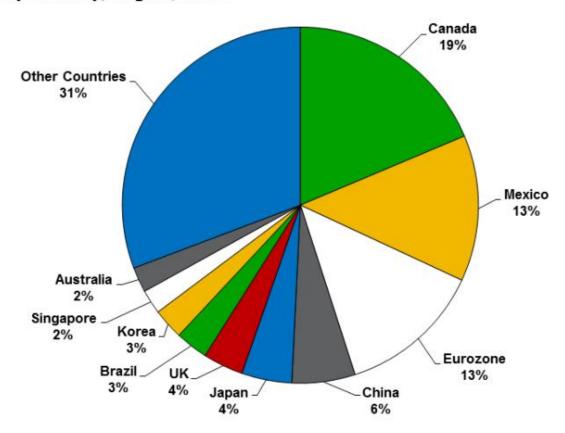




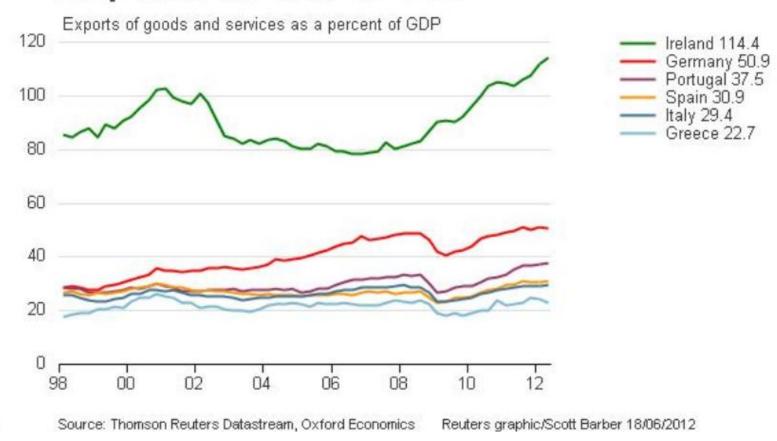
All rights reserved © Naeem Zafar

## American Dependence on International Trade: 15% of GDP

U.S. Manufacturing Exports to 238 Countries
Exports by Country/Region, 2012

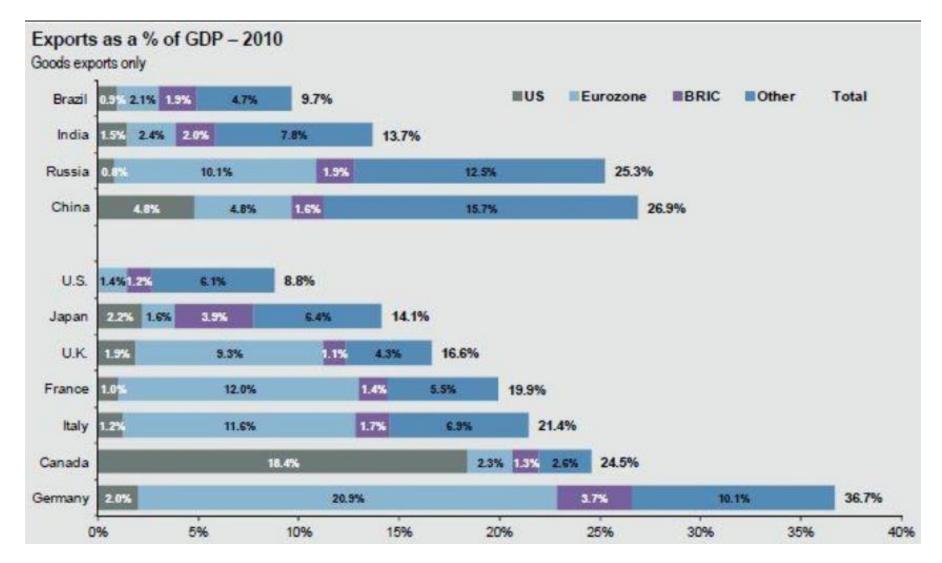


#### Exports as a % of GDP



### **Goods + Services**

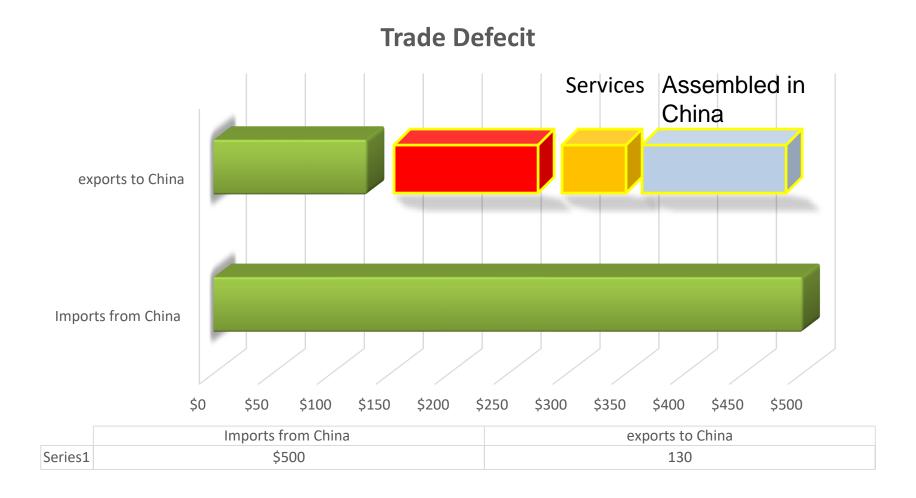
### **US** is Self Sufficient



### **US China Trade Imbalance: \$270B?**

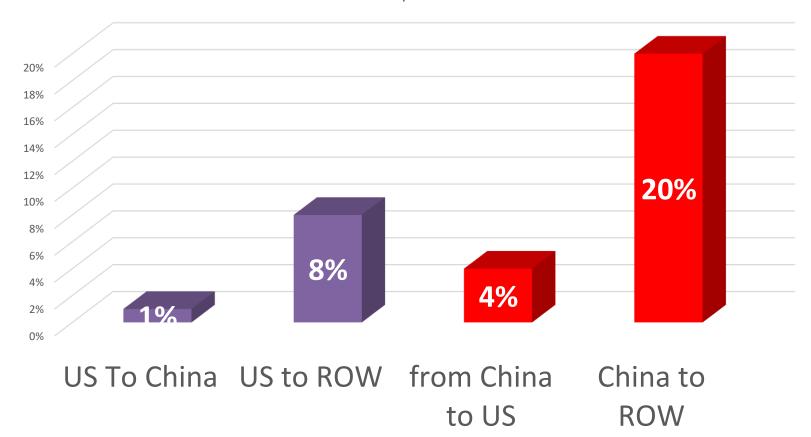


### US China Trade Imbalance ~\$110B



### US Economy's Dependence on Exports is Minimal

**Exports** 



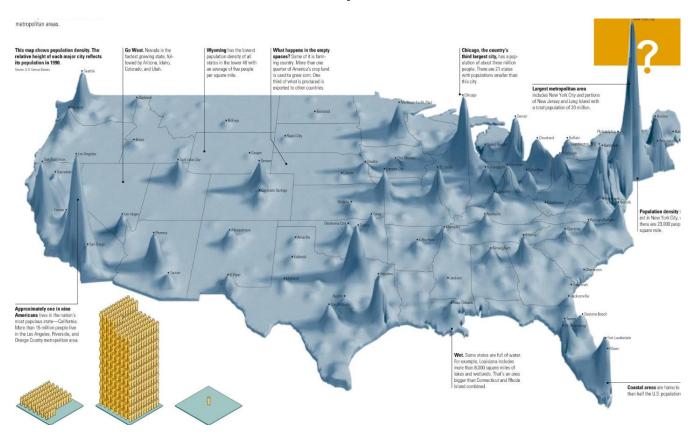
### **Deep-Water Ports Necessary**

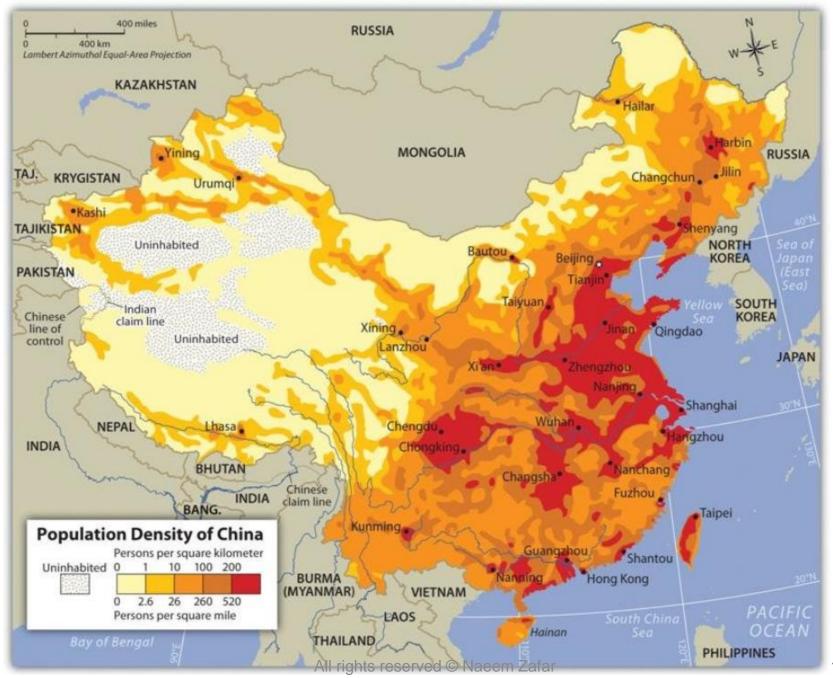
- Africa has more than 16,000 miles of coast but less than 10 bays for suitable ports
- Southern Brazil & Chinese coast have cliffs

- USA has more deep water ports than the rest of the world – combined!
- Texas alone has 13

### **Population Distribution USA**

 With 50M people on the west coast and 100M on the east coast USA has the flexibility to change dance partners without a hiccup





# Natural Evolution of Educational & Financial System

- As farmers grew same crops, had need to same tools, used same local banks & built local schools → small towns popped up along the riverways
- Larger towns formed naturally where 2 rivers met & at the navigation heads
  - Chicago, Pittsburg, Minneapolis, Kansas city, Albany, Memphis, Louisville, Charleston, St. Louis

# Natural Evolution of Educational & Financial System

- 50 urban centers existed in US when industrial technologies came from Europe with own educational & financial systems
- Infrastructure: 164M miles of track & roads by 1890 without much investments from feds
  - Just land concessions to Robber Barons did the trick



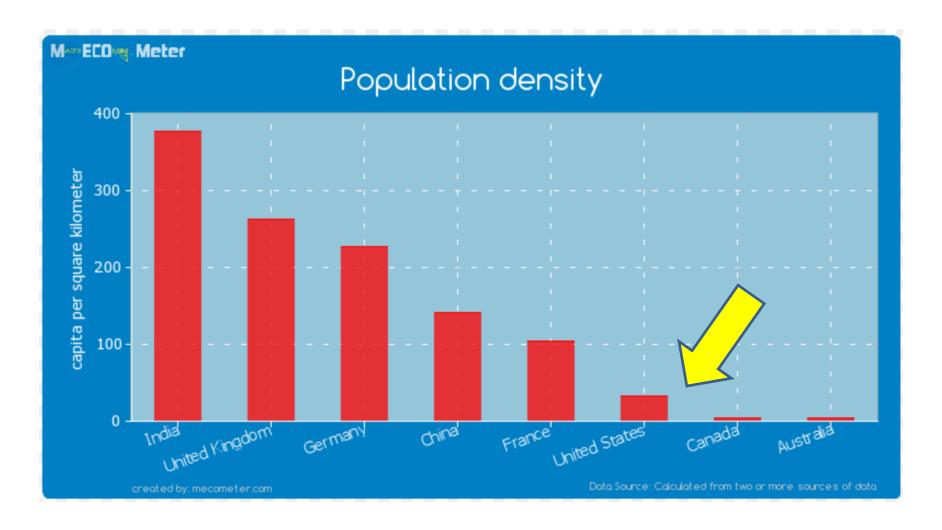
#### Industrialization in USA

- Integrated waterways + world most fertile land + complete lack of strategic threats = world's largest capital base (& least need for it)
  - Unlike Germany where every morsel of cash was needed to funneled through banks
  - No need to for government to regulate capital allocation
- → Resulted in world's first truly integrated financial system

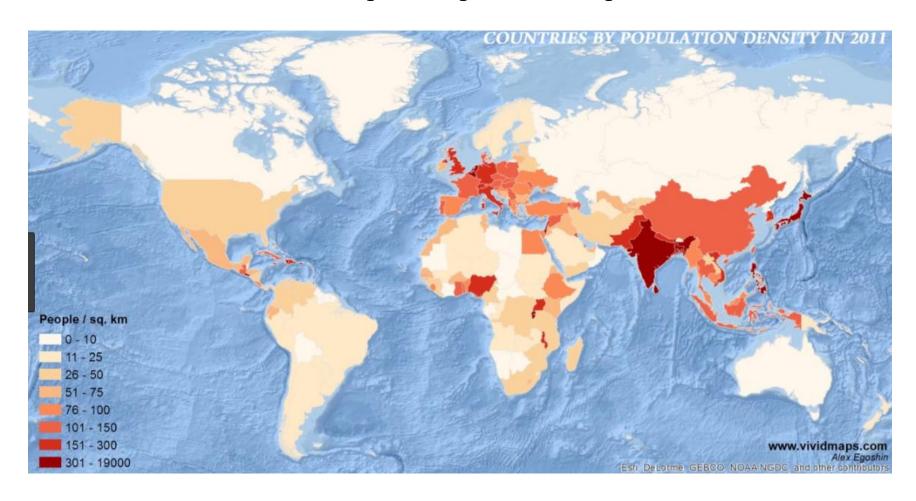
## The Land of the Plenty

- World's largest agriculture, technological, financial and (depends on how to calculate) industrial power
  - And has been for 150 years!
- Availability of land, labor & capital in unprecedented in human history
- → USA does not have to at its best to be better than everyone else!

