What Makes China Grow?

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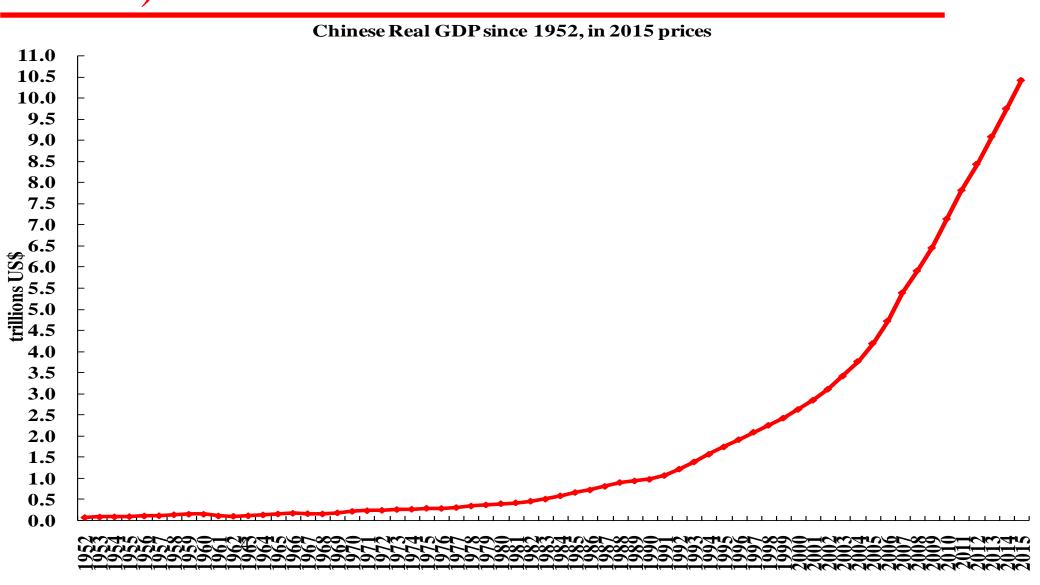
Outline

- ◆ Introduction—The State of the Chinese Economy
- China in the Global Economy
- **♦** The Chinese Economic Fundamentals
- ◆ The Benefits of an Open Economy
- ◆ The Sources of Chinese Economic Growth
- China as a Surplus Economy
- ◆ The Long-Term Economic Outlook
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Introduction—The State of the Chinese Economy

- ◆ China has made tremendous progress in its economic development since it began its economic reform and opened to the world in 1978. It is currently the fastest growing economy in the world—averaging over 9.6% per annum compounded over the past 37 years. It is historically unprecedented for an economy to grow at such a high rate over such a long period of time. However, the Chinese economy has begun to slow down, to an average annual rate of growth of around 6.5%, in a process of transition to a "New Normal". In 2016, the Chinese economy grew 6.7% in real terms.
- ◆ But even 6.5% per annum is still a very high rate of growth relative to many other economies.

Chinese Real GDP in US\$ Since 1952 (2015 Prices)



Introduction—the State of the Chinese Economy

- ◆ Researchers at the International Monetary Fund (IMF), have found, on the basis of "purchasing-power-parity (PPP)" calculations, that the Chinese economy overtook the U.S. economy in 2014. In 2016, the IMF estimated the Chinese PPP GDP to be US\$21.269 trillion compared to US\$18.562 trillion for the U.S. (In 2015, Chinese PPP GDP was estimated by the World Bank to be US\$19.524 trillion compared to US\$17.947 trillion for the U.S.)
- ◆ However, PPP comparisons of GDPs between economies are not reliable because they are highly sensitive to the set of so-called "international prices" chosen to evaluate the goods and services produced in the different economies. The choice of prices can vary the resulting estimates of PPP GDPs greatly, especially because of the valuation of the non-tradable goods and services, the actual prices of which can differ significantly internationally due to differences in natural resource endowments such as land and minerals and in consumer preferences.

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Introduction—the State of the Chinese Economy

- ◆ Why has China been able to grow at such a high rate and for such a long period of time? What makes China grow? Will China be able to continue to grow at such a high rate in the future?
- ◆ Of course, the adoption and implementation of the correct economic policies and measures by the Chinese Government, led by the Chinese Communist Party, and their uninterrupted continuity since 1978, are important reasons for China's highly successful record of economic growth.
- ♦ However, we shall also examine the Chinese economic fundamentals as well as the Chinese initial conditions in 1978 to analyse why the adopted and implemented economic reform policies and measures were so effective in China.

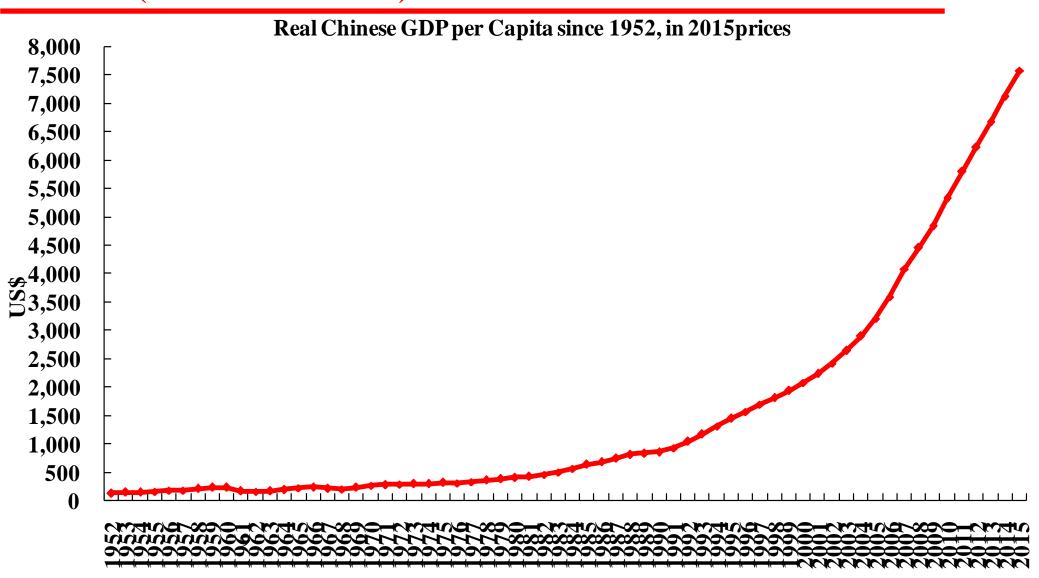
Introduction—the State of the Chinese Economy

- ◆ During this same period, China also had to face many domestic and international challenges and several financial crises, such as the East Asian currency crisis of 1997-1998, the bursting of the internet bubble in 2000, the global financial crisis of 2007-2009 as well as the European sovereign debt crisis. China was able to survive all of these crises relatively unscathed, even maintaining a healthy rate of real economic growth.
- ◆ The Chinese Government leaders have demonstrated their ability to confront these challenges and solve difficult problems.
- ◆ The Chinese economy has recently begun a process of transition to a "New Normal", with a lower rate of growth and a cleaner environment, and more innovation-driven than input-driven. ⁷

Introduction—the State of the Chinese Economy

- ◆ However, despite its rapid economic growth in the aggregate, in terms of its real GDP per capita, China is still very much a developing economy because of its large population. China is the most populous country in the world.
- ◆ Chinese real GDP per capita grew from US\$360 (in 2015 prices) in 1978 to US\$7,584 in 2015, still below the threshold of US\$12,000-15,000 for a middle-income country.

Real Chinese GDP per Capita in US\$ Since 1952 (2015 Prices)



Introduction—the State of the Chinese Economy

- ◆ In the following chart the performance of the Chinese economy before and after its economic reform began in 1978 is compared.
- ◆ It is clear that the Chinese economy has done much better in almost every dimension—real GDP, real consumption, exports and imports—under the economic reform, on both an aggregate and a per capita basis. The only economic indicator that has performed worse is the rate of inflation, which rose from 0.55% per annum in the pre-reform period to 5.1% per annum in the post-reform period.

Key Performance	e Indicators Befor	e and After	
Chinese Econom	ic Reform		
	Growth	Rates	
	percent pe	percent per annum	
	Pre-Reform Period	Post-Reform Period	
	1952-1978	1978-2015	
Real GDP	6.13	9.59	
Real GDP per Capita	4.04	8.54	

Real Consumption

Exports

Imports

Real Consumption per Capita

Inflation Rates (GDP deflator)

4.98

2.92

9.99

9.14

0.55

9.25

8.20

15.88

14.59

5.06

Introduction—the State of the Chinese Economy

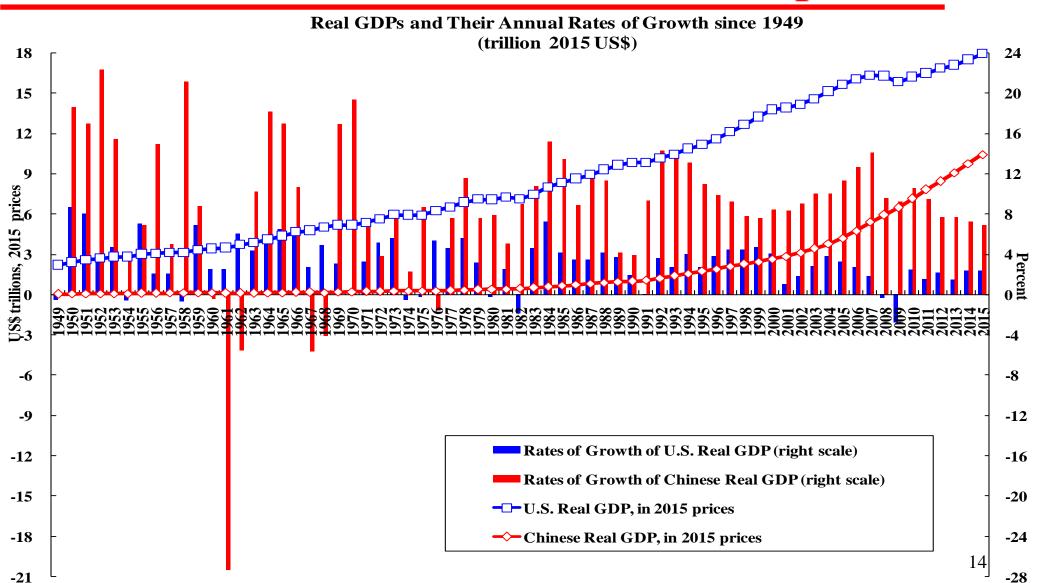
◆ While many problems have arisen in the Chinese economy within the past decade—for example, increasing income disparity--both inter-regional and intra-regional--uneven access to basic education and health care, environmental degradation, inadequate infrastructure and corruption—it is fair to say that every Chinese citizen has benefitted from the economic reform and opening since 1978, albeit to varying degrees, and few want to return to the central planning days.

◆ It is useful to compare the growth of Chinese and U.S. real GDP in both aggregate and per capita terms (see the following charts). The red and blue lines represent the levels of real GDP and real GDP per capita of China and the U.S. respectively. The red and blue columns represent the annual rates of growth of China and the U.S. respectively.

◆ Between 1978 and 2015, Chinese real GDP grew from US346 billion to US\$10.4 trillion (in 2015 prices), to become the second largest economy in the world, after the U.S. In 2015, Chinese GDP was less than 60% of the U.S. GDP of US\$17.9 trillion.

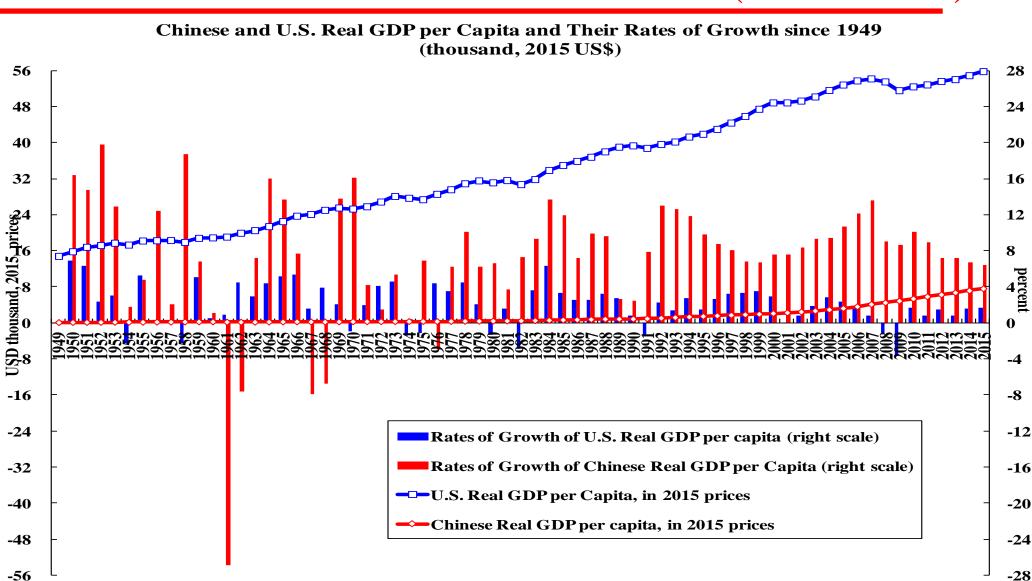
◆ In 1978, the Chinese real GDP per capita was US\$360 (in 2015 prices) compared to the then US\$30,886 of the U.S. By 2015, the Chinese real GDP per capita had grown to US\$7,584, still only more than 13.6% of the U.S. GDP per capita of US\$55,759 (or less than one-seventh of U.S. GDP per capita).

Real GDPs and Their Annual Rates of Growth: China & the U.S. (2015 US\$): 1949-present



- ◆ Since 1978, the rate of growth of Chinese real GDP has been consistently positive and higher than the rate of growth of U.S. real GDP by a substantial margin, but the level of Chinese real GDP has remained significantly lower than that of U.S. This is because an economy starting with a low base, even with a very high rate of growth, will take a long time to catch up with an economy with a much higher base.
- ◆ The same is true of the rate of growth of Chinese real GDP per capita.