#### **US Still Has a LOT of Room to Grow**



## US: 180 people/Sq. Mile



## **Economy & Demographics**

## The Big Bad Panda?

- Almost everyone is afraid of China
  - Largest population
  - Soon to be largest economy
  - Most powerful military?

#### **But Why Now?**

Why after 3500 years since Han Chinese first emerged as a nation is the Chinese dominance is obvious & inevitable?

## Is this About the American Psyche?

#### Remember:

- Rise of USSR! In 1952, 1960s & 1970s
- The inevitable rise of Japan in 1980s

## So why now?

# Why Did China Unite & Became Economically Powerful: WWII

- 1. American eliminated their biggest rival & threat after WWII: Japan
- 2. American Bretton Woods agreement stopped European colonizers west of India
- 3. Bretton Woods opened global markets to China which it had not enjoyed ...ever!

#### **But .... Can It Last?**

#### China has three major problems

- 1. Economy: artificially propped
- 2. Demographics
- 3. American dependency

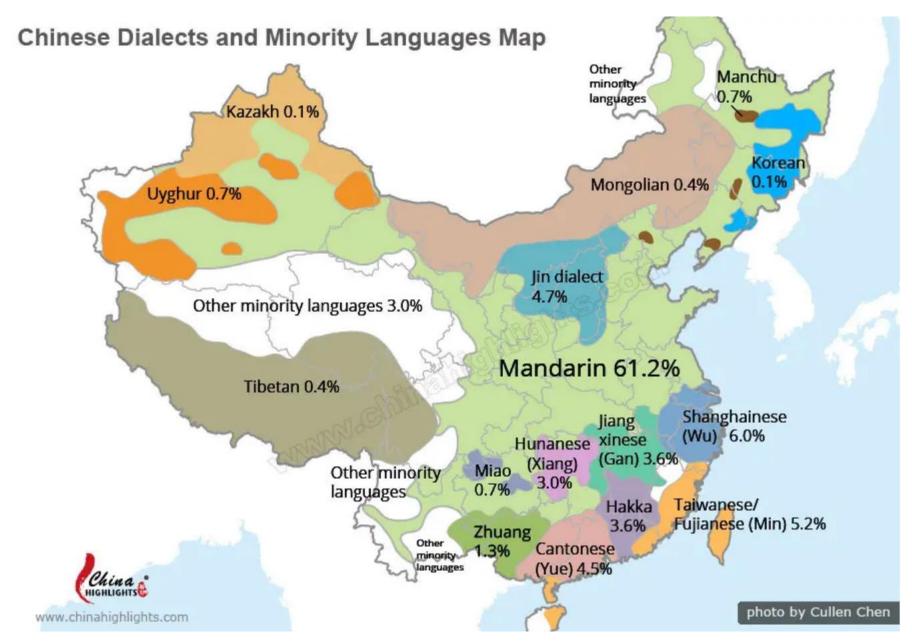
China's four regions do not coalesce naturally – they need a strong adhesive:

Money!

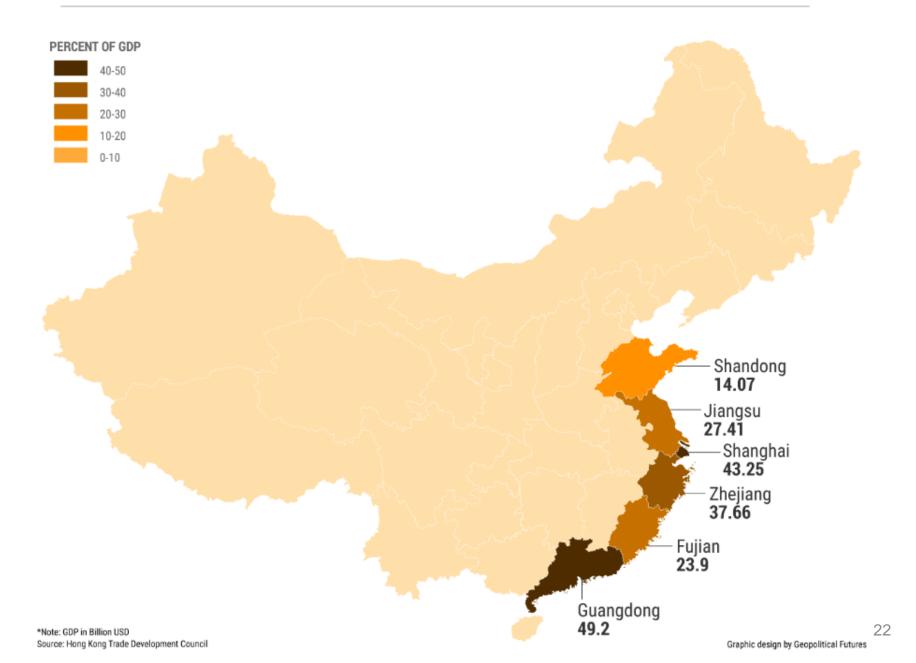


119

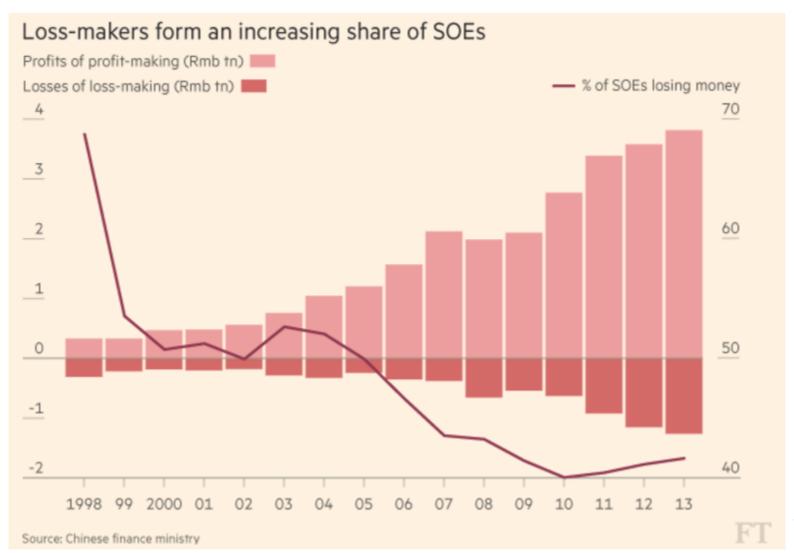




#### Select Chinese Provices Export Value as Percent of GDP



# Chinese Economy is not About Profits – It is About Employment



# This Persistent Subsidy Model Created Amazing Growth

- Loans essentially translate to subsidy
- ~9% growth for last 30-years created world's 2<sup>nd</sup> largest economy to date
  - Thanks to Bretton Woods & WTO for creating a bottomless demand for subsidized goods worldwide
  - Especially if you do not need to care about quality, debt, output, reputation, or profits

This creates extreme collusion between the Communist party leadership & bank management

#### **Transition from SOE Was Hard**

- By 1999 40% of all bank loans were "bad loans"
  - Heavy lending to State-Owned Enterprises (SOE)
- Four "Bad Banks" were established to clean up bank balance sheets & acquired ~50% of bad loans (18% of GDP!!)
  - Now there are 35 bad banks

No one knows the extent to this bad loan problem but it is expected to get worse if the economy slows down

### **Problem Got Worse in 2008**

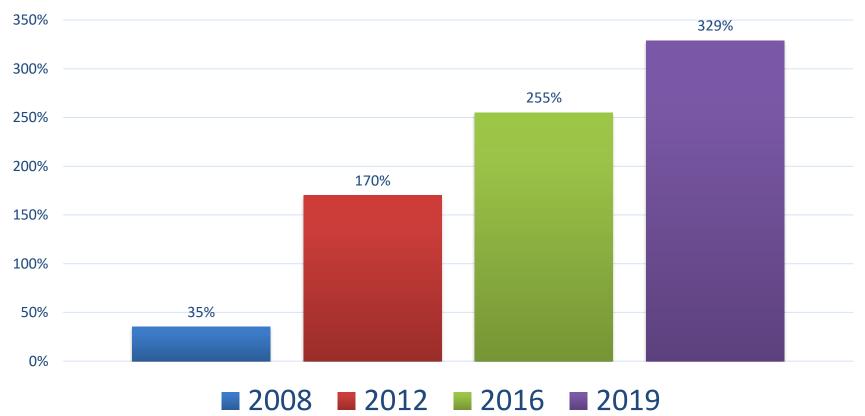
China as distracted with Olympics



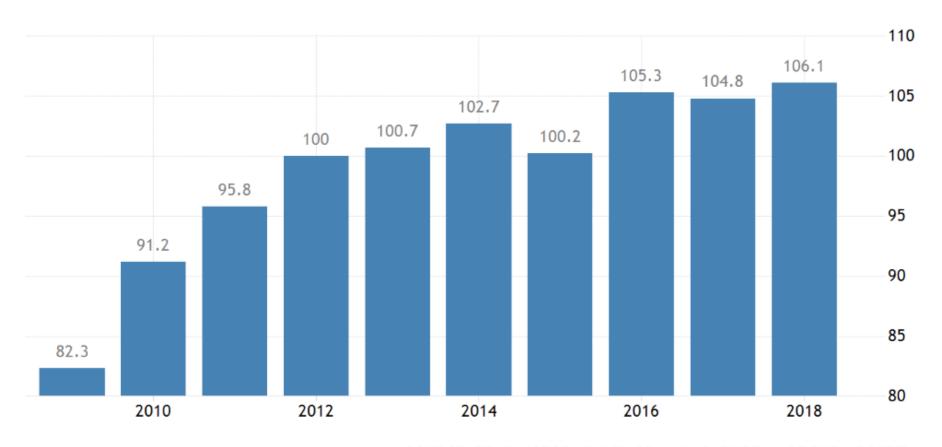
- 6m new grads had no jobs
- Millions workers sent to countryside
- To eliminate air pollution factories closed
- Sichuan earthquake claimed 90,000 lives
- Govt started a huge (\$586B stimulus package) to jump start economy in Nov 2008 – financed by bank lending

## China's Debt Accounted for Bulk of Global Debt that rose from \$150T to \$329T between 2007 & 2017





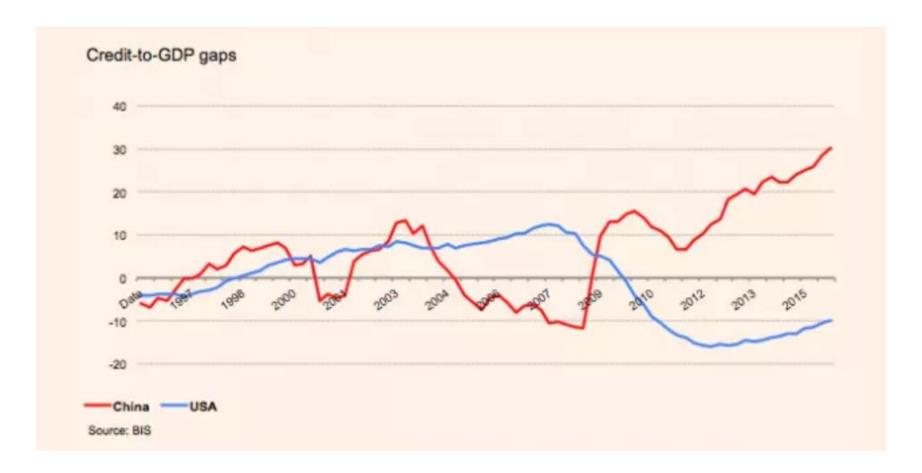
#### **US Federal Debt as a % of GDP**



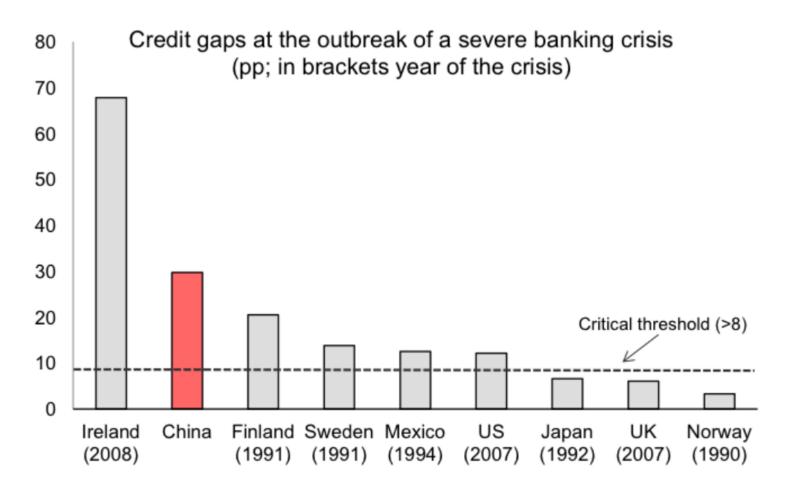
SOURCE: TRADINGECONOMICS.COM | U.S. BUREAU OF PUBLIC DEBT

## **Credit Gap is an Early Warning Sign of Financial Crisis**

Credit-Gap is the difference between Credit-to-GDP ratio and its Long Term Trend



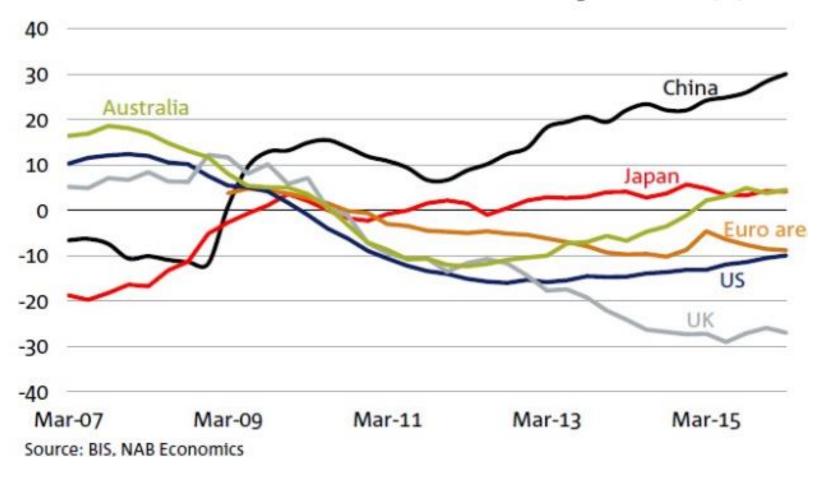
#### **Credit Gap: Early Indicator**



Source: BIS; UniCredit Research

#### Above 10% danger level since mid-2012

Difference between current credit-to-GDP ratio and long term trend (%)



## In 1990s Top 10 Banks in the World were Japanese, in 2008 top 4 were American

| TOP 10 WORLD BANKS |          |                            |         |                     |
|--------------------|----------|----------------------------|---------|---------------------|
| Rank               | Previous | Bank                       | Country | Tier 1 capital \$bn |
| 1                  | 1        | ICBC                       | China   | 338                 |
| 2                  | 2        | China Construction Bank    | China   | 287                 |
| 3                  | 4        | Agricultural Bank of China | China   | 243                 |
| 4.                 | 3        | Bank of China              | China   | 230                 |
| 5                  | 5        | JP Morgan Chase            | US      | 209                 |
| 6                  | 6        | Bank of America            | US      | 189                 |
| 7                  | 7        | Wells Fargo                | US      | 168                 |
| 8                  | 8        | Citigroup                  | US      | 158                 |
| 9                  | 10       | HSBC                       | UK      | 147                 |
| 10                 | 9        | Mitsubishi UFJ             | Japan   | 146                 |

Source: www.thebankerdatabase.com

## Chinese Banking System is Artificially Lubricated

- Lacks robust western-style banking system
  - Most of citizen's money flows into 4 stateowned banks
    - 1. The Bank of China [\$2.6 trillion]
    - 2. Agricultural Bank of China [\$2.82 T]
    - 3. Construction Bank of China [\$3.02 T]
    - 4. Industrial & Commercial Bank of China [\$3.47 T]
- All 140 Chinese banks combined assets \$33 Trillion
  - Bank's mandate is to lend money to anyone for anything just to keep employment going

## **Lending Problem is Huge**

- Chinese lending in 2007 topped 3.6 Tr. RMB
  - ➤ That is \$600B
    - > more than total lending in USA during height of subprime era) for an economy one third that of USA (in 2007)
  - ➤ Instead of seeing a drop in demand due to the financial crisis & shutting down factories they supersized the loans
  - > The borrowing tripled in the next two years!
  - ➤ The banks started to issue each other bonds to keep the credit flowing

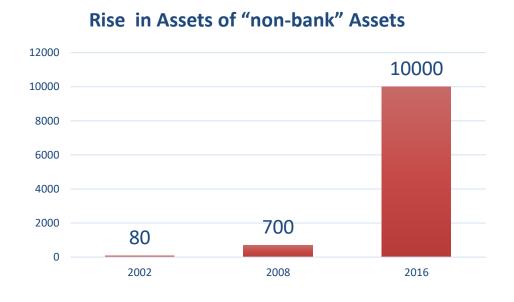
## Monthly Quotas Imposed on Lending by Central Bank to Fix the Problem

- In many cases monthly quotes were reached quickly & government had to pump emergency funds
- And the banks, retail investors & firms created parallel system (with much less due diligence & quality controls) as shadow lending to lubricate the system
- By 2013 this exceeded all other forms of lending combined!
  - Total financing reached \$5 trillion is 7X more than US lending (for an economy that was ~\$8 trillion)

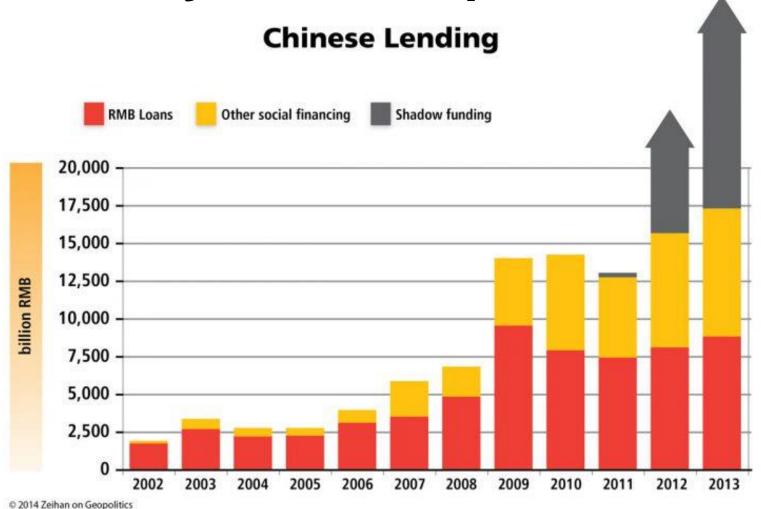
This is equivalent to Obama stimulus package (\$800B over 2-years) every 29-days!

## **Shadow Banking Emerged**

- Non-bank financial institutions emerged
  - Wealth Management Products (WMP)
  - Financial arms of large companies, leasing, credit funds
  - Outside the eyes of banking regulators
  - Got a boost after 2008 credit boom
- \$10 trillion in 2016!
  - 87% of GDP
  - 29% of Banking



## This makes the whole Chinese system sub-prime



# China's GDP Growth Has Been Stalling

#### CHINA GDP ANNUAL GROWTH RATE

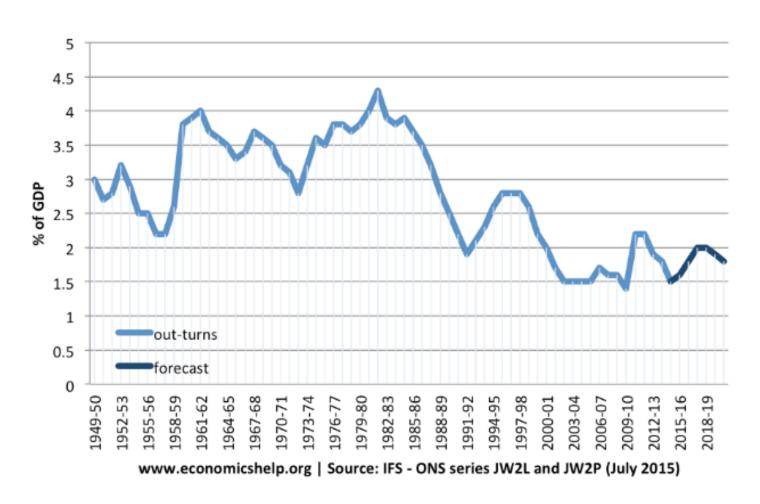


SOURCE: TRADINGECONOMICS.COM | NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF CHINA

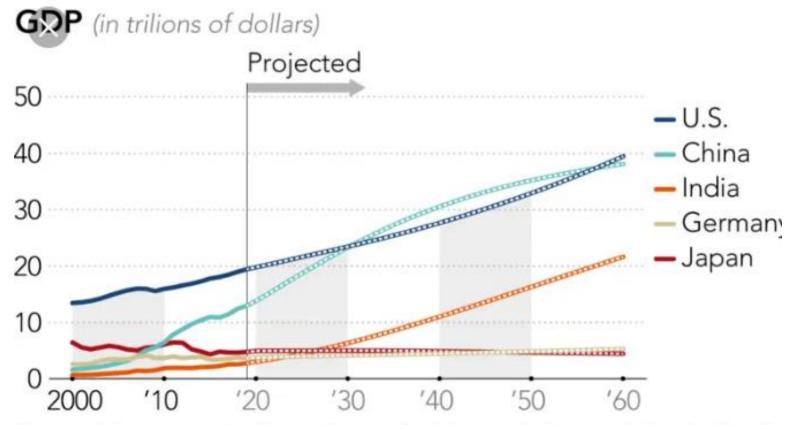
### Japan 1950-1980s & USA

- US tried this (throughput & growth, not profit) and resulted in sub-prime crisis of 2008!
- Japan tried this model & eventually it collapsed in 90s
- Japanese banking system has yet to recover since 25years → stagnation!
- Japan is ethnically unified (98% are Japanese) & 80% of the population lives in Honshu island
  - Chinese are anything but ethically, spatially & regionally unified

### **US Debt Payments as a % of GDP**



### **US Economy**



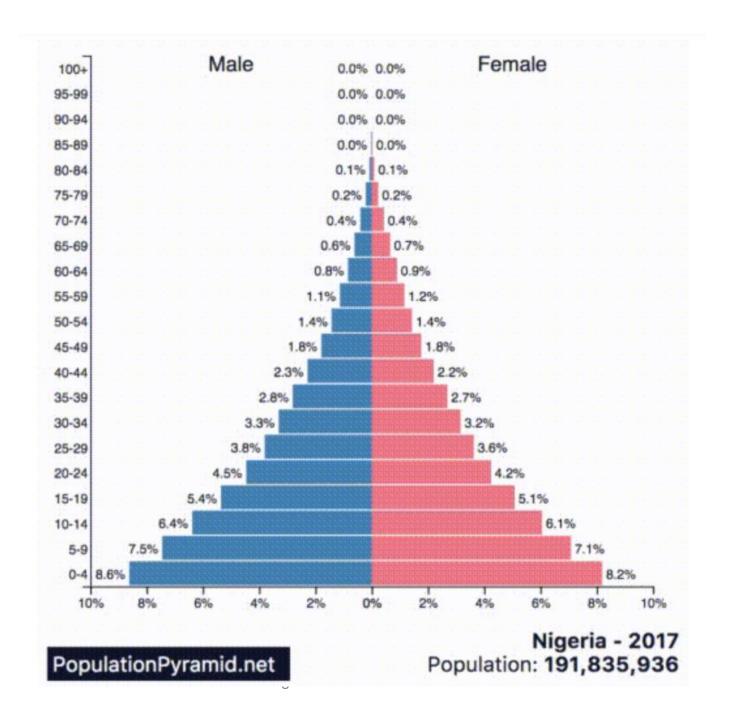
Source: Governments, Japan Center for Economic Research (projections)

### The Party is Already Over!



https://marketmonetarist.com/2014/08/27/china-might-never-become-the-biggest-economy-in-the-world/

## Demographics



## HOW IT WORKS TODAY

#### MONEY FLOWS IN

Up to \$132,900 of a person's wages (in 2019) will be subject to a 12.4 percent payroll tax. Self-employed workers pay the entire amount, while employers and employees equally pay 6.2 percent into the Social Security system.

#### 174 MILLION CONTRIBUTORS



TOTAL INCOME GOING INTO SYSTEM IN 2017

#### \$996.6 BILLION

88%

Tax money contributed by workers and employers

8%

Interest on the Social Security Trust Funds 4%

Taxes on Social Security benefits

For years, more money has flowed into the two trust funds (one for retirement benefits, one for disability) than has gone out, creating a reserve to help pay benefits in future years. At the end of 2017, the funds totaled \$2.89 trillion: all of it is invested in Treasury securities.