Chinese and U.S. Real GDPs per Capita and Their Rates of Growth since 1949 (2015 US\$)



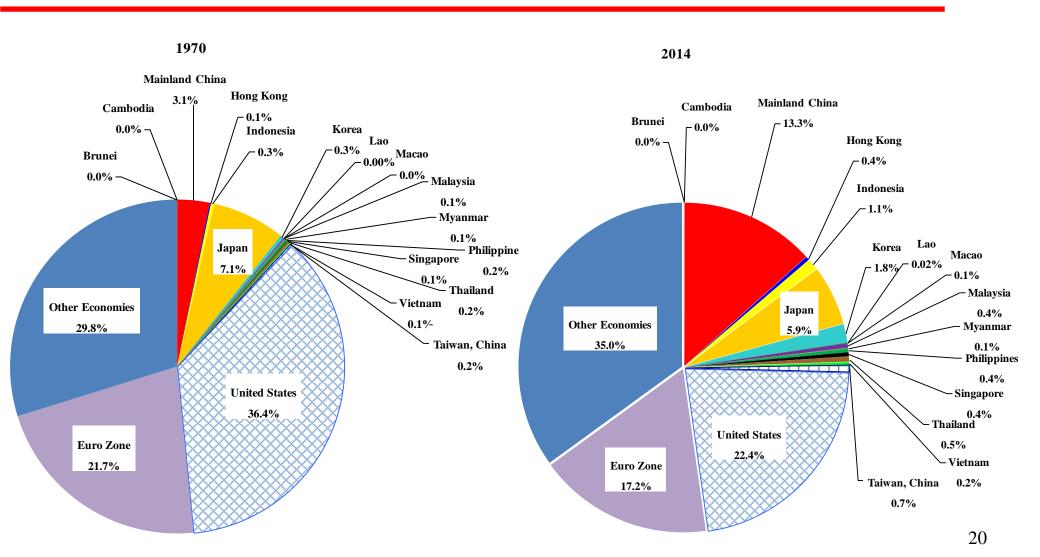
- ◆ The most important development in the global economy during the last three and a half decades is the reform and opening of the Chinese economy and its participation in the World.
- ◆ As a result, the centre of gravity of the global economy, in terms of both GDP and international trade, has been gradually shifting from North America and Western Europe to East Asia, and within East Asia from Japan to China.

- ◆ In 1970, the United States and Western Europe together accounted for almost 60% of World GDP. By comparison, East Asia (defined as the 10 Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)--Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam--+ 3 (China including Hong Kong Macau and Taiwan, Japan and the Republic of Korea)) accounted for approximately 10% of World GDP.
- ◆ Hong Kong, Republic of Korea, Singapore and Taiwan are also known collectively as the East Asian "Newly Industrialised Economies (NIEs)".

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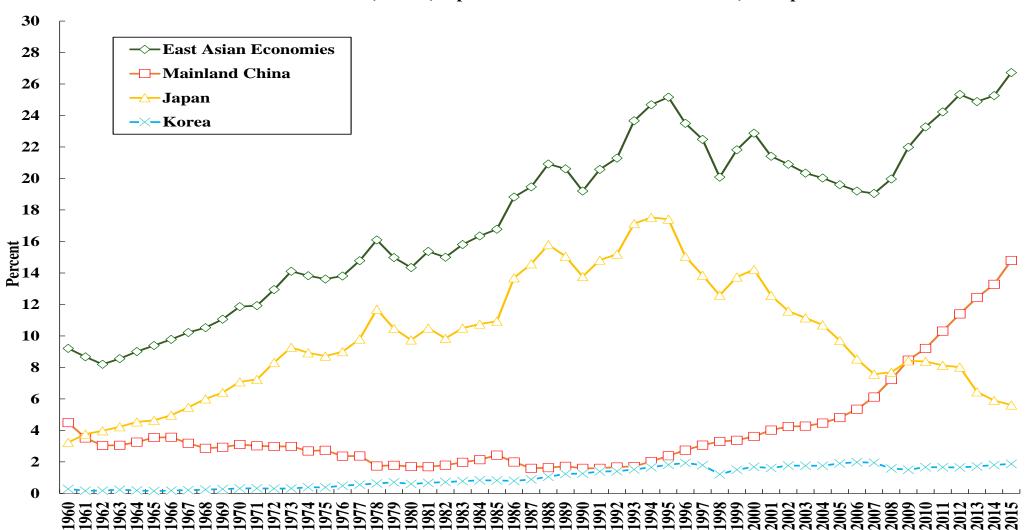
- ◆ By 2014, the share of United States and Western Europe in World GDP has declined to approximately 40% whereas the share of East Asia has risen to around 25%.
- ◆ The Japanese share of World GDP declined from a peak of almost 18% in the mid-1990s to 6.5% in 2014 while the Mainland Chinese share of World GDP rose from 3.1% in 1970 and less than 4% in 2000 to over 13% in 2014.

The Distribution of World GDP, 1970 and 2014, US\$



The Shares of East Asia, China, Japan and South Korea in World GDP, 1960-present

The Shares of East Asia, China, Japan and South Korea in World GDP, 1960-present

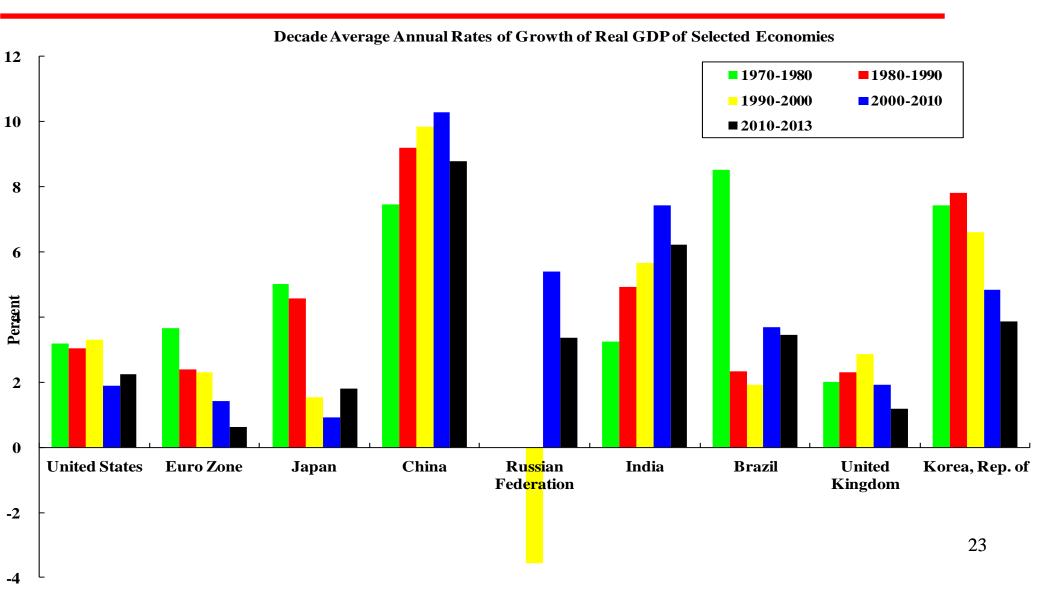


China in the Global Economy: Economic Growth

- ◆ In the following chart, we present the average annual rates of growth of real GDP of selected economies in different decades.
- ◆ China, India and South Korea are among the fastest growing economies during the past four decades.
- ◆ Russia has also grown at a very high rate during the past decade because of its significant oil production and high oil prices but has begun to slow down recently.
- ◆ Brazil has also grown very fast during the past decade because of the world natural resource boom but has also begun to slow down recently.
- ♦ However, all the developed economies—the U.S., Euro Zone, Japan, and the U.K.—had relatively low and declining growth rates during the past decades. Even though there are now early signs of a steady economic recovery, the rates of growth have remained low by the historical standards of these economies.

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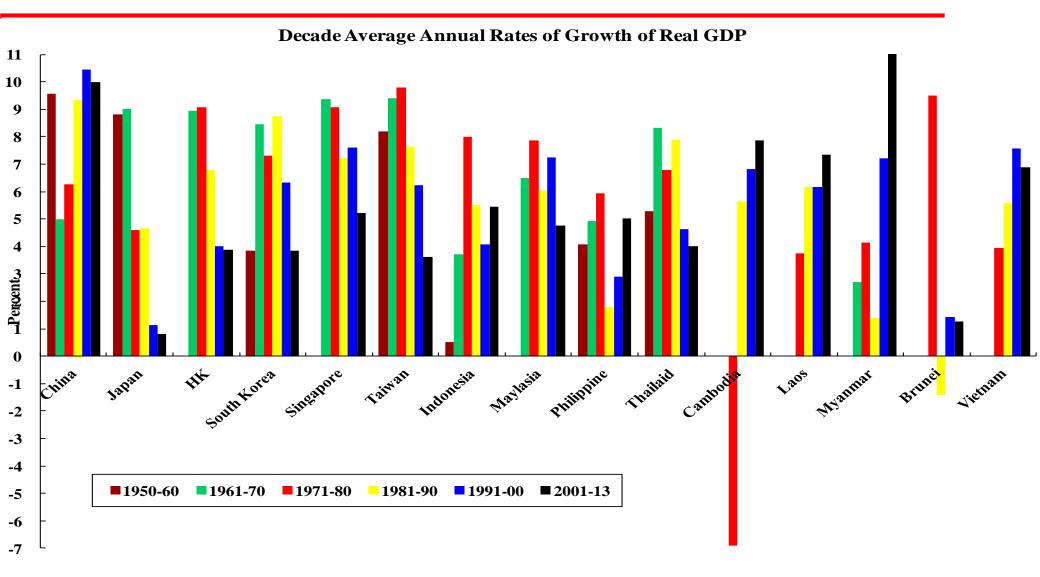
Decade Average Annual Rates of Growth of Real GDP of Selected Economies



China in the Global Economy: Economic Growth

- ◆ In the following chart, we present the average annual rates of growth of real GDP of East Asian economies in different decades. It is interesting to see the diversity among them.
- ◆ Japan had a very high rate of growth in the 1950s and 1960s, and began to slow down in the 1970s and the 1980s, but hardly grew at all since the 1990s. China actually had a high rate of growth in the 1950s, but then went through the Great Famine and the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s.
- ◆ The four "newly industrialised economies (NIEs)" of Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan grew rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s and even the 1980s.
- ◆ Thailand also started growing in the 1960s, followed by Indonesia and Malaysia in the 1970s.
- ◆ In the 1980s, China began to grow rapidly and beginning in the 1990s, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam began to grow too.

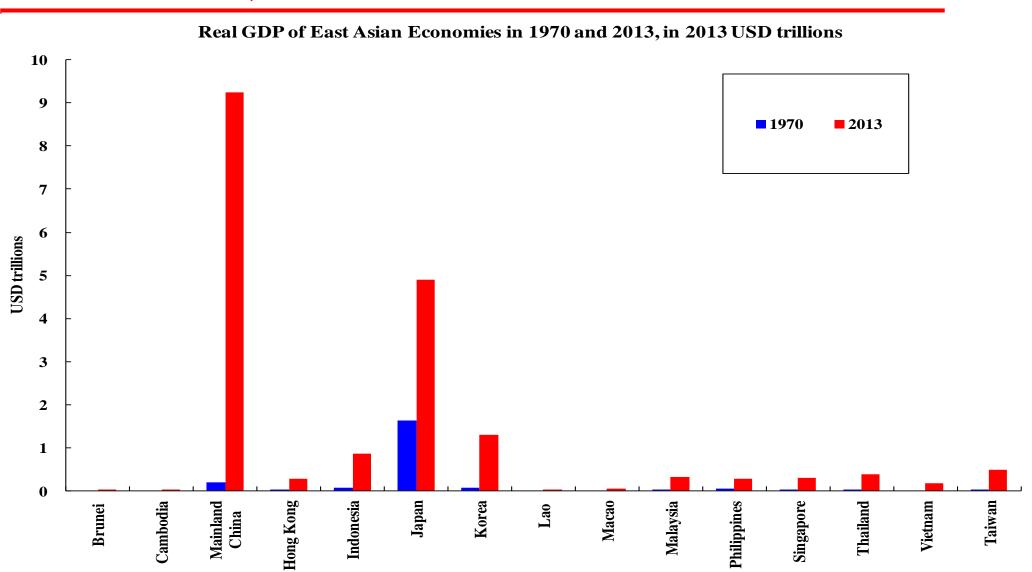
Decade Average Annual Rates of Growth of Real GDP of East Asian Economies



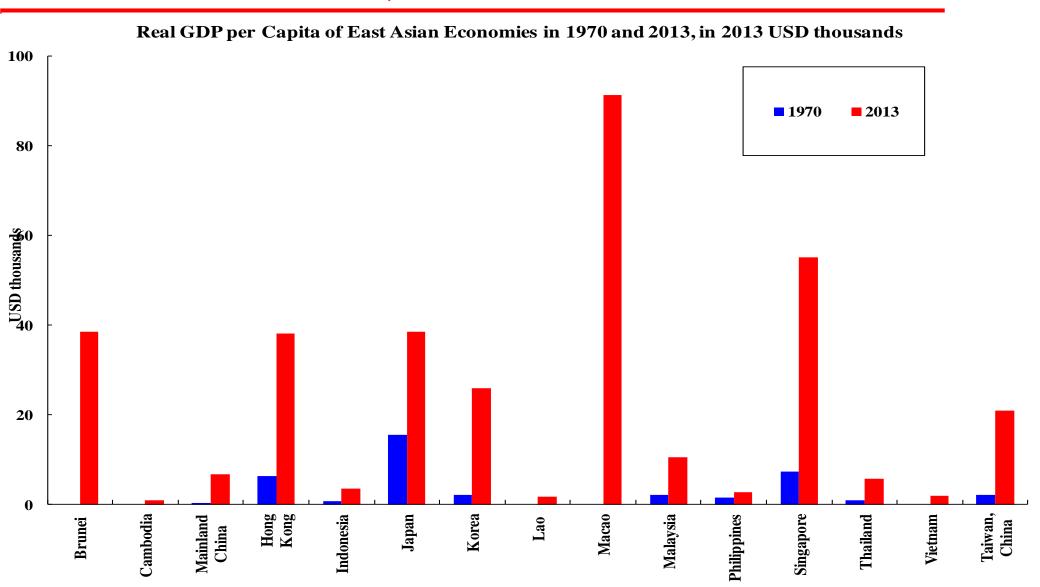
China in the Global Economy: Economic Growth

- ◆ In the aggregate, the Chinese economy has made the most progress among East Asian economies, followed by Japan.
- ◆ In terms of per capita GDP, China still lags significantly behind the other East Asian economies. Macau has the highest per capita GDP, due to the prosperity of its gaming industry and its small population of approximately half a million, followed by Singapore, due in part to the rise in its exchange rate relative to the U.S. Dollar. Brunei has a high GDP per capita because of its oil. Otherwise, the high GDP per capita economies consist of only Japan and the four NIEs of Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan.