#### MONEY FLOWS OUT

Workers are eligible to begin receiving Social Security retiree benefits as early as 62, but claiming at this age results in the smallest benefit. Workers who wait to claim until age 70 can obtain the largest benefit available to them.

#### **63 MILLION RECIPIENTS**



TOTAL EXPENDITURES PAID FROM SYSTEM IN 2017

**\$952.5 BILLION** 

84%

Benefits to retirees or their survivors

15%

Benefits to disabled workers

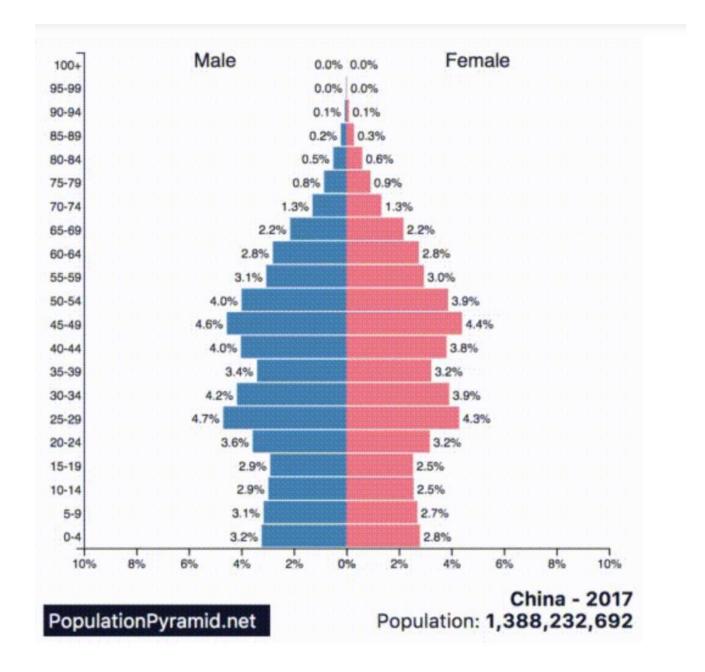
0.7%

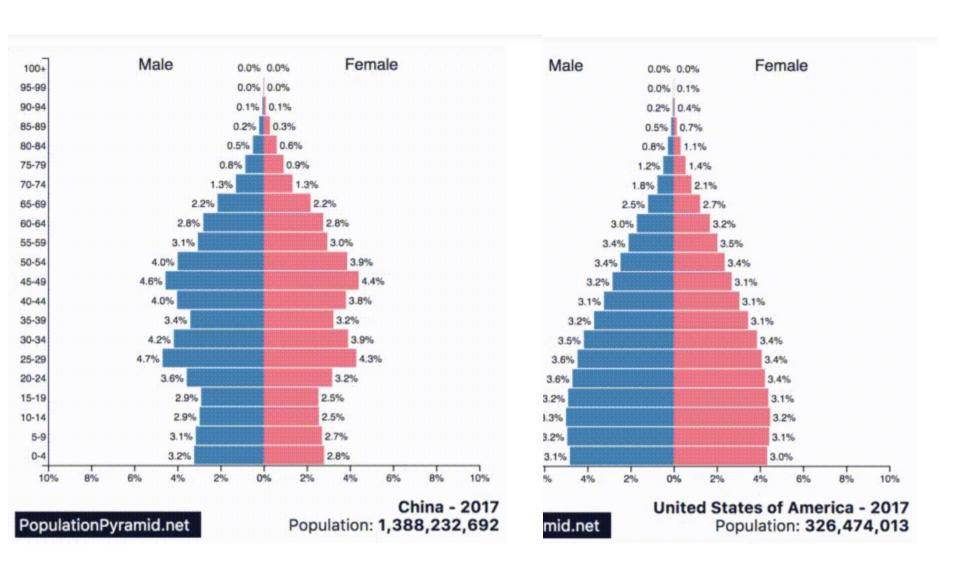
Financial or administrative costs

0.4%

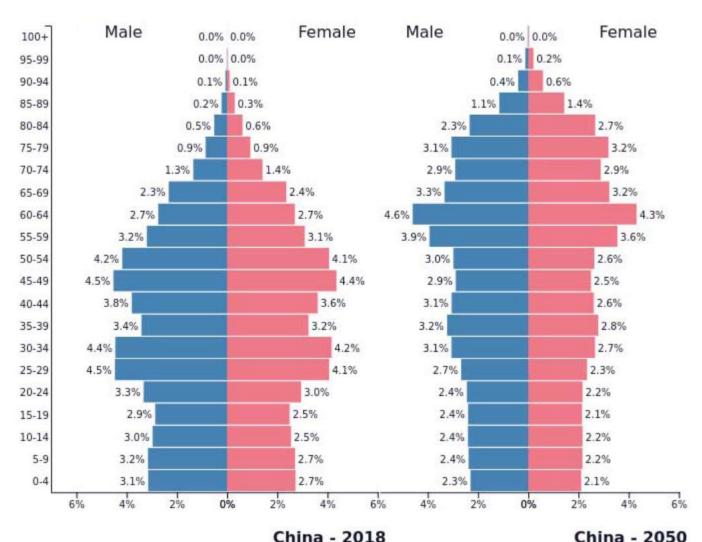
Railroad retirement funds

TODD DETWILDER





#### China population pyramid

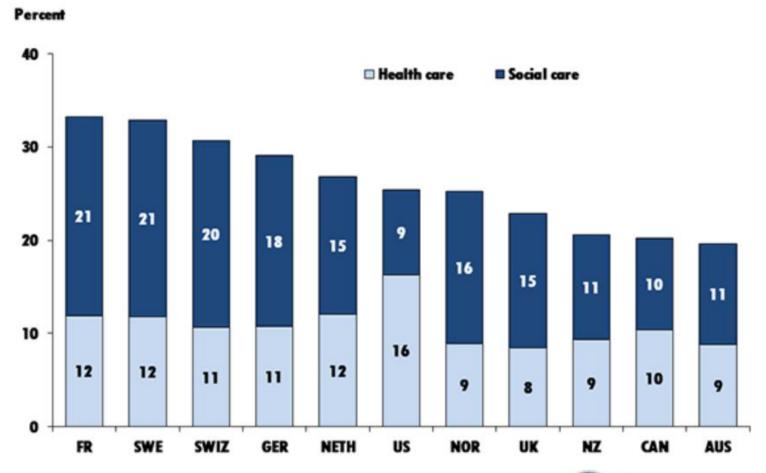


PopulationPyramid.net

Population: 1,393,686,493

China - 2050 Population: 1,348,056,330

#### Health and Social Care Spending as a Percentage of GDP



Notes: GDP refers to gross domestic product.

Source: E. H. Bradley and L. A. Taylor, The American Health Care Paradox: Why Spending More Is Getting Us Less, Public Affairs, 2013.



## **China's Spending on Social Services**

- Expected to triple in China
  - It should rise from 7% to 20% of GDP or even more by some estimates

OECD countries average is 16%

 By 2050 healthcare & social services can be RMB 86 (USD 14 trillion) that is 122% of 2017 GDP for China

Source: IMF

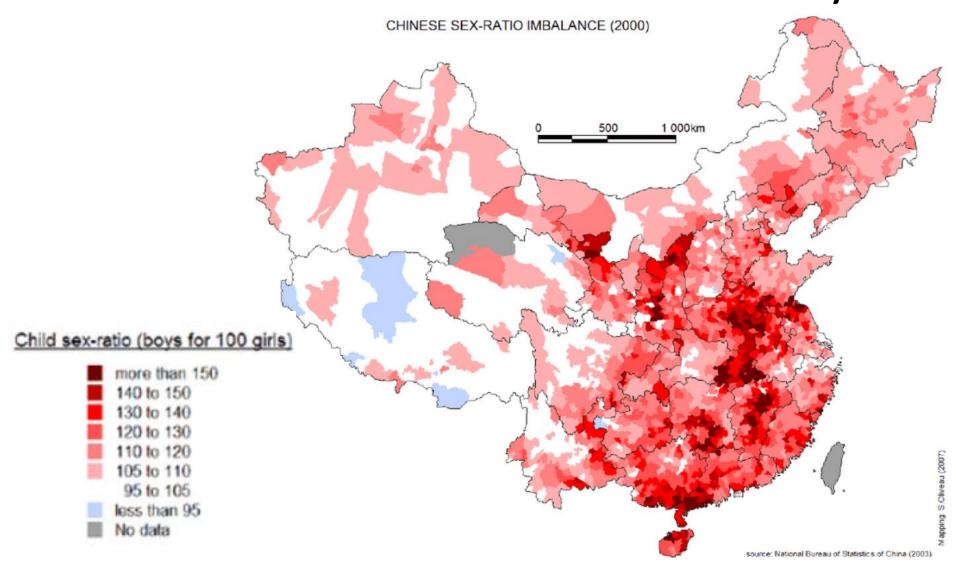
#### The 4:2:1 Problem

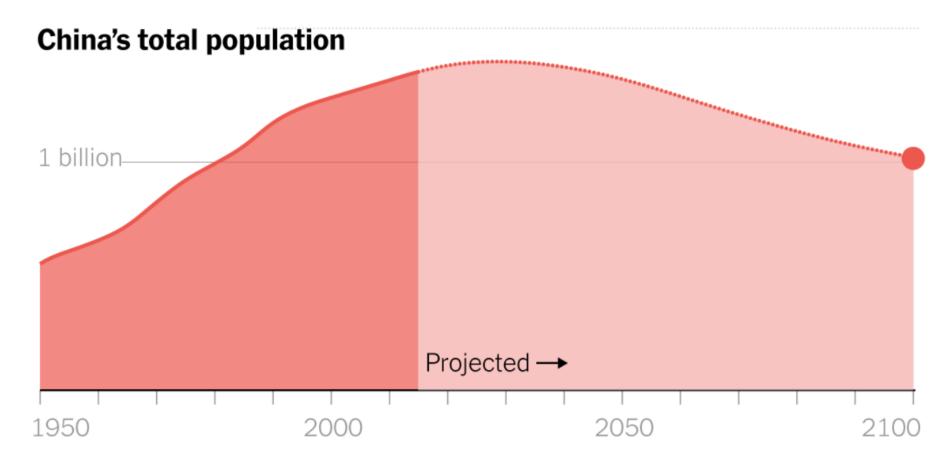
- Average age went from 24.9 in1990 to 37 in 2017 –to
   42.9 in 2030 (American will be at 39.6)
- No social security style system in place 

   so children must shoulder the burden
  - 2x bigger problem than boomer's retirement in US
  - Not enough young labor (prices are 6X since 2002)
  - End of cheap, low-cost labor to drive exports
  - And export-led to consumption-led economy will be hard

Even changing the 1-child policy now will take 20+ years before one can have enough working bodies

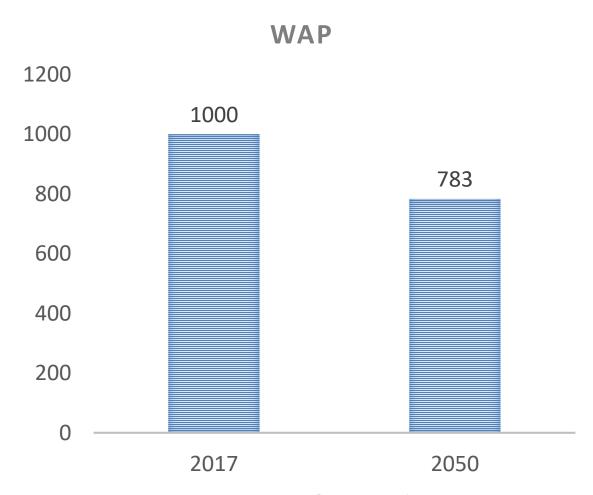
# One-Child Policy 1979-2015 Created 34 million more males today



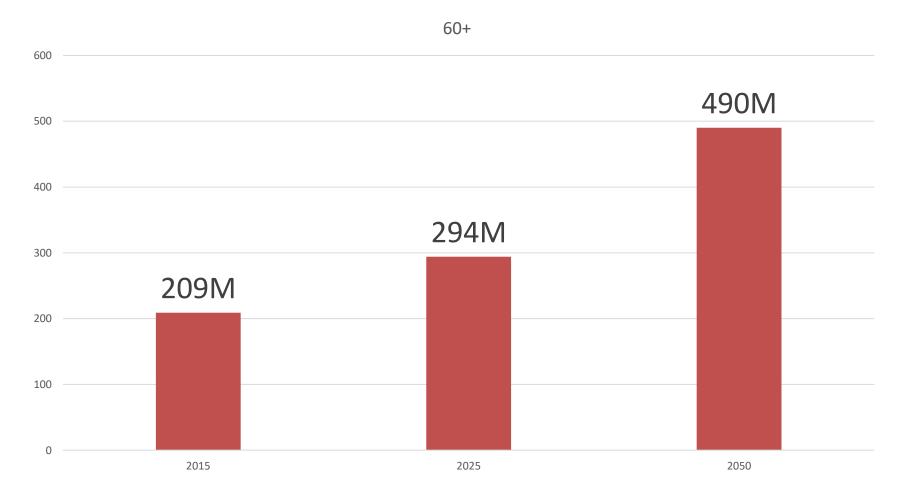


China's financial system is darker than the Europe's & demographic future is much darker than Japan's