The Growth of Real GDP in East Asian Economies, 1970-2013



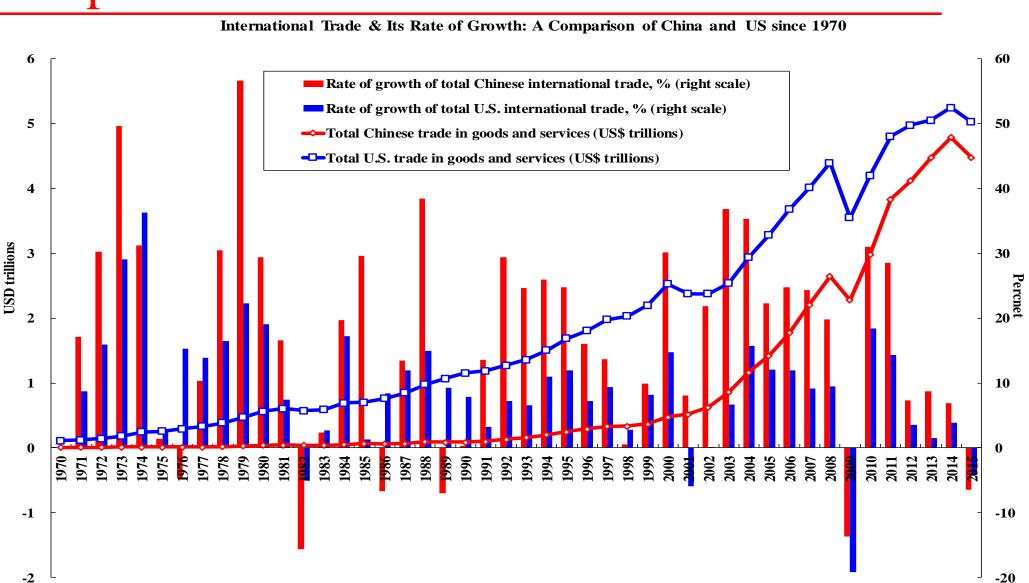
The Growth of Real GDP per Capita in East Asian Economies, 1970-2013



China in the Global Economy—International Trade

- ◆ Chinese international trade in goods and services has also been growing very rapidly since the beginning of its economic reform in 1978, and the rate of growth accelerated after Chinese accession to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2001 even though it has begun to slow down recently.
- ◆ Chinese total international trade grew from US\$20.3 billion in 1978 to US\$4.67 trillion in 2015, making China the second largest trading nation in the world, just after the U.S. with its total international trade of US\$4.99 trillion.
- ◆ Even though Chinese total international trade fell in 2015, as did the U.S., in terms of value-added, the decline was much more modest, probably on the order of 1%.

Chinese and U.S. International Trade and Their Respective Rates of Growth since 1970



China in the Global Economy—International Trade

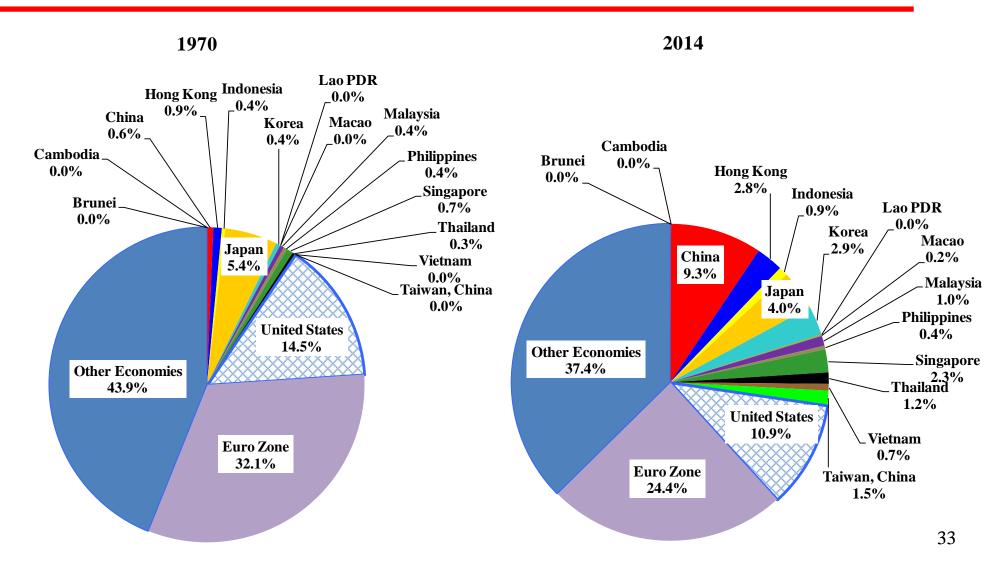
- ◆ While China is the largest exporting nation in terms of goods and services (US\$2.56 trillion in 2015), followed by the U.S. (US\$2.22 trillion), the U.S. is the largest importing nation in terms of goods and services (US\$2.76 trillion), followed by China (US\$2.11 trillion). China is also the largest exporting nation in terms of goods alone (US\$2.27 trillion), followed by the U.S. (US\$ 1.50 trillion). The U.S. is the largest exporting as well as importing nation in terms of services, followed by respectively the United Kingdom and Germany.
- ◆ China has also become the second largest trading nation in services alone, with US\$713 billion in 2015, just after the U.S.

China in the Global Economy: International Trade

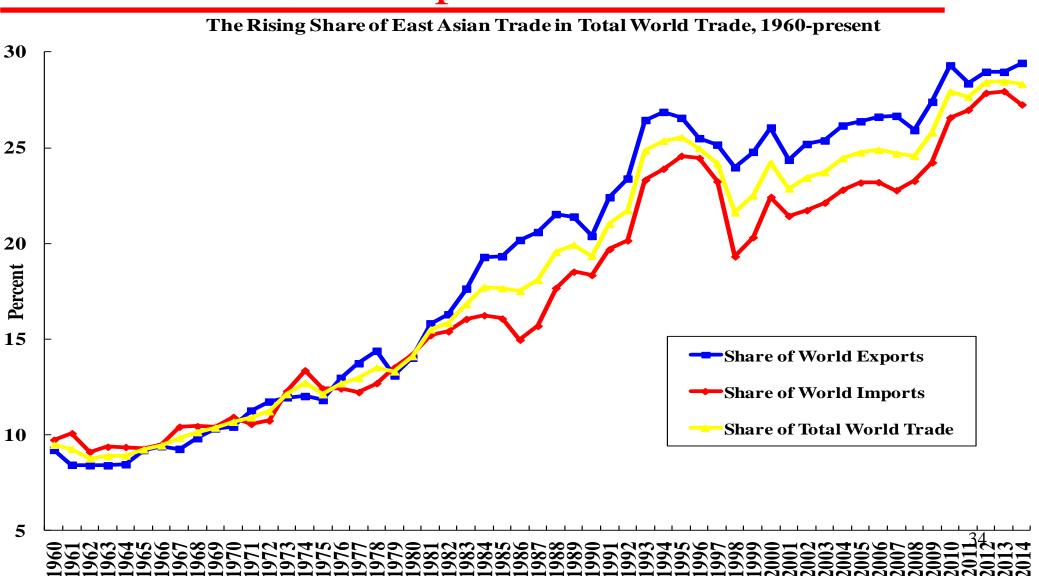
- ◆ In 1970, the United States and Western Europe together accounted for almost 60% of World trade in goods and services. By comparison, East Asia accounted for 9.5% of World trade.
- ◆ By 2013, the share of United States and Western Europe in World trade has declined to 41.4% whereas the share of East Asia has risen to almost 27.6%.
- ◆ The Chinese share of World trade rose from 0.63% in 1970 to 10.0% in 2013. The growth in Chinese international trade may be attributed in part to the reform of the Chinese exchange rate system in the early 1990s, accompanied by a significant devaluation, and to Chinese accession to the World Trade Organisation in the 2001.

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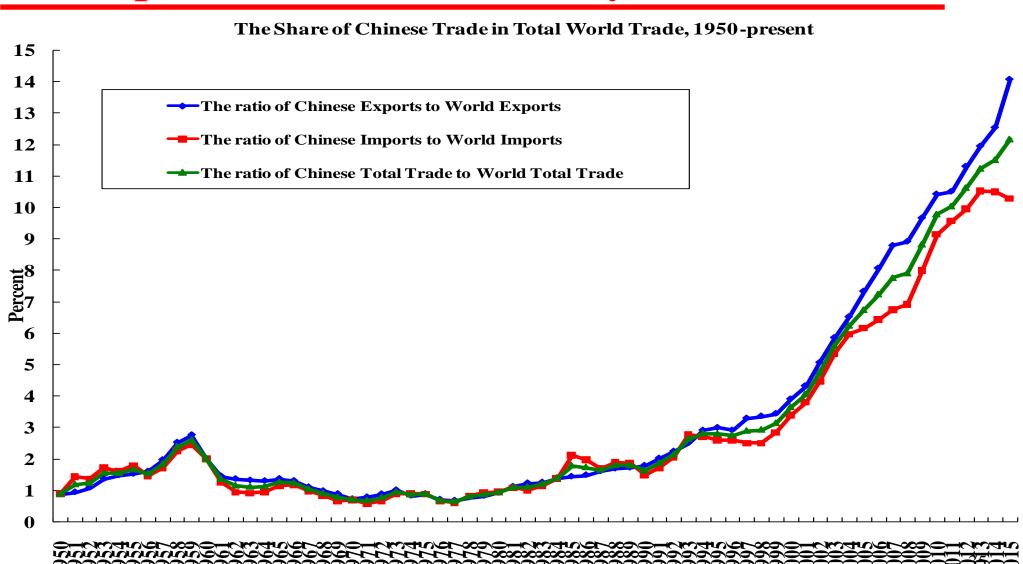
The Distribution of Total International Trade in Goods and Services, 1970 and 2014



The Rising Share of East Asian Trade in Total World Trade, 1960-present



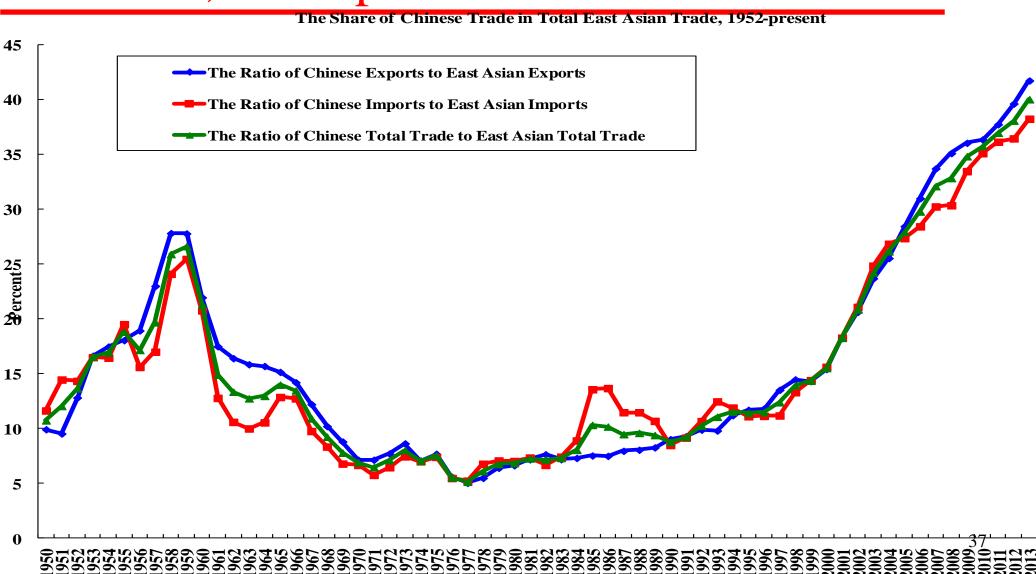
The Chinese Share of Total World Trade, 1950-present (in Goods Only)



China in the Global Economy: International Trade

◆ Chinese international trade also accounted for 40% of East Asian international trade in 2014. China runs a trade deficit with almost every other East Asian economy.