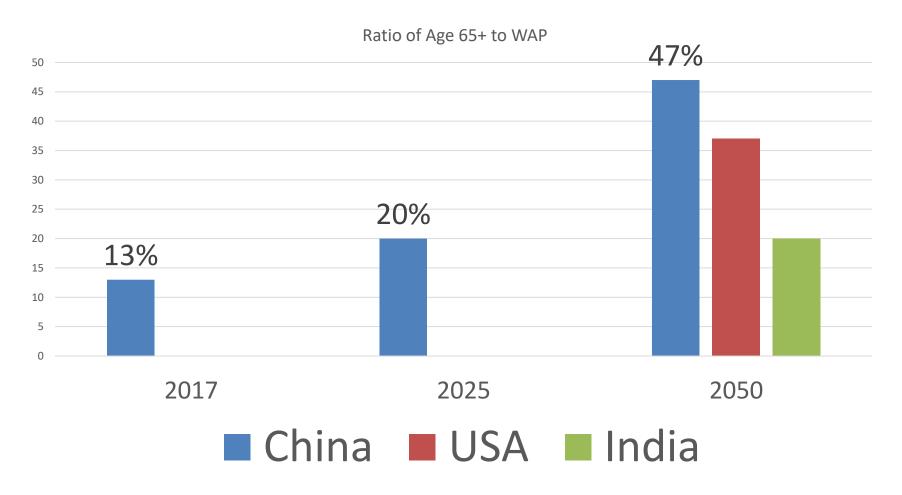
# Chinese Working Age Population will Decline 23% by 2050



# Significant Rise in 60+ Will Strain the Already Strained Economy



# Ratio of 65+ to WAP (Working Age Population)



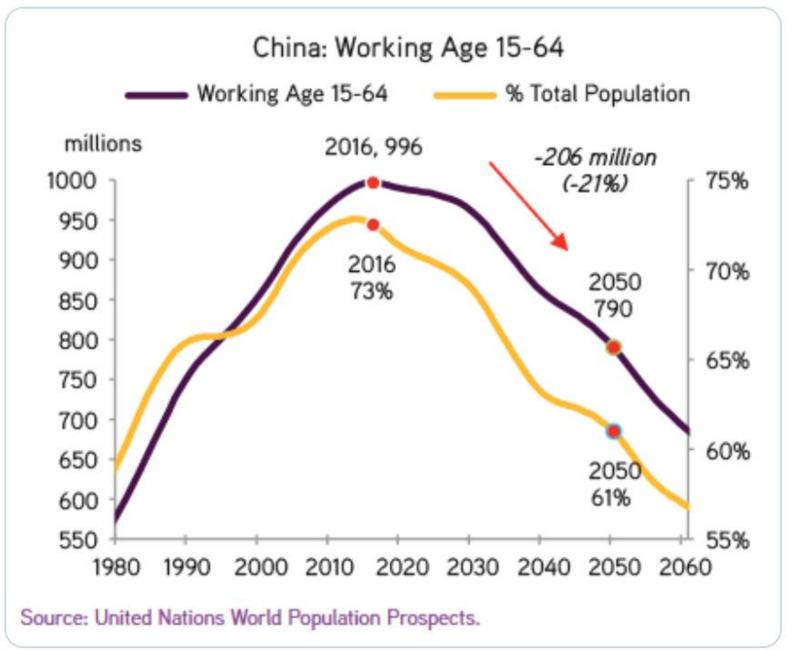
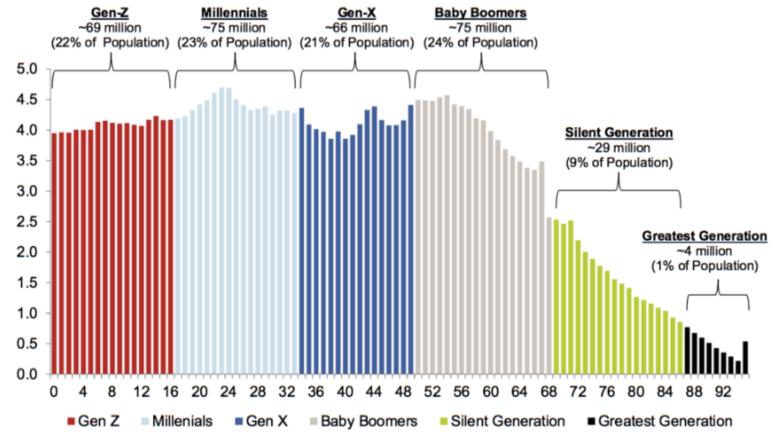


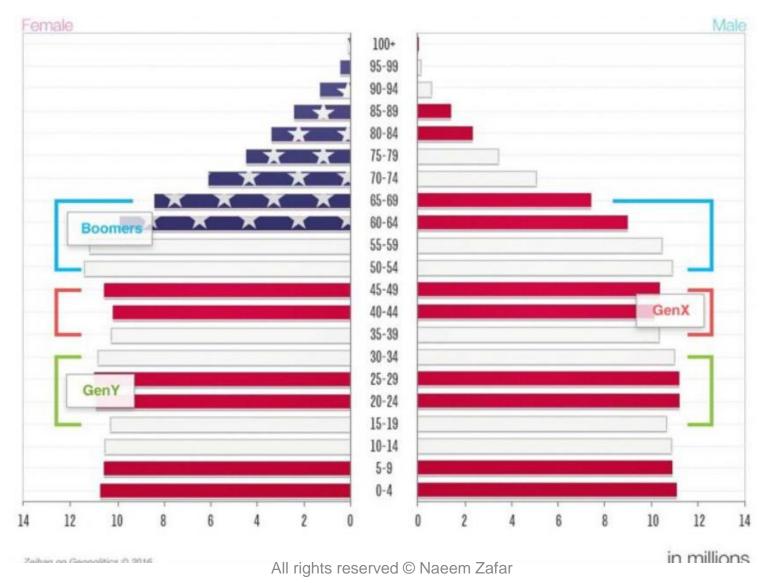
Exhibit 11: Gen-Z represents more than 20% of the U.S. Population...
Total US Population by Age and Generation\*, millions



\*Note: For purposes of this report, our generational cutoffs are based on those outlined by Pew Research Center, and we acknowledge that there is no clear consensus on the cutoff date between Millennials and Gen-Z. Population data is as of July 1<sup>st</sup>, 2014, the latest available per the Census Bureau. Assuming a birthrate of roughly 4 million per year, we estimate that Gen-Z is currently approaching 75 million in size.

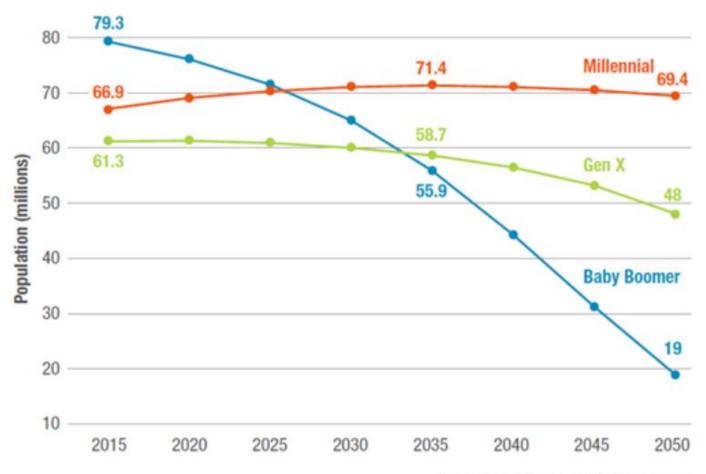
Source: Census Bureau, Pew Research Center, Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research.

## Millennials by 2050 Solve the Problem



#### **US Options**

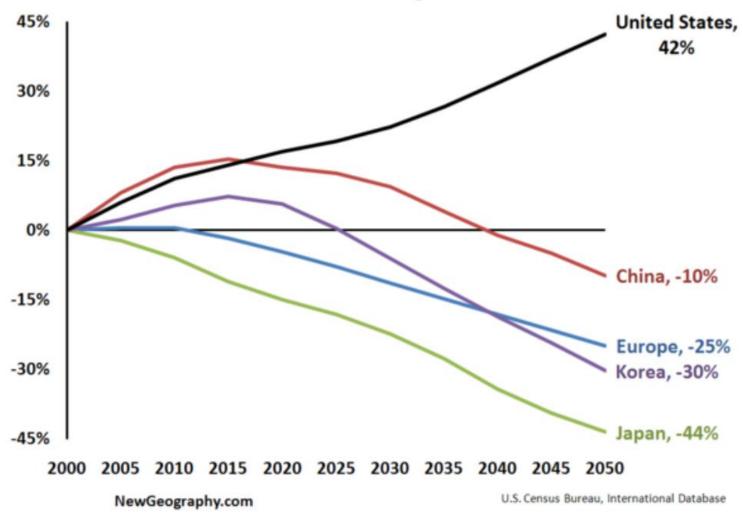
#### **Projected Population by Generation**



Source: Sage Policy Group, U.S. Census Bureau

#### **Labor Force Growth**





## **Exerting Influence**

The South China Sea, between Malacca straits to the Strait of Taiwan (1,400,000 sq. miles) carries tremendous strategic importance

- one-third of the world's shipping passes through it, carrying over \$3 trillion in trade each year
- contains lucrative fisheries, which are crucial for the food security of millions in Southeast Asia
- Huge oil & gas reserves are believed to lie beneath its seabed

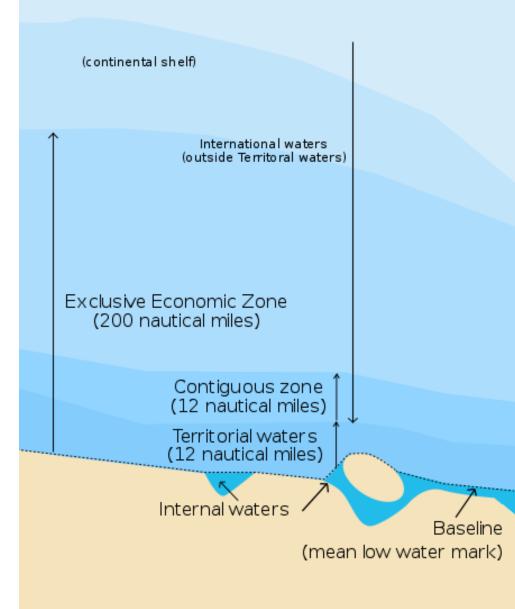


the baseline is either the low-water mark closest to the shore, or alternatively it may be an unlimited distance from permanently exposed land, provided that some portion of elevations exposed at low tide but covered at high tide (like mud flats) is within 3 nautical miles permanently exposed land.

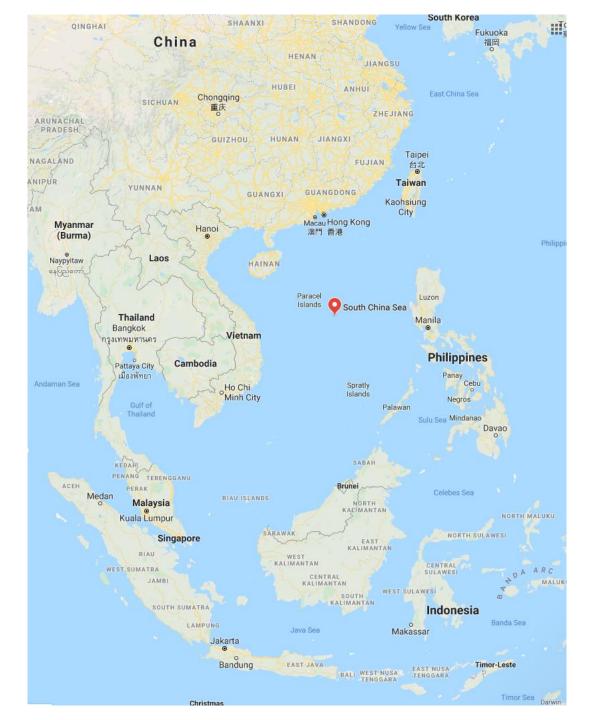
a bay is defined as "a well-marked indentation whose penetration is in such proportion to the width of its mouth as to contain land-locked waters and constitute more than a mere curvature of the coast.