The Chinese Share of Total East Asian Trade in Goods, 1950-present



The Ranks of China as Trading Partner of Asia

The Kaliks of China as Trading Partilet of Asia-		
Pacific Countries/Regions and Vice Versa, 2014		
Country/Region	Chinese Rank as Trading	Rank of Country/Region as
	Partner of Country/Region	Trading Partner of China
Australia	1	7
Brunei	3	105
Cambodia	2	85
Hong Kong	1	2
Indonesia	1	18
Japan	1	3

2

2

2

Korea

Macau

Malaysia

Myanmar

Philippines

Singapore

Taiwan

Thailand

Vietnam

New Zealand

United States

Laos

38

88

82

8

34

43

25

13

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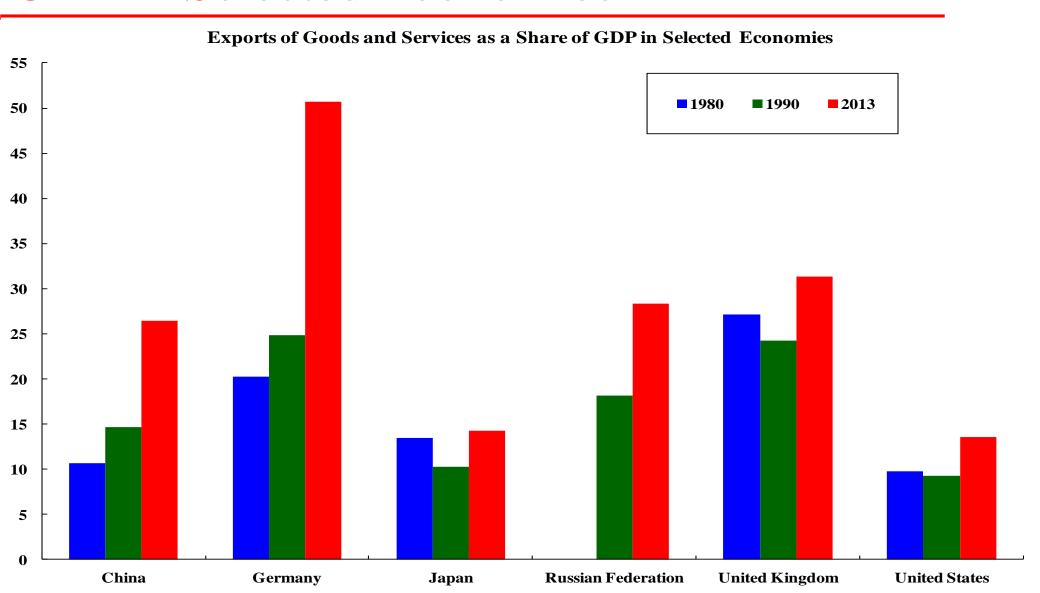
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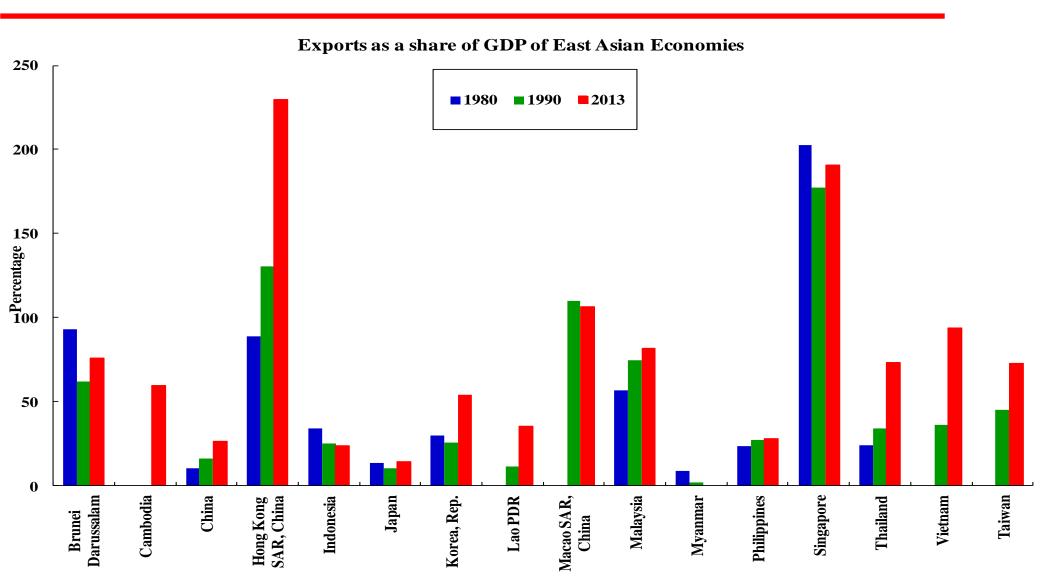
China in the Global Economy: International Trade

- ◆ Contrary to the public impression, the ratio of Chinese exports to GDP is actually relatively low compared with other economies (see the following charts).
- ◆ Among large economies, only Japan and the U.S. have a lower share of exports in GDP than China. This is a reflection of the fact that China is a large continental economy, with relatively abundant diversified natural resources and a huge domestic market.
- ◆ Most of the East Asian economies are either export-oriented or were export-oriented when they began their processes of economic development. Their exports to GDP ratios have been and continue to be much higher than that of the Chinese economy.

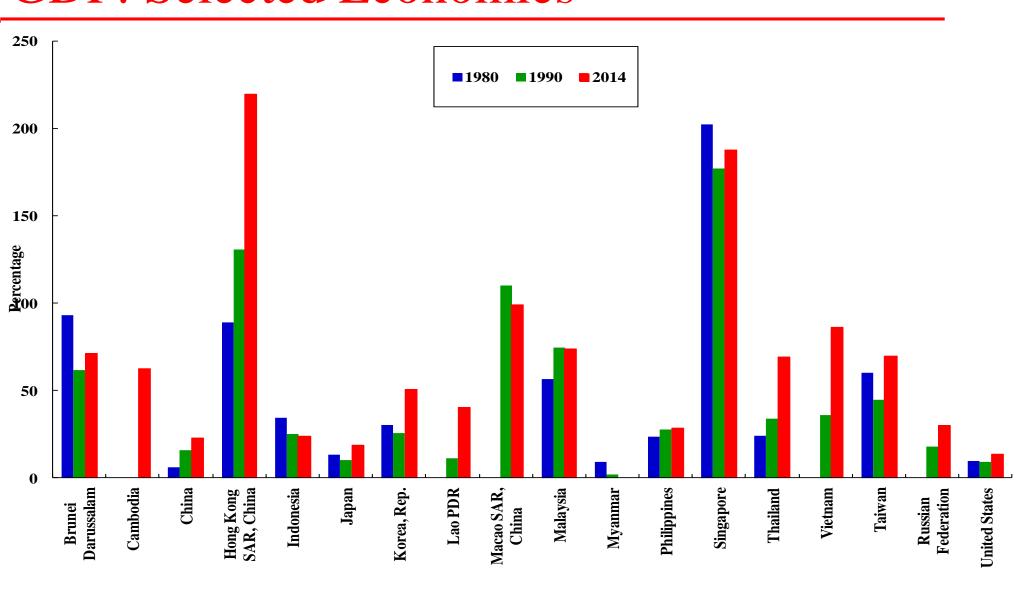
Exports of Goods and Services as a Share of GDP in Selected Economies



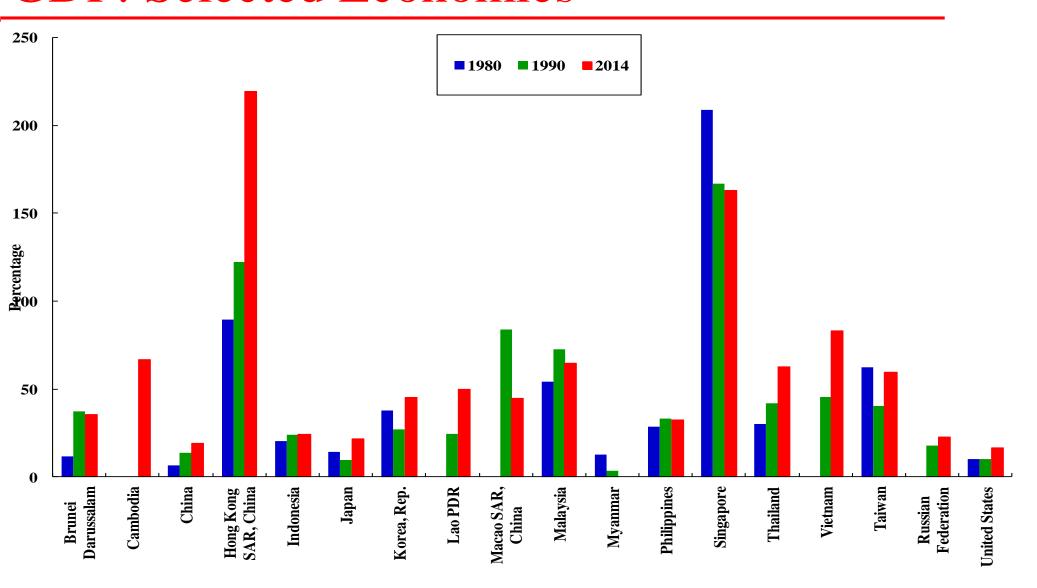
Exports of Goods and Services as a Share of GDP in East Asian Economies



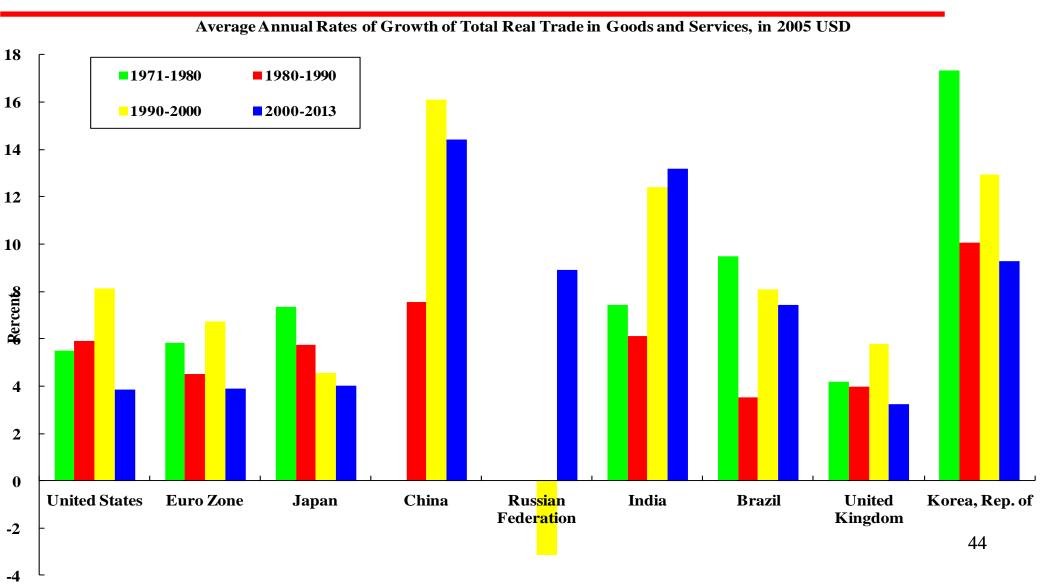
Exports of Goods and Services as a Percent of GDP: Selected Economies



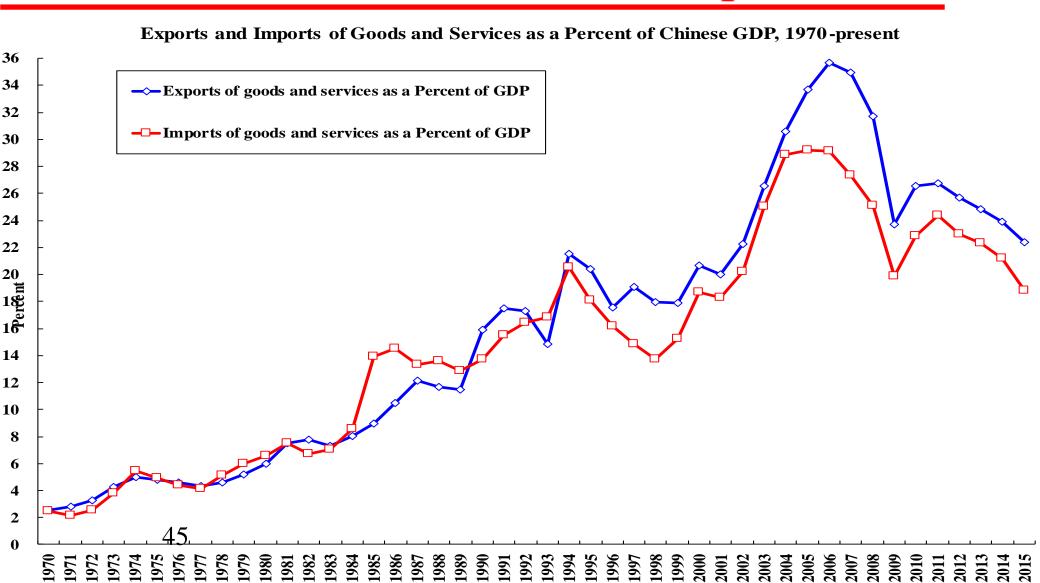
Imports of Goods and Services as a Percent of GDP: Selected Economies



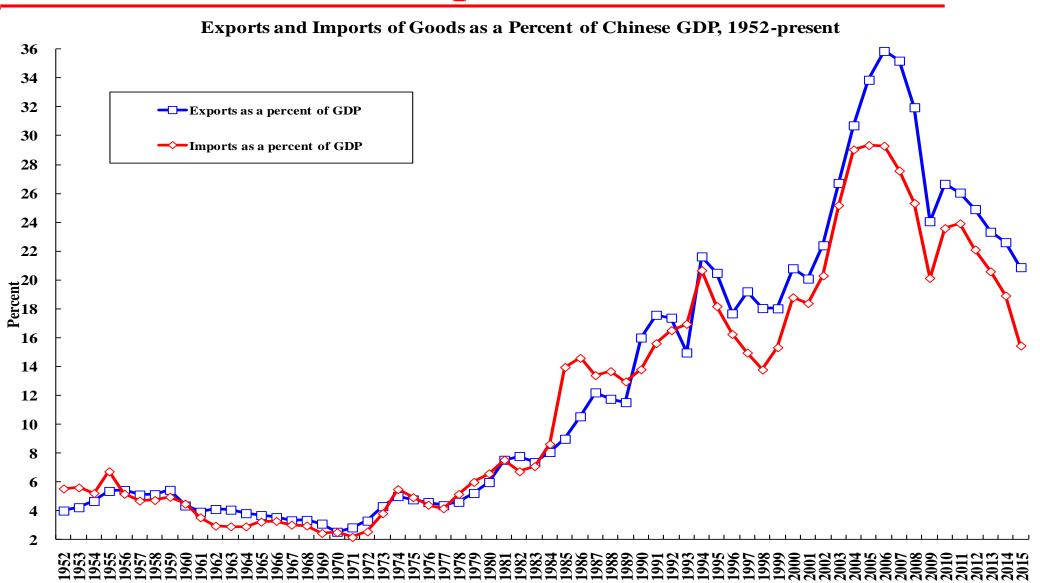
Average Annual Rate of Growth of Total International Trade in Goods and Services



Exports and Imports of Goods and Services as a Percent of Chinese GDP, 1970-present



Exports and Imports of Goods as a Percent of Chinese GDP, 1952-present



- ◆ The Chinese and also other East Asian economies have been steadily coming into their own and becoming less dependent on the developed economies of North America and Europe, enabling their "partial de-coupling" from them.
- ◆ Throughout the 2007-2009 global financial crises, as well as the subsequent European sovereign debt crisis, the East Asian economies and the economies of the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) continued to do reasonably well.