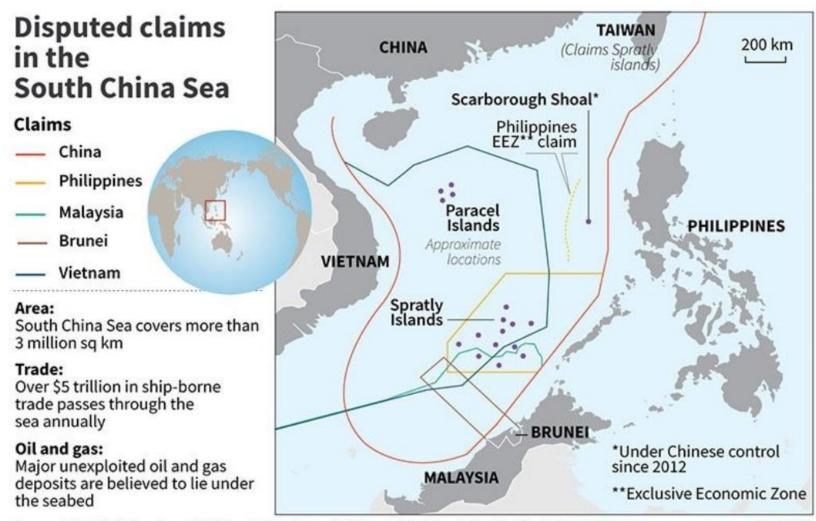
An indentation shall not, however, be regarded as a bay unless its area is as large as, or larger than, that of the semicircle whose diameter is a line drawn across the mouth of that indentation"

The baseline across the bay must also be no more than 24 nautical miles (44 km; 28 mi) in length.



Land





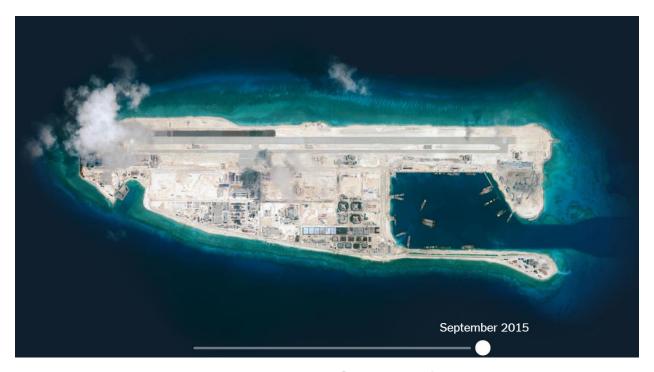
Sources: CSIS/AMTI/D.Rosenberg/MiddleburyCollege/HarvardAsiaQuarterly/Phil govt/ChinaMaritimeSafetyAdministration



## China Expanding Her Circle of Influence

- 200 miles EEZ from an inhabited island provides needed buffer for China
- Issue is being judicated in world court
  - Decision favored Philippines
- But naval forces are butting heads every month!

- Since 2013, China has resorted to island building in the Spratly Islands and the Paracel Islands region
  - These actions have been met with a wide international condemnation, and since 2015 the United States, France UK have conducted freedom of navigation operations (FONOP) in the region



## China has been rapidly piling sand onto reefs in the South China Sea, creating seven new islets in the region -- it is straining geopolitical tensions that were already taut



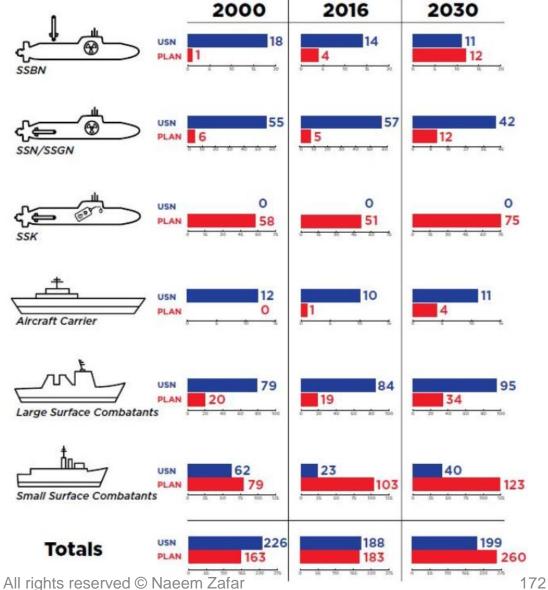


80 percent of China's energy imports and 39.5 percent of China's total trade passes through the South China Sea

## Naval **Powers Faceoff**

U.S. and Chinese Capabilities in 2000, 2016, and 203091





# SSBN Ohio-Class Nuclear Attack Submarine



## **Aircraft Carriers Compared**



#### **Hong Kong**





# 426 Sq. Miles with 7.4 million population Hong Kong is a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China (HKSAR)

#### **Hong Kong Protests**



- Hong Kong became a colony of the British Empire after Qing China ceded Hong Kong Island at the end of the First Opium War in 1842
- The colony expanded to the Kowloon Peninsula in 1860 after the Second Opium War, and was further extended when Britain obtained a 99-year lease of the New Territories in 1898



#### The 99-Year Lease

- The territory was transferred to China in 1997 as special administrative region, Hong Kong maintains separate governing and economic systems from that of mainland China under the principle of "one country, two systems" for a period of 50-years
- The lease ended on July 1, 1997, and since then tensions between the democratically-minded Hong Kong population and the PRC have continued, although Hong Kong remains functionally separate from the Chinese mainland

#### **Two Narratives**

- People of Hong Kong fear this Anti Extradition bill would subject Hong Kong residents & visitors to mainland jurisdiction, undermining region's autonomy & civil liberties
- Beijing sees these protests as a start of a "separatist movement" that is being framed with deep fears of one Great Chinese nation

#### **Dissent in Hong Kong**

- Hong Kong is main financial center & very important to China
  - Access to Western markets
  - Trading & financial services hub
- Beijing is walking a tight rope: 50-year transition from SAR in 2047
- The real prize = Taiwan

## US Has Problems Too But Our Systems Has Escape Values

- Issues are internal cohesion & political will
- Free speech & decentralized decision making
- Free market allows markets to dictate resource allocation more efficiently
- US military has long reach & is still considered the better alternative to any other military

#### Governance: Xi's China

#### Xi Jinping: President for Life?



Xi Jinping (with Liyuan Peng): General Secretary of the Communist Party of China, President of the People's Republic of China, and Chairman of the Central Military Commission

Xi Mingze
Harvard Graduate
2010-2014



All rights rese

#### **Chinese Growth: Can it Continue?**

- Chinese economy has already had a long run
- Debt crisis looms
- Certain things that contributed to growth can only be done once!
  - Entering WTO (2001)
  - Putting all children to secondary schools
  - Real estate boom (by relaxing property ownership)
  - Migration from rural to urban centers
  - Rode wave of globalization (1990-2010)

#### The Governance Issue!

- What is the role of State? Its relationship with local, provincial governments and SOEs (State Owned Enterprises)
- It is in the balance of state, the Party and market oriented allocation of resources

#### **Challenges Faced by Leaders**



1949-1976

1988

1993

2003

2013

Famine, industrial production, political unification

Absence of mkt-based system for allocation of resources & production incentives

Dominance of SOE & shifting effects on private sectors

Household sector & reconstruction of social safety net

- Change China growth model with lower growth
- Incentives system redesign
- New economic, political & social contract with techaware citizenry

Challenges faced by Xi are greater & politically more awkward!

#### **How Can Xi Solve His Dilemma?**

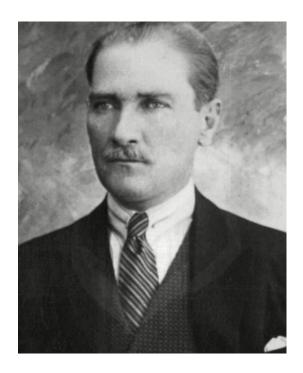
- Re-emphasis of ideology, instead of pragmatism
- Greater authoritarianism of the Party instead of rule by the State institutions
  - Creation of Party Department of Propaganda

#### **Governance Effectiveness**

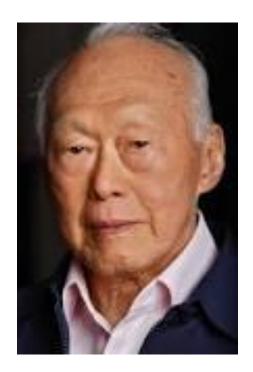
#### • Example:

- Creation of National Supervision Commission puts judicial function under Party Central
- Abandonment of term limits
- Corruption fight: all the way from ministers, to city officials, counties to anyone
  - Not just the party members

## Can Authoritarian Governments be Effective?



Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, was a Turkish field marshal, revolutionary statesman, founder of the Republic of Turkey, first President from 1923 until his death in 1938



Lee Kuan Yew was the first Prime Minister of Singapore, governing for three decade

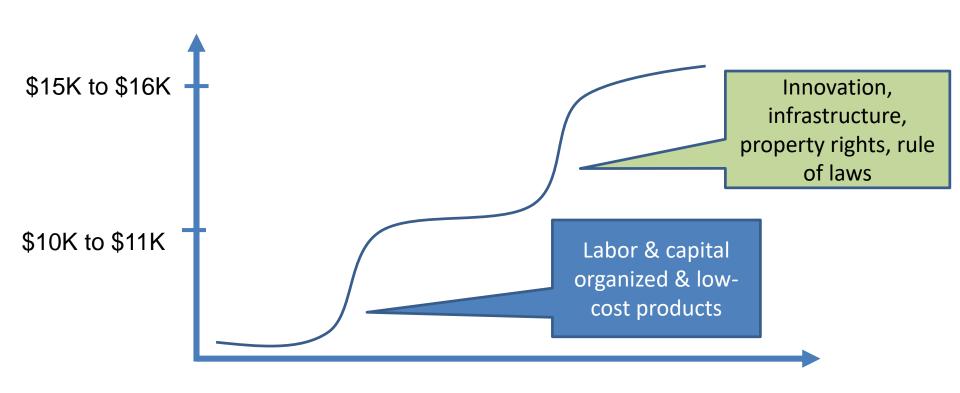
#### **How China Differs from US**

- State has to prevent vested interest, military, steel magnets, railroad tycoons, banks in an assent to industrial leadership
  - Distributing coalitions
- In China, the Party is the obstacle 

  collusion
- Political advisors present in private enterprises

The Role of Owner & Regulator cannot be played by the same party: The Government

## China May Become Old Before It Becomes Rich!





## Why China Missed Out on Renaissance of Modern Age?

- Smartest people all studied for years to pass civil service jobs
- Talent drain to government
- USA norms are different!

#### Xi Jinping's China

- Can Xi become benevolent dictator or omnipotent & unassailable?
- Xi started a Leninist campaign to get control of the party & ideology
  - Anti-corruption
  - Non-separatist
- Moved decision making from technocrats to party officials & committees (Leading Small Groups)
- In 2018 state constitution changed 2-term limits!

#### Is Xi Different?

- Xi has bigger challenges & needed time to shape china in his image (like Mao did)
- Ideology may be just be the glue
- But it is a tight rope given the tech savvy new generation (unlike what Mao dealt with!)

## US Government is Highly Distributed

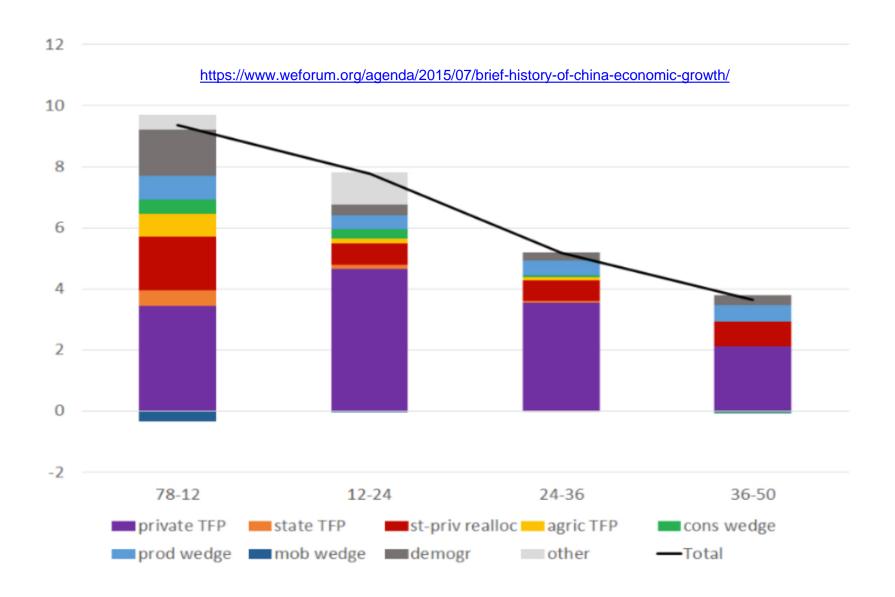
- Local governments & states make laws minimal impact of a central government
- Checks & balances in US systems allows it to flourish for the long term

#### The Future

#### **Chinese Options**

- Assert power regionally to keep trading lanes open & reduce US dependence → Navy
- Open new routes to trade & import raw material → BRI
- 3. Seek soft landing on financial stress
- 4. Invest in technology to battle demographics