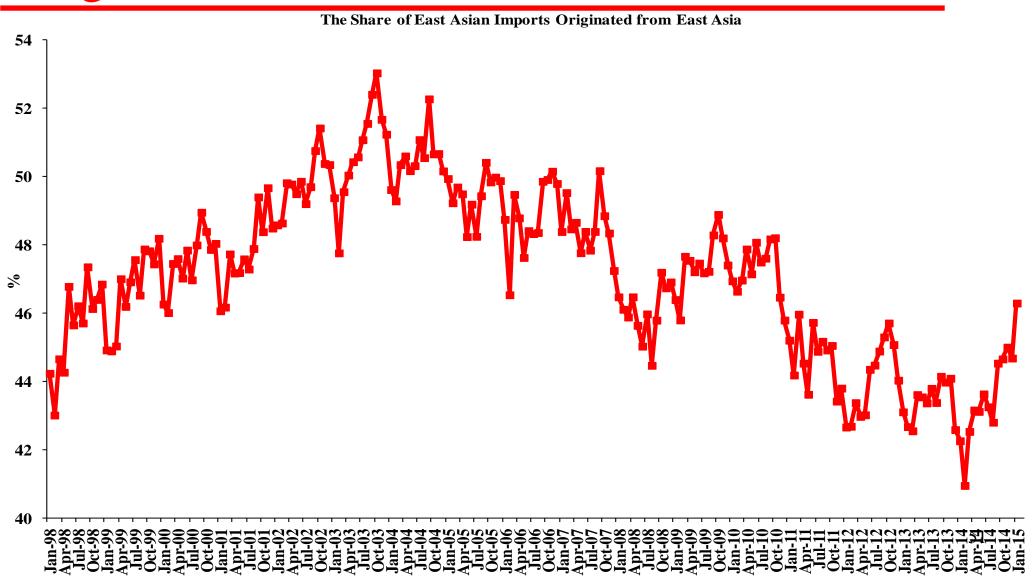
- ◆ China, in particular, has been able to maintain its real rate of growth above 7.5% since 2007, lending credence to the "Partial De-Coupling Hypothesis", that is, the Chinese and East Asian economies can continue to grow, albeit at lower rates, even as the U.S. and European economies go into economic recession.
- ◆ This partial de-coupling can occur because of the gradual shift of the economic centre of gravity of the World from North America and Western Europe to Asia (including both East Asia and South Asia) over the past decades.
- ◆ However, the Chinese economy is not large enough to turn the World around. The idea of a G-2 group of countries consisting of only China and the United States leading the World economy is premature. ₄8

- ◆ A particularly interesting development is the growth of intra-East Asian international trade. The share of East Asian exports destined for East Asia has risen to over 50% in the past decade. This is a sea-change compared to 30 years ago when most of the East Asian exports was destined for either the United States or Western Europe.
- ◆ Similarly, the share of East Asian imports originated from East Asia has remained around 45%.
- ◆ China has become the most important trading partner of almost all countries/regions in East Asia.

The Share of East Asian Exports Destined for East Asia



The Share of East Asian Imports Originated from East Asia



- ◆ Why was the Chinese economy able to survive successive financial crises, beginning with the 1997-1998 East Asian currency crisis, as well as quantitative easings on the part of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board (QEI, II and III), the Bank of Japan and the European Central Bank (ECB) relatively unscathed?
- ◆ China has been relatively insulated from the financial disturbances in the World economy because it had controls on both inflows and outflows of capital and moreover did not have to depend on foreign capital because of its own high domestic saving rates. Potential contagion is therefore minimised. (It was even spared the Bernard Madoff swindle which had actually caught quite a few wealthy European investors.)

◆ Any doubt that the Chinese economy can be partially de-coupled from the World economy should be dispelled by an examination of the following three charts on the rates of growth of exports, imports and real GDP of East Asian economies (with the red line representing China). Even though Chinese exports and imports fluctuate like those of all the other East Asian economies, the rate of growth of real GDP of the Chinese economy has been relatively stable compared to those of the other East Asian economies.

China in the Global Economy:

The Partial De-Coupling Hypothesis

- ◆ From a global macroeconomic point of view, partial de-coupling should be considered a positive development for the global economy. It allows the risks of the global economy to be diversified—so that the entire global economy will not all go into economic recession at the same time.
- ◆ At a time of increasing economic globalisation, it is important to assure that not everything is perfectly correlated or transmitted. Some "quarantine" or separation is desirable and essential from the point of view of risk containment.
- ◆ For example, the "globally systematically important financial institutions (GSIFIs)" should be discouraged from engaging in too much business with one another so that if and when one of them fails it will not bring down all the others.

Chinese Economic Fundamentals

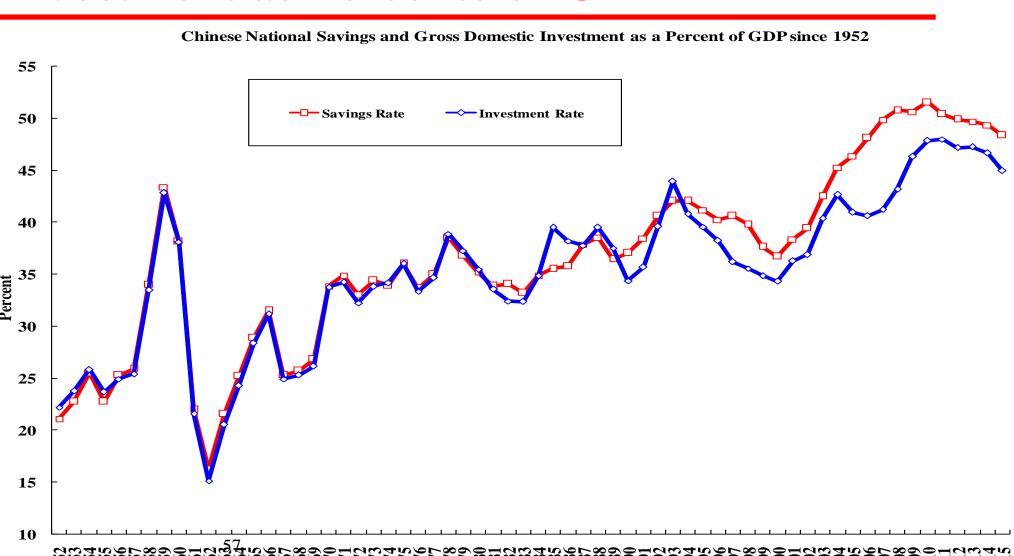
- ◆ The long-term economic growth of a country depends on the rates of growth of its primary inputs—tangible (or physical) capital and labor—and on technical progress (or equivalently, the growth of total factor productivity (TFP))—that is, the ability to increase output without increasing inputs.
- ◆ The tangible capital stock is defined as the cumulative past real investment in structure, equipment and basic infrastructure, less the respective appropriate depreciations. The rate of growth of the tangible capital depends on investments in these three categories of fixed capital. The quantity of total investment in turn depends on the availability of national savings as well as foreign direct investment, foreign portfolio investment, foreign loans and foreign aid.
- ◆ Technical progress (or the rate of growth of TFP) is not manna from heaven but depends on the cumulative past investments in (that is, the stocks of) intangible capital such as human capital and Research and Development (R&D) capital.

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Chinese Economic Fundamentals: The High Domestic Savings Rate

- ◆ Chinese economic growth since 1978 has been underpinned by a consistently high domestic investment rate, enabled by a high national savings rate. In fact, the Chinese national savings rate has consistently been quite high except for a brief start-up period in the early 1950s and during the periods of the Great Famine and the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution. Since the early 1990s, the Chinese national saving rate has stayed around 40% and has at times approached or even exceeded 50% in more recent years.
- ◆ In the early 1950s, the Chinese economy benefitted from loans and aid from the Soviet Union, which made possible many of the investment projects in the First Five-Year (1953-1957) Plan.

Chinese National Saving and Gross Domestic Investment as Percents of GDP



Chinese Economic Fundamentals: The High Domestic Savings Rate

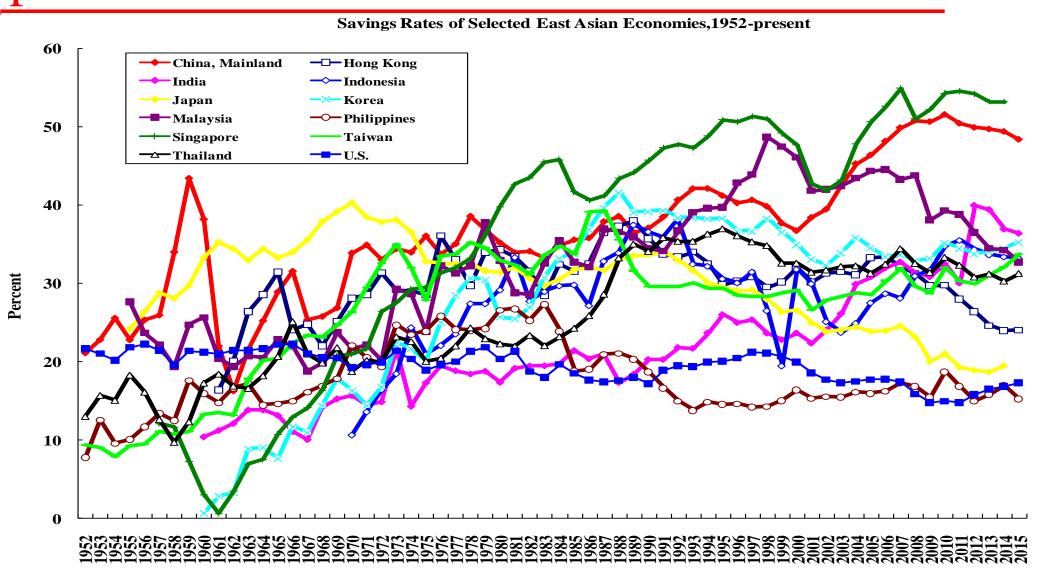
- ◆ The high domestic savings rate means, among other things, that the Chinese economy can finance all of its domestic investment needs from its own domestic savings alone, thus assuring a high rate of growth of its tangible capital stock without having to depend on the more fickle foreign capital inflows (including foreign direct investment, foreign portfolio investment, foreign loans or foreign aid). In particular, it does not need to borrow abroad and bear the potential risks of a large, short-term and often interruptible, foreign-currency denominated debt. The Chinese economy is thus also more immune from external disturbances than other economies. For example, it was relatively unaffected by the 1997-1998 East Asian currency crisis, the 2008-2009 global financial crisis and the more recent European sovereign debt crisis.
- ◆ The national saving rate in China will remain high for a while even though it is expected to decline gradually. Consequently the Chinese economy is assured of a high rate of domestic investment and hence a high rate of growth of its tangible capital stock.

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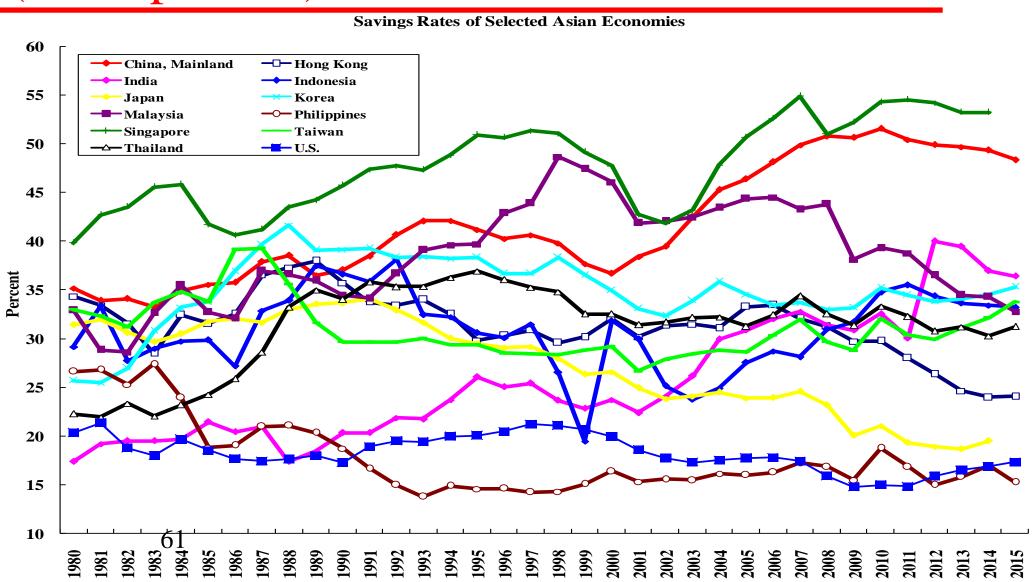
Chinese Economic Fundamentals: The High Domestic Savings Rate

- ◆ In addition, since new resources are forthcoming each year from new savings, enabling new investments to be made, the necessity of restructuring, redeploying or privatising existing fixed assets is greatly diminished. Thus, the potentially politically divisive issues such as factory closings and lay-offs of redundant workers and the creation of "losers" can be avoided. This helps to maintain social harmony and facilitate economic reform.
- ◆ A high national savings rate also allows the normally more efficient nonstate sector more room and greater scope for development and expansion as there is less "crowding out" of the non-state enterprises by the investments of the government as well as the state-owned enterprises.
- ◆ However, tangible capital input-driven economic growth has its limitations, because as the stock of tangible capital relative to labor increases, the marginal productivity of tangible capital will begin to decline and will eventually reach a point when additional tangible capital is no longer productive. This is a point made by Prof. Paul Krugman in his influential article, "The Myth of Asia's Miracle," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 73, No. 6, November/December, 1994, pp. 62-78.

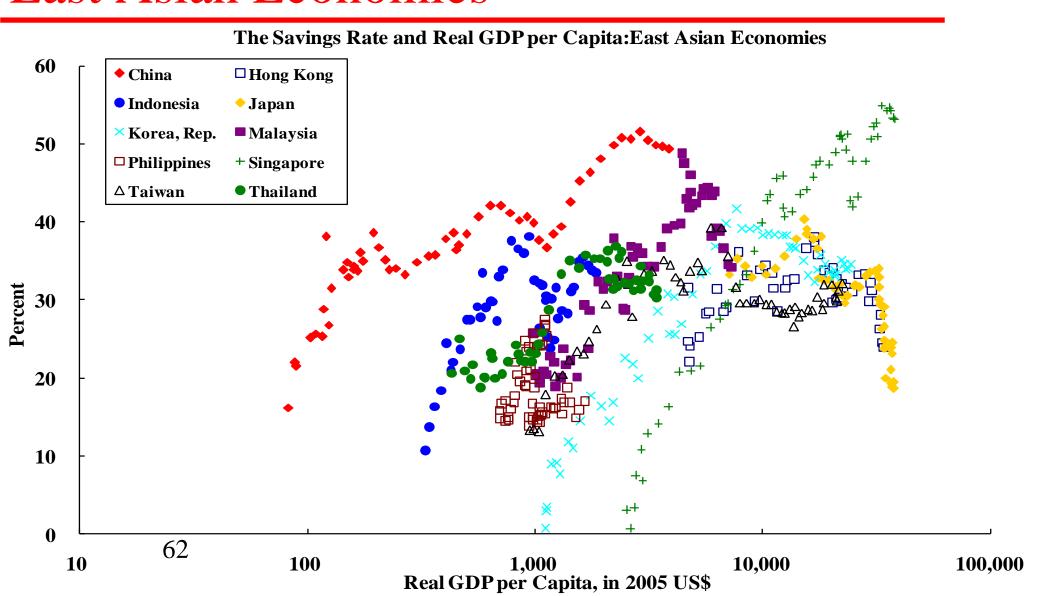
Savings Rates of Selected Economies, 1952present



Savings Rates of Selected Asian Economies (1980-present)



The Savings Rate and Real GDP per Capita: East Asian Economies

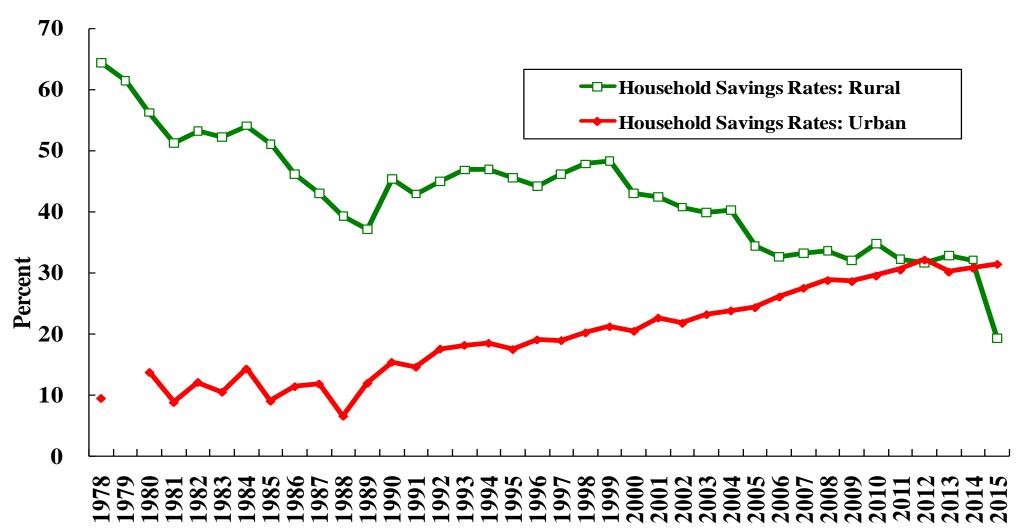


Chinese Household Savings Rates



Savings Rates of Urban and Rural Chinese Households

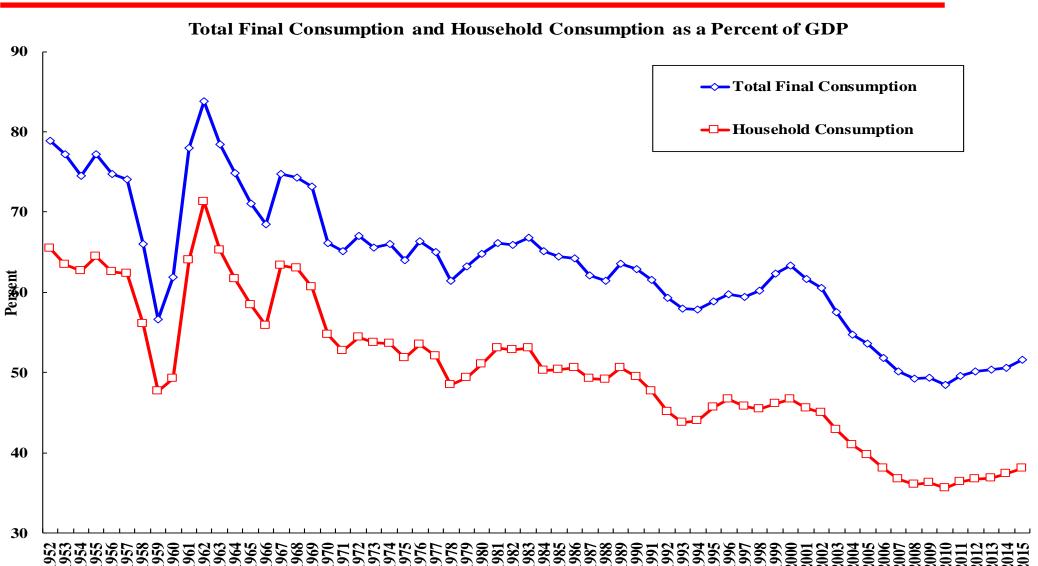
Savings Rates of Chinese Urban and Rural Households



Chinese Economic Fundamentals: The High Domestic Savings Rate

- ◆ One way to understand the high Chinese domestic savings rate is to look at the share of final consumption (the total of household consumption and government consumption (aggregate government current expenditures at all levels)) in GDP. It is only approximately 60% as of 2015. The rest is national savings.
- ◆ The share of household consumption in Chinese GDP was approximately 38% in 2015. It will take a fairly long time before Chinese household consumption can become the major driver of Chinese economic growth. The share of disposable household income in Chinese GDP may be estimated to be no more than 50% in 2014. Even if the households consume its entire disposable income, household consumption cannot exceed 50% of GDP, compared to between 65% and 70% for developed economies. ⁶⁵

Total Chinese Final and Household Consumption as a Percent of Its GDP



Chinese Economic Fundamentals: The Abundant Surplus Labor

- ◆ China, like Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea in their respective early stages of economic development, has an unlimited supply of surplus labor—there is therefore no shortage of and no upward pressure on the real wage rate of unskilled, entry-level labor. This means the Chinese economy can continue to grow without being constrained by the supply of labor or by rising real wage rates of unskilled, entry-level labor over an extended period of time.
- ◆ Surplus labor is best understood in the context of a two-sector model of an economy, say, an agricultural (traditional) sector, and a non-agricultural (advanced) sector. At the very early stage of the development of an economy, the agricultural sector is large and the non-agricultural sector is small. The bulk of the labor force is employed in the agricultural sector, where its marginal productivity is low or even zero. The basic idea is that if on the margin some labor is removed from the agricultural sector, it will not cause the agricultural output to decline. That is why the labor is referred to as "surplus". 67

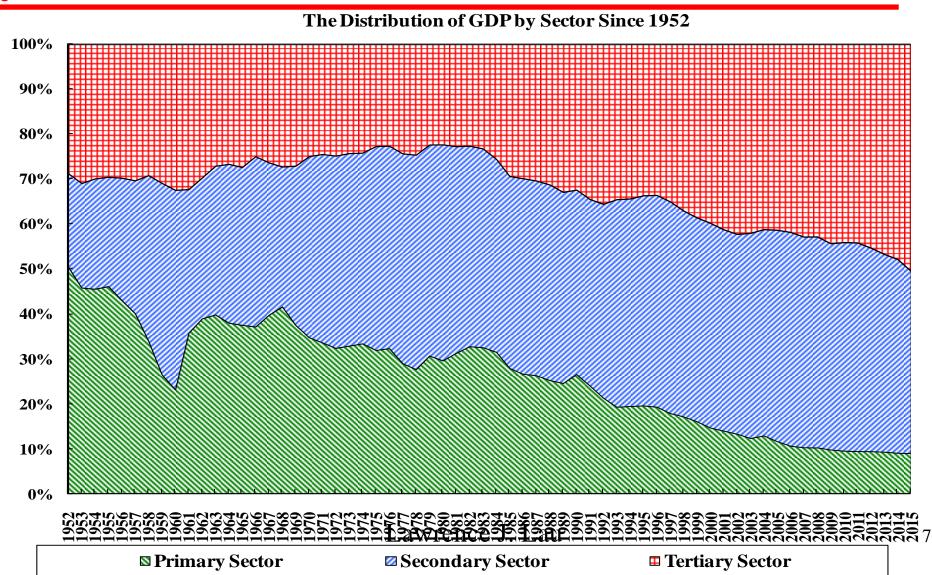
Chinese Economic Fundamentals: The Abundant Surplus Labor

- ◆ In contrast, the potential marginal productivity of labor in the non-agricultural sector is much higher than that of the agricultural sector so that on the margin, a transfer of labor from the agricultural sector to the non-agricultural sector will increase total output of the economy. However, the transfer is potentially constrained by the scarcity of complementary capital in the non-agricultural sector, the demand for non-agricultural goods, and the supply of wage goods for the labor in the non-agricultural sector.
- ◆ Investment in tangible or physical capital such as structure, equipment and basic infrastructure is very productive under conditions of surplus labor. As long as there is sufficient complementary domestic physical capital, the surplus labor can be gainfully employed and enable the real output of the economy to grow rapidly. This is exactly what the late Professor W. Arthur Lewis (1954), Nobel Laureate in Economic Sciences, said in his celebrated paper on surplus labor sixty years ago.

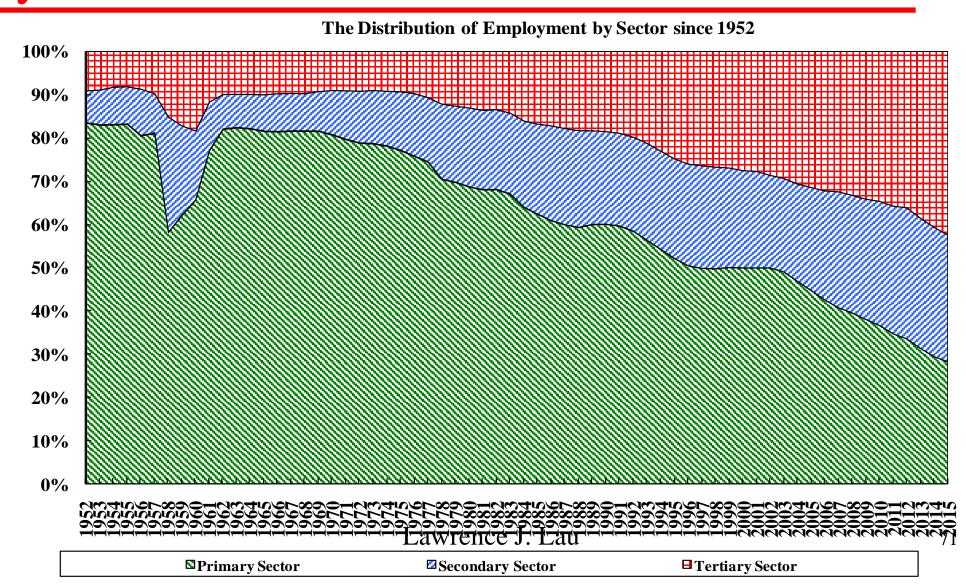
Chinese Economic Fundamentals: The Abundant Surplus Labor

- ◆ The distribution of Chinese GDP by production-originating sectors in 2015 was approximately: Primary (agriculture), 9.0%; Secondary (manufacturing, mining and construction), 40.5%; and Tertiary (services), 50.5%. (Note that mining is normally included in the primary sector in most other economies.)
- ◆ The distribution of employment by sector in 2015 was: Primary, 28.3%; Secondary, 29.3%; and Tertiary, 42.4%.
- ◆ The agricultural sector employed 28.3% of the Chinese labor force but produced only 9.0% of the Chinese GDP in 2015. Thus labor can be productively transferred to the other two sectors where labor productivities and wage rates are higher as long as complementary capital and demand are available. 69

The Distribution of Chinese GDP by Sector Since 1952



The Distribution of Chinese Employment by Sector Since 1952



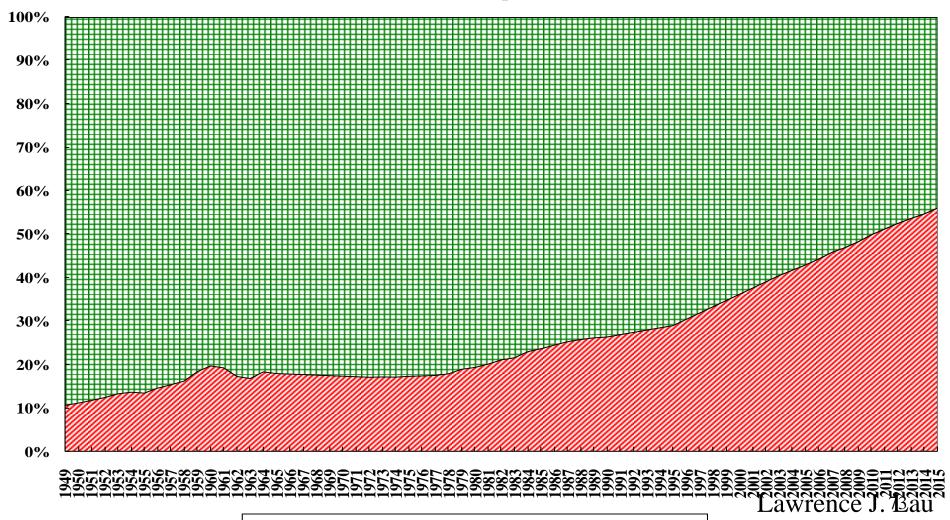
Chinese Economic Fundamentals: The Abundant Surplus Labor

- ◆ Hence, as long as the percentage of labor force employed in the primary sector significantly exceeds the percentage of GDP originating from the primary sector, there will be little or no upward pressure on the real wage rate of unskilled, entry-level labor in the secondary and tertiary sectors. Surplus labor will continue to exist in the Chinese economy for a couple of decades.
- ◆ The termination of the "one-child" policy will help to maintain the supply of labor in the long run. It will take at least a couple of decades before the "two-child" policy can make a significant impact.
- ◆ In the interim, increasing the retirement age and changing the related rules on administrative leadership positions can reverse the decline of the active labor force.