#### **GDP Growth Will Fall Below 4%**

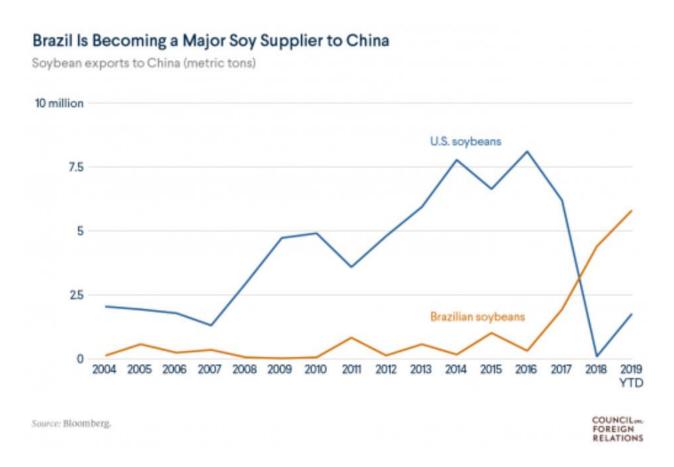


#### **Trade Wars**

- China has not played fair for decades but no one wanted to confront them
  - Theft of intellectual property from US companies
  - Forcing US companies to share source code before allowing access to local markets!
- Currency manipulation
- Not allowed to important American autos without tariffs
- Restriction on agricultural products

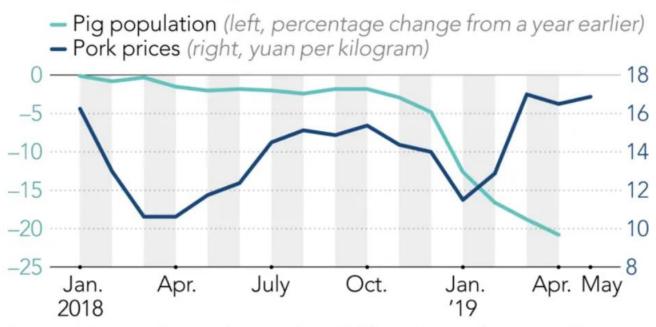
#### The Future: US China Relations

China will have to capitulate: gotta feed the hogs



## African Swine Flu Saved Chinese Soybean Crunch

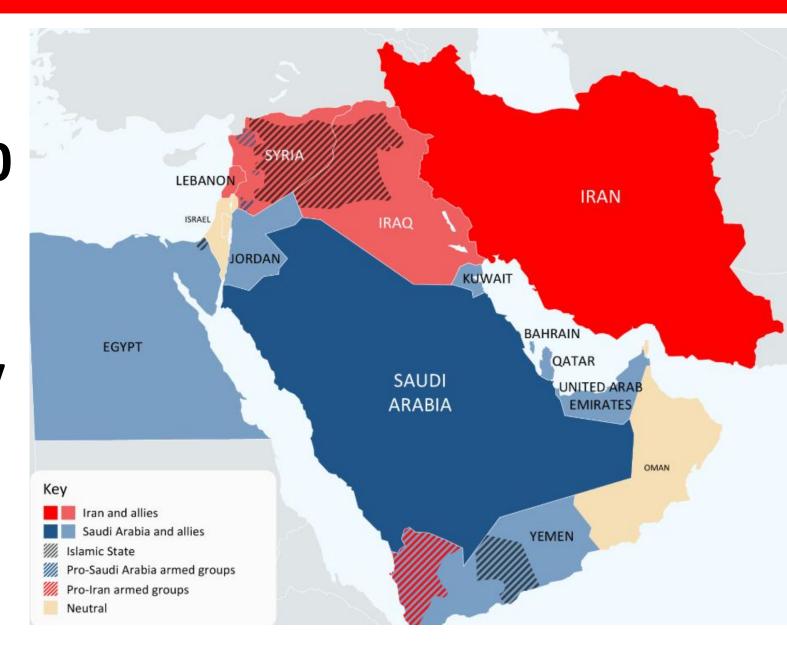
#### China's plunging pig population sends pork prices soaring

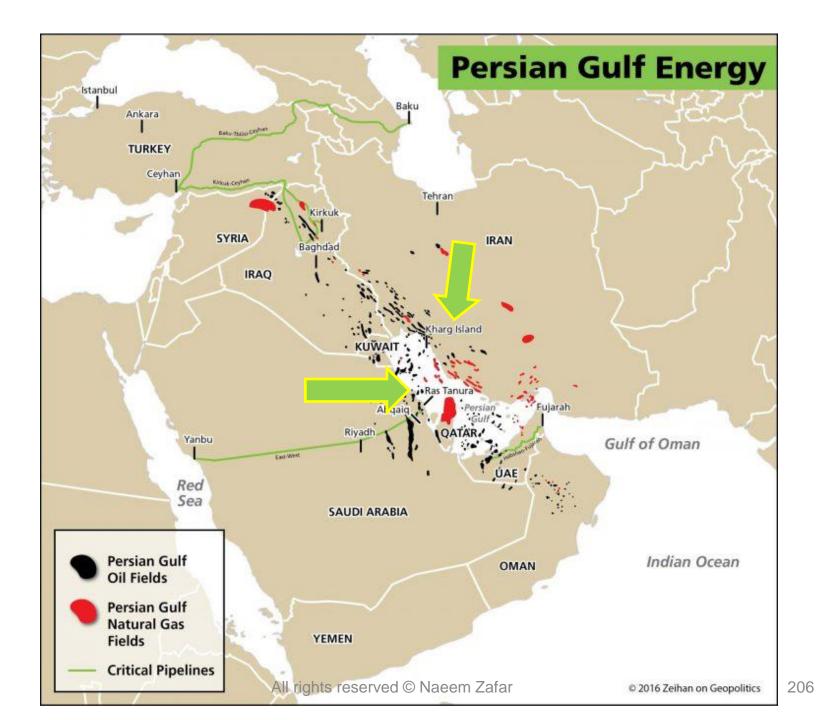


Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs, National Bureau of Statistics

## Possible Scenario: Oil Wars in the Persian Gulf

#### A 1500 year old rivalry







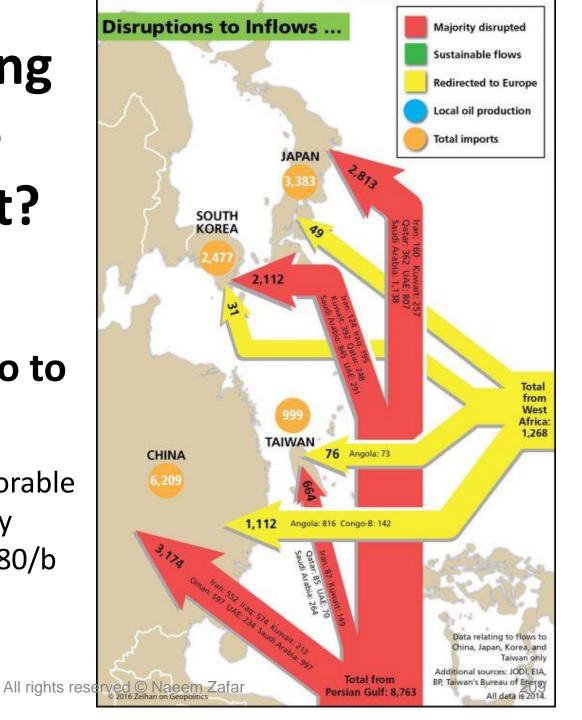
#### **War Scenario**

- Saudi Arabia attacks tankers to close Strait of Hormuz
  - Iranians exports from Kharg Island close!
  - Saudi shift production to the other coast (Red Sea) –
     Iranians do not have this option!
- Iranians realize that they need USA .. But US is not interested!

# Who is Willing to Provide Naval Escort?

### Price of oil can go to \$150/barrel

USA will enjoy a very favorable scenario due to its energy independence paying ~\$80/b



#### **Dependency on America**

- China's unification, industrialization, export-led economy & military build-up was all made possible by Bretton Woods (by USA)
  - 33% of Chinese economy is export-based (15% to US alone) any hiccup in this access can cause Great Recession x 3
  - Whole economy relies on import of oil (just about all raw materials)
     without protection this can be interrupted Big Time!

And US has already started to pull back from Bretton Woods as it becomes a net oil exporter

## Anyone of These Things Can Derail China's Momentum

- The Northern militarists vs. the Southern secessionists
- Chinese financial system
- Demography
- Dependence on America

Collectively they are more than enough reasons to return China to the fractured, self-containing mess that it has been for centuries

#### **Scenarios of the Future**

- Internal tensions are mounting
  - Numerous ethnic clashes in Tibet & Xinjiang
  - 100,000 events were recorded by government in 2011
- American withdrawal can create extreme shortage on raw material & mass unrest
  - Lights can go out literally, triggering mass movement & lack of food

## Start of a Dark, Hungry & Harsh Future (Same as the last 3,000 years!)

- China's ability to provide employment will end
  - Interior will suffer the most as it relies on the coastal regions for money, even fertilizers & electricity → food shortage, famine & protest, mass exodus to cities
- American withdrawal can create extreme shortage on raw material & mass unrest
  - Lights can go out literally, triggering mass movement & lack of food
  - Coastal central & southern regions will align with trading partners & rebel against Beijing – seeking military protection?



#### Start of a Harsh Future

- Beijing must focus on keeping the northern plains unified
  - Should it be fighting the interior refugees
  - Or defend against the Japanese aggression
    - Japanese will find northern plains as a source of food
  - Or the secessionist states from Shanghai to Hong Kong?

#### **How to Get Out of this Mess?**

# Two large bets: Artificial Intelligence (AI) Re-build the Silk Road

## China's Sputnik Moment: When Google's AlphaGo beat Ke Jie of China on May 2016



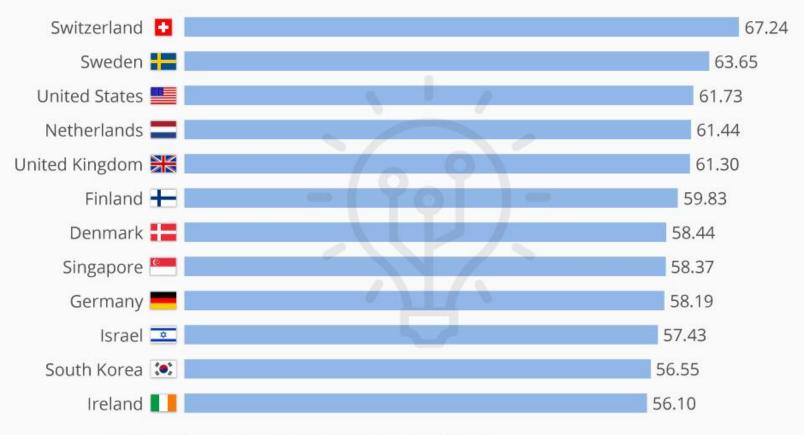
China's Dream 2017: Become Tech power house by 2025 & Global powerhouse by 2050

#### Made in China: MIC 2025

- Investment in AI [Artificial Intelligence] & Machine Learning [ML]
  - Become inline by 2020
  - World-leading by 2025
  - Primary source 2030

#### The World's Most Innovative Countries

2019 rankings of the Global Innovation Index (100=most innovative)





<sup>\*</sup> Scores determined through various factors such as business sophistication, level of human & capital research and creative outputs.

Source: World Intellectual Property Organization



#### Global Innvovation Index 2016: Top 10

| Rank<br>2016<br>(2015) | Country/<br>Economy | Score (0-100)              | BRICS              |              |       |
|------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|--------------|-------|
| 1 (1)                  | Switzerland         | 66.28                      |                    |              | 187   |
| 2 (3)                  | Sweden              | 63.57                      | 7.00               | PPL          |       |
| 3 (2)                  | UK                  | 61.93                      | The said           | 400          |       |
| 4 (5)                  | US                  | 61.4                       | Rank               | Country/     |       |
| 5 (6)                  | Finland             | 59.9                       | <b>2016</b> (2015) | Economy      | Score |
| 6 (7)                  | Singapore           | 59.16                      | 25 (29)            | China        | 50.57 |
| 7 (8)                  | Ireland             | 59.03                      | 43 (48)            | Russia       | 38.5  |
| 8 (10)                 | Denmark             | 58.45                      | 54 (60)            | South Africa | 35.85 |
| 9 (4)                  | Netherlands         | 58.29                      | 66 (81)            | India        | 33.61 |
| 10 (12)                | Germany             | All lights reserved © Naee | <b>69</b> (70)     | Brazil       | 33.19 |

# Global Innovation Index Tells a Better Story

#### **Global Innovation Index**

| Country                  | Rank |            |  |
|--------------------------|------|------------|--|
|                          | 2016 | 2017       |  |
| Switzerland              | 1    | 1          |  |
| Sweden                   | 2    | 2          |  |
| Netherlands              | 9    | 3          |  |
| United States of America | 4    | 4          |  |
| United Kingdom           | 3    | 5 <b>V</b> |  |
| Denmark                  | 8    | 6          |  |
| Singapore                | 6    | 7 <b>V</b> |  |
| Finland                  | 5    | 8          |  |
| Germany                  | 10   | 9          |  |
| Ireland                  | 7    | 10         |  |
| Republic of Korea        | 11   | 11         |  |
| Luxembourg               | 12   | 12         |  |
| Iceland                  | 13   | 13         |  |
| Japan                    | 16   | 14         |  |
| France                   | 18   | 15 🛕       |  |
| Hong Kong (China)        | 14   | 16         |  |
| Israel                   | 21   | 17         |  |
| Canada                   | 15   | 18         |  |
| Norway                   | 22   | 19         |  |
| Austria                  | 20   | 20         |  |
| New Zealand              | 17   | 21         |  |
| China                    | 25   | 22         |  |
| Australia                | 19   | 23         |  |
| Czech Republic           | 27   | 24         |  |
| Estonia                  | 24   | 25         |  |