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The Shares of Rural and Urban Population in China, 1949-Present





E Rural Population

Urban population

Chinese Economic Fundamentals:

The Rising Importance of Intangible Capital

- ◆ China has a long tradition of emphasis on education and learning (human capital) and will continue to increase its investment in human capital. The enrollment rate of tertiary education has been rising rapidly and stands at over 30 percent today. It is expected to rise further over the next decades as private tertiary educational institutions become more numerous in response to demand and facilitated by government policy.
- ◆ China has also begun to increase its expenditure on Research and Development (R&D), but it missed its target of 2.2 percent of GDP by 2015 by 0.1 percent. The target is to increase its expenditure on R&D to 2.5 percent by 2020.
- ◆ However, relative to many other economies, China lags behind on investment in both human capital and R&D capital, especially on a per capita basis.

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Chinese Economic Fundamentals: The Rising Importance of Intangible Capital

- ◆ The principal sources of Chinese economic growth will gradually evolve from the growth of tangible inputs such as tangible capital and labour, to the growth of intangible inputs such as human capital, R&D capital, and reputational capital (branding and goodwill).
- ◆ Sustained investment in human capital and research and development (R&D) is essential for the occurrence of technical progress or growth in total factor productivity in an economy.
- ◆ China has also begun to invest heavily in R&D in recent years—its R&D expenditure has been rising rapidly, both in absolute value, and as a percentage of GDP. But it still lags behind the developed economies as well as the newly industrialised economies of East Asia. (The Chinese R&D Expenditure/GDP ratio is targeted to reach 2.5% in 2020, approximately the same as the historical average of 2.5% for the U.S.)

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Chinese Economic Fundamentals:

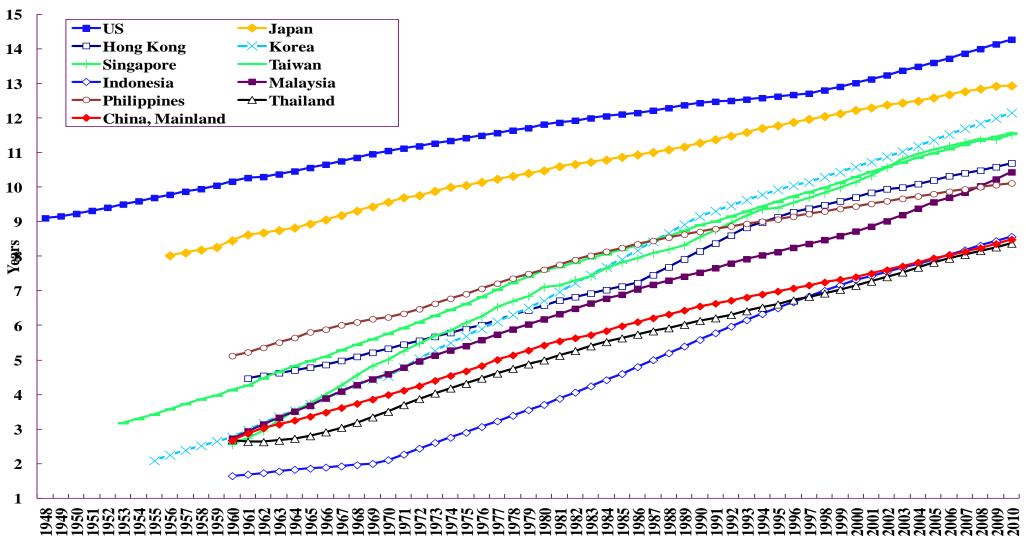
The Rising Importance of Intangible Capital

- ◆ One indicator of the level of human capital in an economy is the average number of years of schooling per person in the working-age population. In the following chart, the average number of years of schooling is compared across selected economies.
- ◆ By this measure, the United States and Japan are clearly the global leaders. South Korea has also been catching up fast. Most of the other East Asian economies also have quite rapidly increasing levels of human capital but it will take a while before they can catch up with the levels of human capital in the developed economies. China, Indonesia and Thailand have lagged behind in terms of investment in human capital.
- ◆ China has a different definition of working-age population—with a terminal age of 60--and so the number of school years per person in the customary working-age population, that is, up to 65, may well have been lower, given the lower enrolment rates at all levels of education 60 years ago.
- ◆ The number of school years per working-age person in China was probably around 9 years in 2014.

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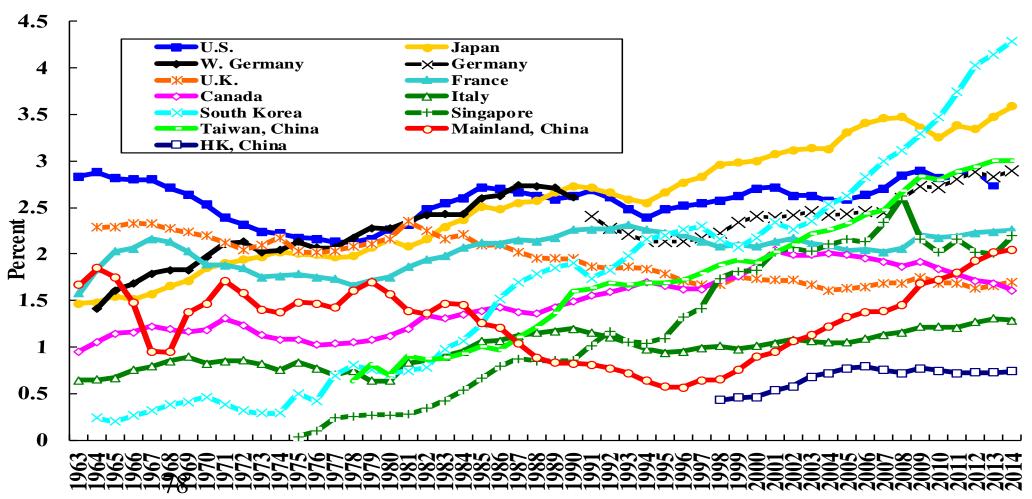
Average Number of Years of Schooling of Selected Economies (1948-present)

Average Number of Years of Schooling of Selected Economies (1945-present)



R&D Expenditures as a Percent of GDP: G-7 Countries, 4 East Asian NIES & China

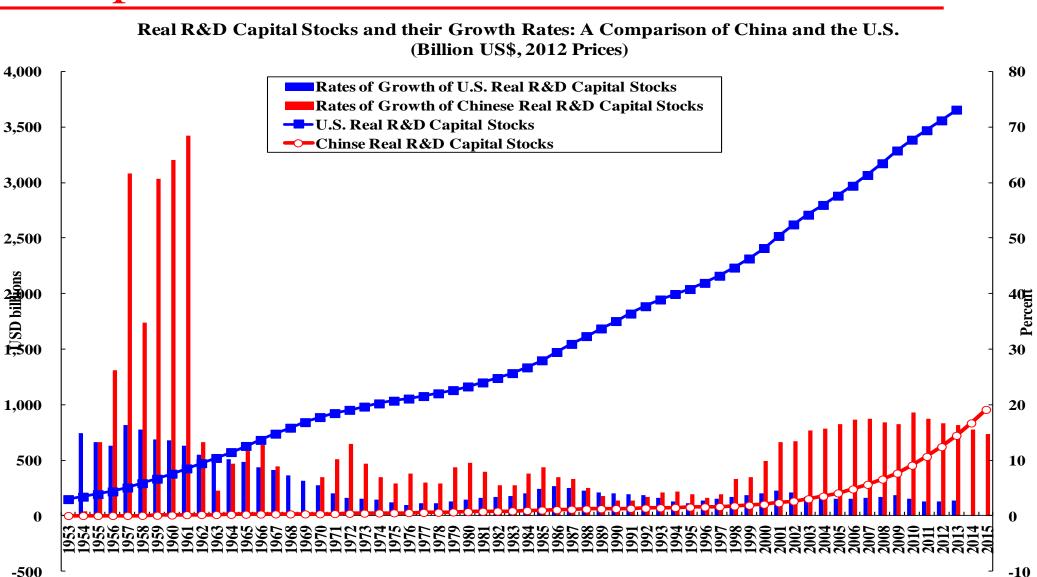
R&D Expenditures as a Percentage of GDP: G-7 Countries, 4 East Asian NIEs and China



The Chinese Economic Fundamentals: R&D Capital Stock

- ◆ The R&D capital stock, defined as the cumulative past real expenditure on R&D less the depreciation of 10% per year, is an useful indicator of innovative capacity. It should quite properly be treated as capital since R&D efforts generally take years to yield any results.
- ◆ Lawrence J. Lau and Yanyan Xiong (2015), in their Working Paper, "Are There Laws of Innovation? Part I: Introduction", have constructed R&D capital stocks for the Group-of-Seven (G-7) countries, the East Asian Newly Industrialized Economies (NIEs) and China. The R&D capital stocks of China and the U.S. are presented in the following chart.
- ◆ At US\$3.656 trillion in 2013 (in 2012 prices), the U.S. is the World leader in R&D capital stock. The Chinese R&D capital stock, at US\$722 billion in 2013, has caught up with those of most countries and regions with the exceptions of the U.S., Japan and Germany. ⁷⁹

R&D Capital Stocks and their Growth Rates: A Comparison of China and the U.S., 2012 US\$



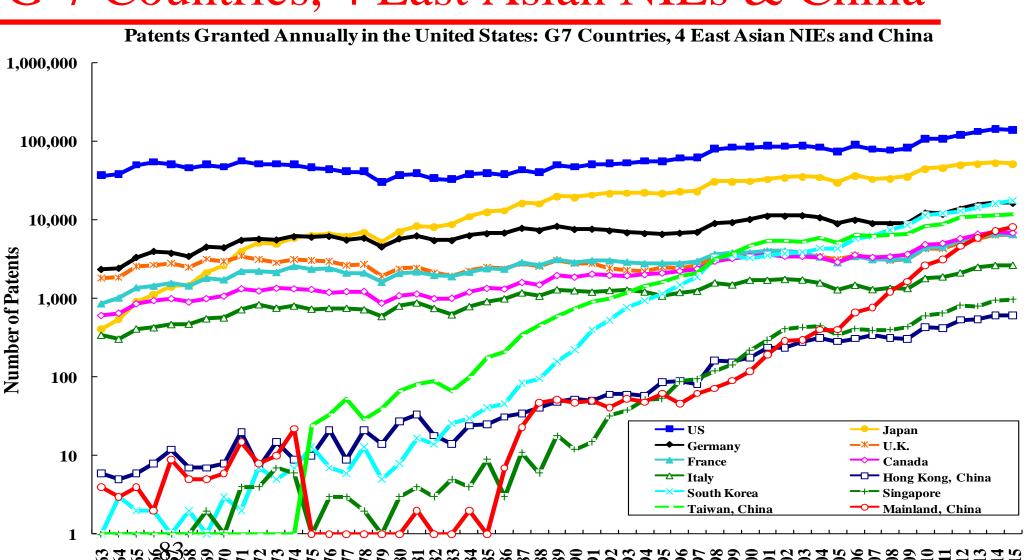
Chinese Economic Fundamentals: The Rising Importance of Intangible Capital

- ◆ One indicator of the potential for technical progress (national innovative capacity) is the number of patents created each year. In the following chart, the number of patents granted in the United States each year to the nationals of different countries, including the U.S. itself, over time is presented.
- ◆ The U.S. is the undisputed champion over the past forty years, with 140,969 patents granted in 2015, followed by Japan, with 52,409. (Since these are patents granted in the U.S., the U.S. may have a home advantage; however, for all the other countries and regions, the comparison across them should be fair.)

Chinese Economic Fundamentals: The Rising Importance of Intangible Capital

- ◆ The number of patents granted to Chinese applicants each year has increased from the single-digit levels prior to the mid-1980s to 8,166 in 2015.
- ◆ The economies of South Korea and Taiwan, granted 17,924 and 11,690 U.S. patents respectively in 2015, are still far ahead of Mainland China.

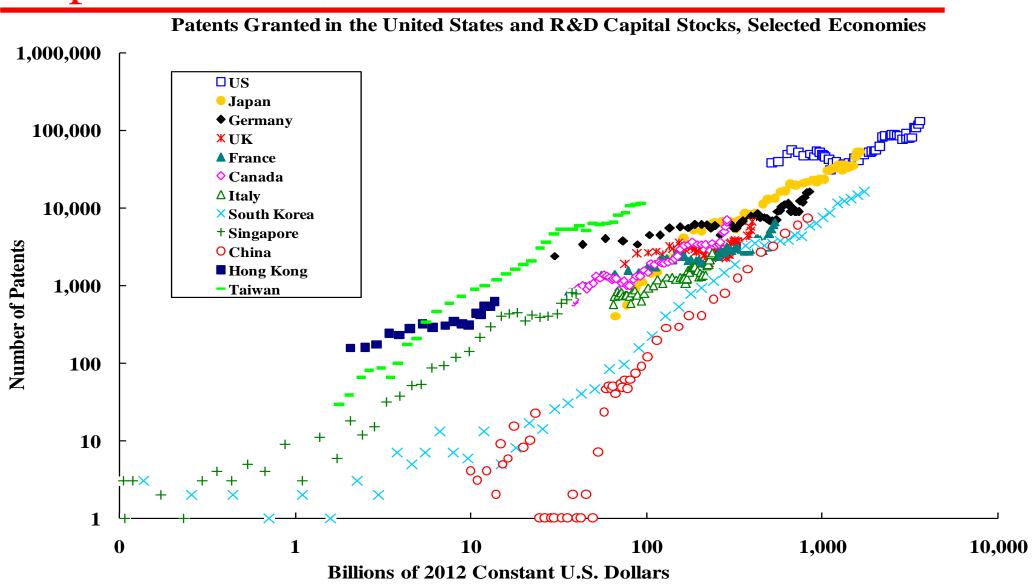
Patents Granted in the United States: G-7 Countries, 4 East Asian NIEs & China



Chinese Economic Fundamentals: The Rising Importance of Intangible Capital

- ◆ The stock of R&D capital, defined as the cumulative past real expenditure on R&D less depreciation of 10% per year, can be shown to have a direct causal relationship to the number of patents granted (see the following chart, in which the annual number of U.S. patents granted is plotted against the R&D capital stock of that year for each country).
- ◆ The chart shows clearly that the higher the stock of R&D capital of an economy, the higher is the number of patents granted to it by the U.S.
- ◆ Because China has had both a much lower R&D expenditure to GDP ratio and a much lower GDP than the United States and other developed economies in the past, it will take more than a couple of decades before the Chinese R&D capital stock can catch up to the level of U.S. R&D capital stock (and hence to the number of U.S. patents granted each year).