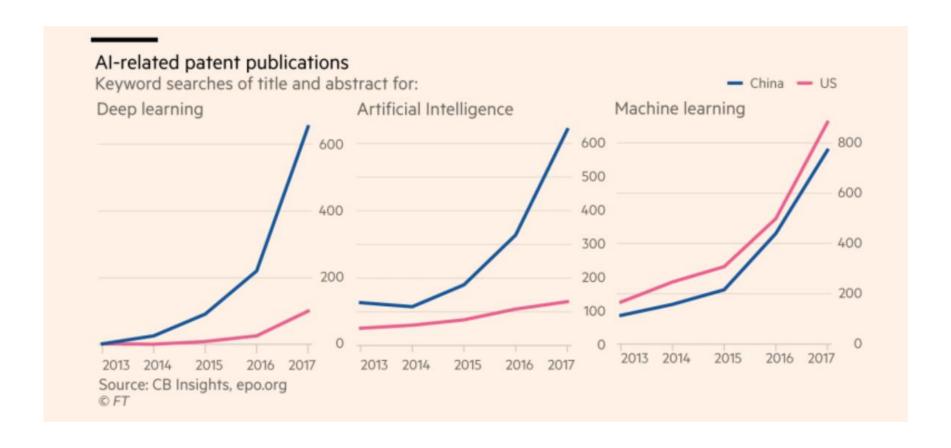
All rights reserved © Naeem Za-

Source: INSEAD STRAITS TIMES GRAPHICS

### AI Will Change Labor Markets & Societies over the next 20 Years

- President Xi Jinping has made AI one of the central pillars of the Made in China 2025 plan
  - To transform the country's economy
  - Goal set of being world leader in technology by 2030

#### China Has Started a Huge Al Initiative

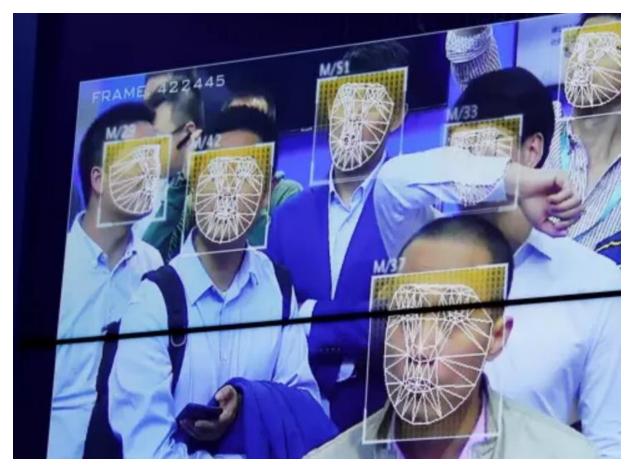


#### Al Needs Algorithms & Lots of Data



A Chinese police officer wears a pair of smartglasses with a facial recognition system in Zhengzhou, Henan province © AFP

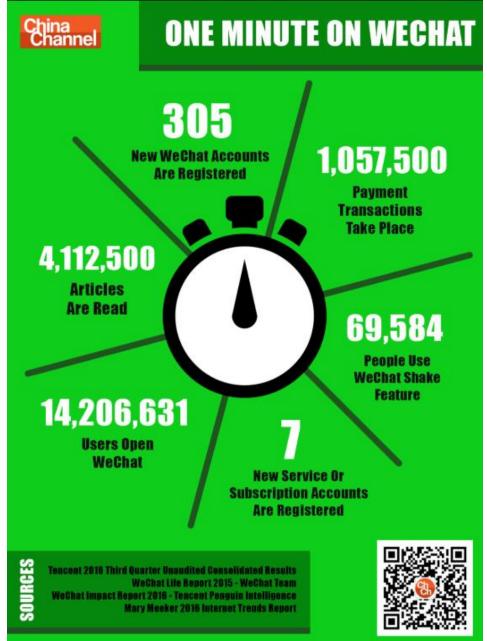
### Chinese politics make it much easier to collect data on all aspects of citizens, creating a huge boon to the AI algorithms & research



All rights reserved © Naeem Zafar



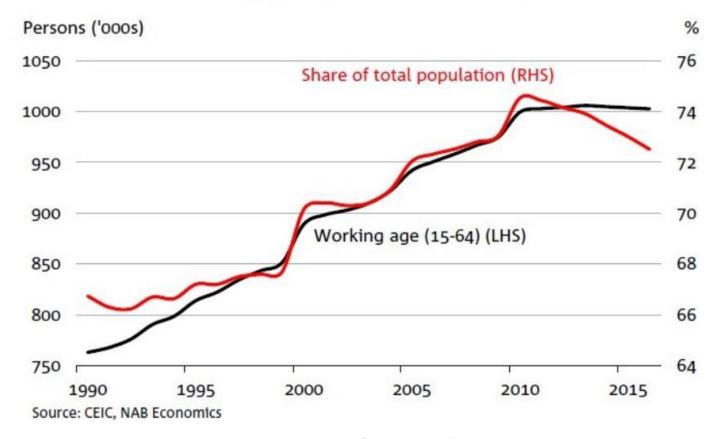
- WeChat is a Chinese multi-purpose messaging, social media & mobile payment app by Tencent
- Released in 2011, it is now one of the world's largest standalone mobile apps by monthly active users, with over 1 billion monthly active users

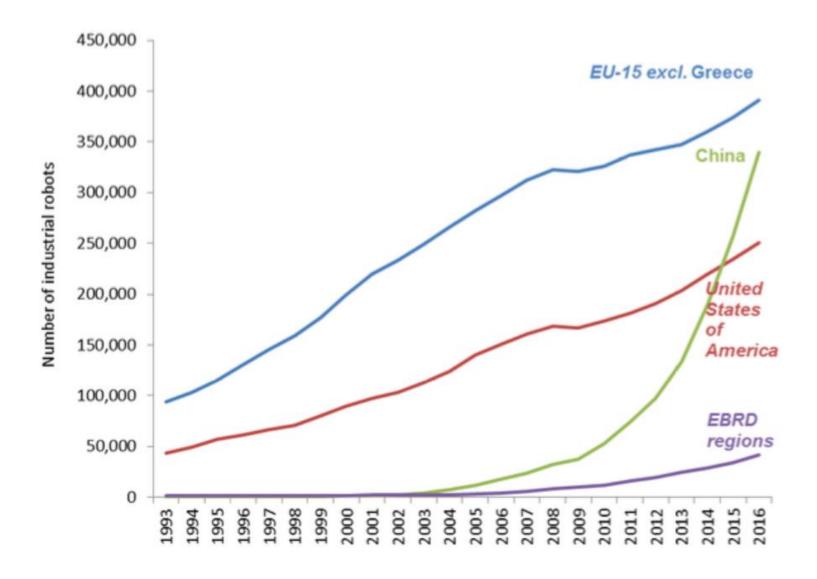


#### **Hello Robots!**

#### THE DEMOGRAPHIC DECLINE

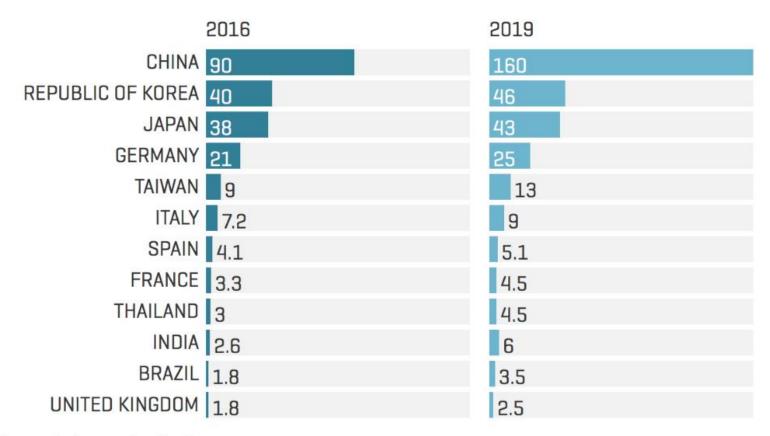
#### China's working population has peaked





Source: International Federation of Robotics (IFR) and EBRD (2018).

### China Imported 40% of All Robots Worldwide



#### Figures in thousands of units

SOURCE: International Federation of Robotics

FORTUNE

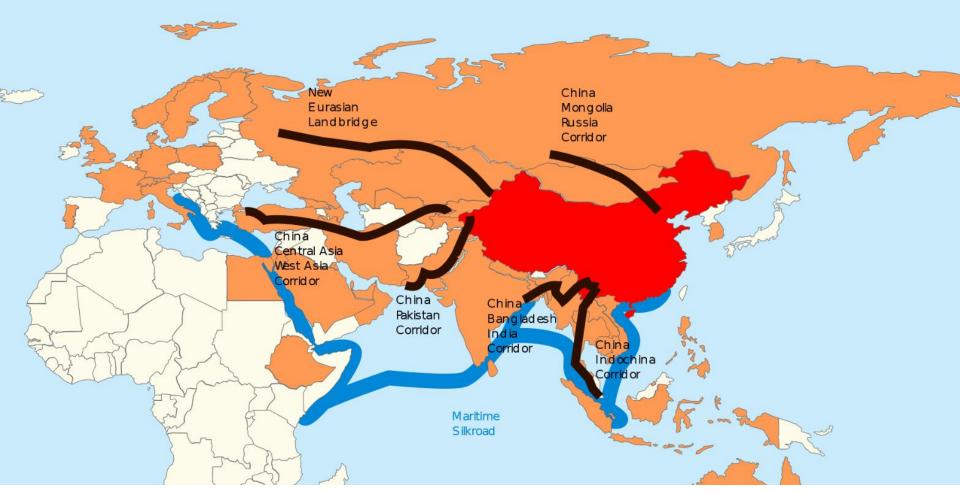
### Exoskeletons Help Manage Elderly Population



#### One Belt, One Road Initiative

- Connect China with the world open new markets through new partners
- The initial focus has been infrastructure investment, education, construction materials, railway & highway, automobile, real estate, power grid, & iron & steel





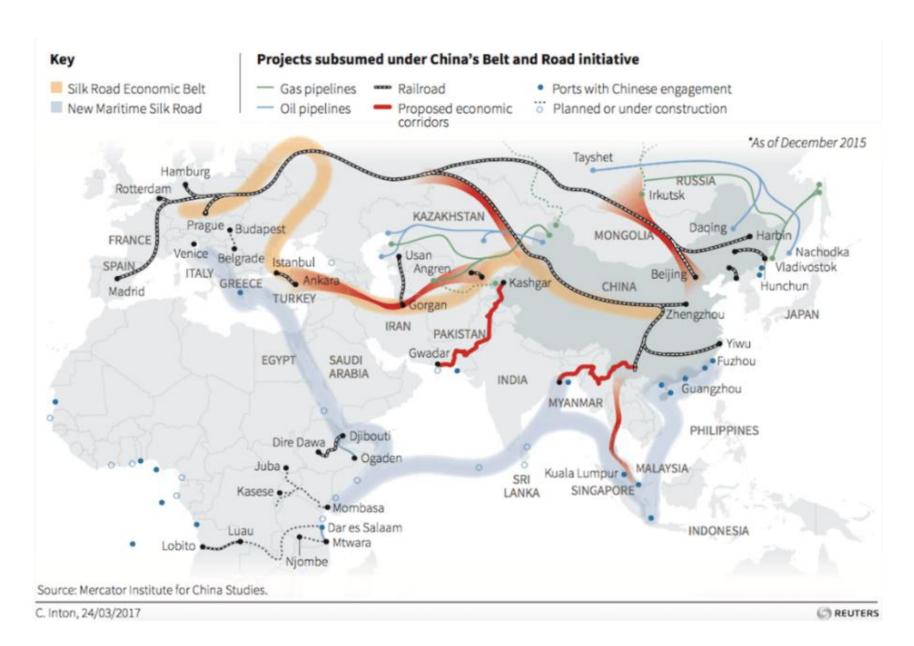
### Chinese Bets on the Future

- One Road One Belt initiative
- \$900B infrastructure project

#### One Belt, One Road Initiative

 The Belt & Road Initiative as one of the largest infrastructure & investment projects in history, covering more than 68 countries, including 65% of the world's population & 40% of global GDP as of 2017

Eventually to be completed by 2049 will touch 152 countries



### **BRI Aimed to Create Chinese Influence**

- Will this initiative work to create soft-power China seeks?
- Is the cost sustainable given the economic stresses in China?

#### Summary

- US strength from its geography & its institutions
  - Our unique system balance of power between the states & the federal government
  - Decentralized development is the strength
- Our culture celebrates entrepreneurship & it has been allowed to flourish
- China faces severe headwinds & likely to close up (Mao era) to avoid fracture