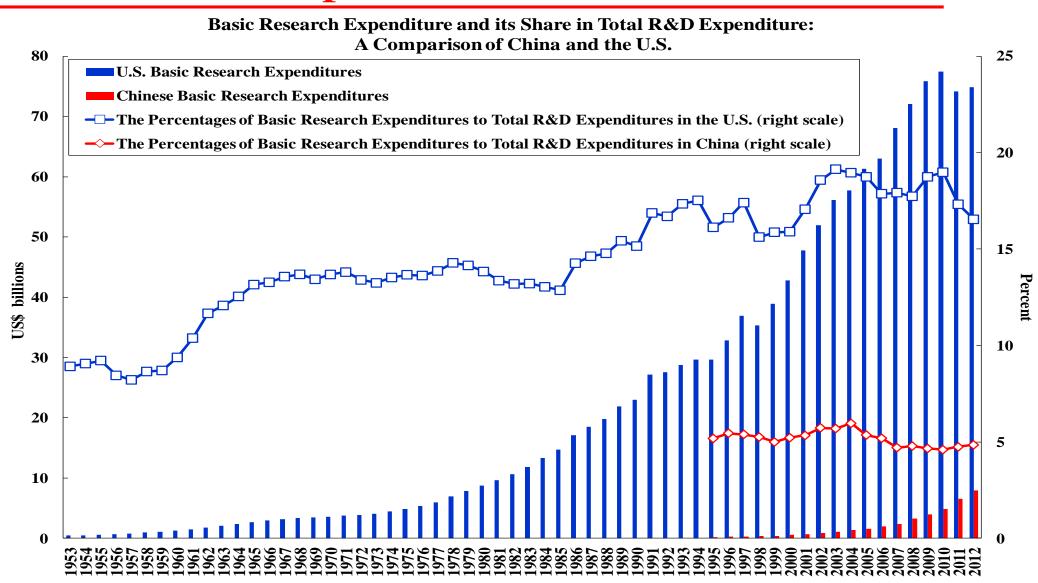
Patents Granted in the United States and R&D Capital Stocks, Selected Economies



Chinese Economic Fundamentals: The Rising Importance of Intangible Capital

- ◆ However, innovation also depends on the existence of competition. Monopolies are generally not very good in innovation and not very good in making full use of their innovation. China must create and maintain a competitive market environment with free entry and exit so as to encourage innovation.
- ◆ In addition, in order to encourage innovation, China also needs to protect intellectual property rights vigorously. The establishment of a national intellectual property court was an important step towards better protection of intellectual property rights, both Chinese and foreign.
- ◆ Finally, in order that "break-through" innovation can occur in China, the Chinese Government must commit a much greater share of its R&D expenditure to the support of basic research.86

Basic Research Expenditure and Its Share in Total R&D Expenditure: China & U.S.



Chinese Economic Fundamentals: The Rising Importance of Intangible Capital

- ◆ Past Chinese economic growth has been mostly driven by the growth of tangible capital. Technical progress or growth of total factor productivity accounts for less than 10 percent of Chinese economic growth since 1978.
- ◆ In order for technical progress to become an important driver of economic growth, investment in intangible inputs such as human capital and R&D capital must be increased. Moreover, capital allocation must be made more efficient. That is why the "supply side" reform is so important for the Chinese economy.

Chinese Economic Fundamentals:

The Huge Domestic Market

- ◆ The huge domestic market of 1.37 billion consumers with pent-up demand for housing and transportation and other consumer goods and services (e.g., education, health care, and more recently, elderly care), enables the realization of significant economies of scale in production in many manufacturing industries, based entirely on the domestic market in China.
- ◆ The huge domestic market also greatly enhances the productivity of intangible capital (e.g., R&D capital and goodwill including brand building) by allowing the fixed costs of the R&D for a new product or process or advertising and promotion in brand building to be more easily amortized and recovered.
- ◆ Another important implication of the size of the domestic economy is the relatively low external dependence. Thus, while the rates of growth of Chinese exports and imports fluctuate like other economies, the rate of growth of Chinese real GDP has been relatively much more stable. (China is represented by a red line in the following charts.) so

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Chinese Economic Fundamentals: The Huge Domestic Market

◆ An economy with significant economies of scale will grow faster than an economy with constant returns to scale given the same rates of growth of the measured inputs. The degree of returns to scale at the economy-wide level is not precisely known. The assumption used by Edward F. Denison (1961) for the degree of returns to scale for the U.S. is 1.1, that is, if all inputs are doubled, output will be increased by 1.1 times. On the assumption that this also holds for the Chinese economy, it implies that Chinese economic growth will be 10 percent higher each year than an economy with the same rates of growth of capital and labor inputs but without the economies of scale. Of course, the effects of economies of scale are sometimes confounded with those of technical progress or growth of total factor productivity (there is an identification problem). However, if there were economies of scale at all, they should be manifested in the Chinese economy.

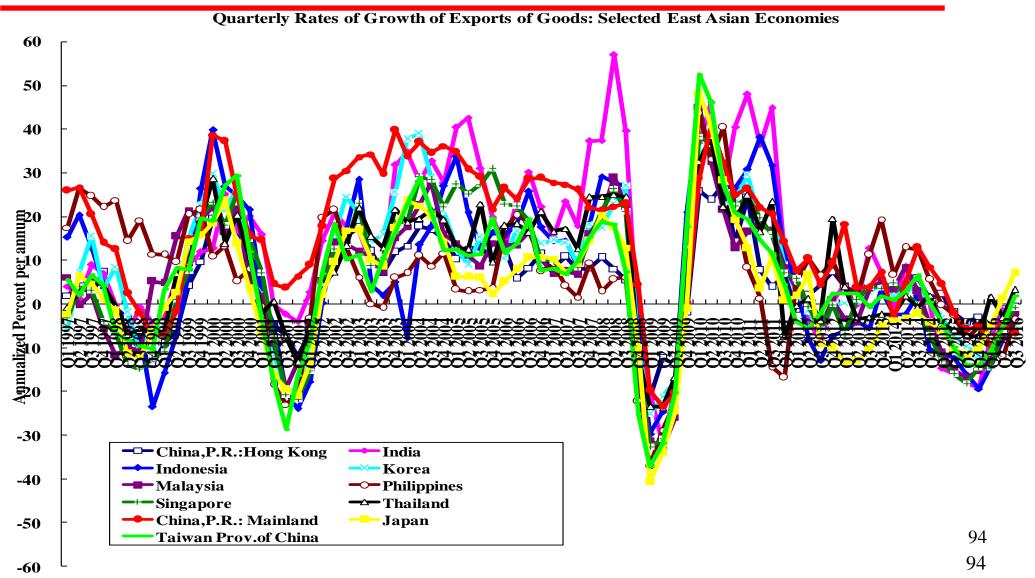
Chinese Economic Fundamentals: Huge Domestic Market

◆ Suppose the annual rates of growth of the inputs in the economy are 7%. Under constant returns to scale, the economy will grow at 7% per annum. However, under increasing returns to scale of degree 1.1, the economy will grow at 7.7% per annum. In 10 years, the economy with economies of scale will be 7% larger than the one without; in 20 years, 14%; and in 40 years, 31%, a significant difference. Thus, the existence of economies of scale can make a huge difference in the level of GDP in a few decades. Moreover, economies of scale can increase the rates of return to investment and may lead to higher investment rates than otherwise.

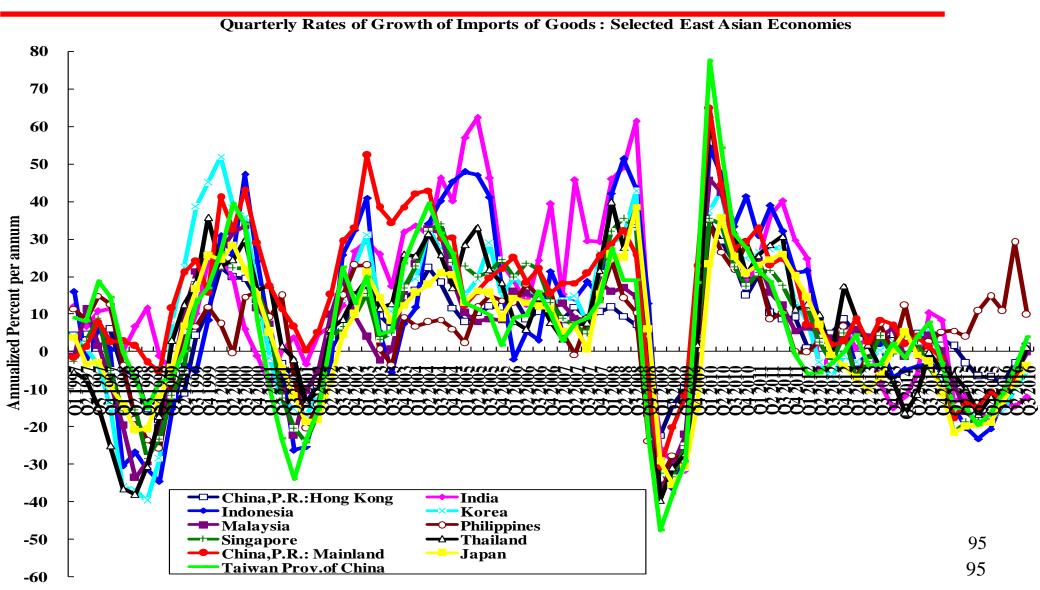
Chinese Economic Fundamentals: The Huge Domestic Market

- ◆ Another important and favorable implication of a large domestic economy is the relatively low degree of external dependence and hence vulnerability. Large continental economies, such as China, Russia and the United States, are likely to be self-sufficient in many of the resources because of their large size and geographically diversified location. These economies are also mostly driven by their internal demands, and not by international trade. For example, exports have never been very important to the U.S. economy, and the U.S. economy has never been dependent on international trade, except perhaps in the 19th Century. The Chinese economy is similar—China has adequate supplies of most natural resources domestically (with the possible exception of oil). Chinese economic growth in the future decades will be mostly driven by internal demand rather than exports.
- ◆ Thus, while the rates of growth of Chinese exports and imports fluctuate like other economies, the rate of growth of Chinese real GDP has been relatively much more stable. China is relatively immune to external disturbances, just like other large economies such as the U.S. and Japan (China is represented by a red line in the following charts.) ⁹³

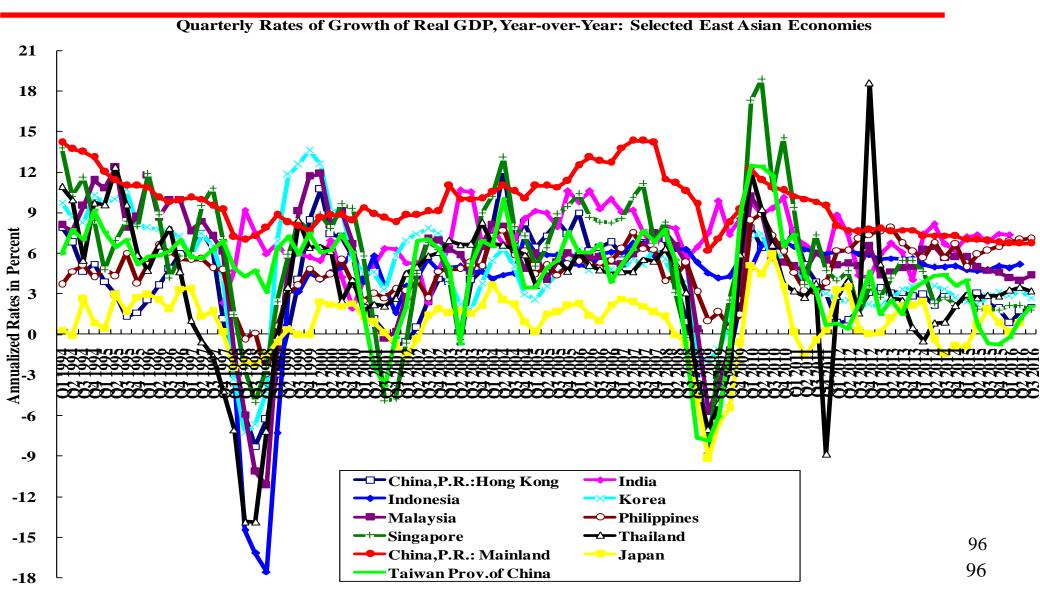
Quarterly Rates of Growth of Exports of Goods: Selected East Asian Economies



Quarterly Rates of Growth of Imports of Goods: Selected East Asian Economies



Quarterly Rates of Growth of Real GDP, Y-o-Y: Selected East Asian Economies



The "Wild Geese Flying Pattern"--The Further Advantage of China's Size

- Professor Kaname Akamatsu (1962) was the first to introduce the metaphor of the "wild-geese-flying pattern" of East Asian economic development, which suggests that industrialization will spread from economy to economy within East Asia as the initially fast-growing economies, beginning with Japan, run out of surplus labor and face labor shortages, rising real wage rates, and quota restrictions on their exports, and need to relocate some of its industries to lower-cost economies. The fastest-growing economy will thus slow down and a lower-cost economy will take over as the fastest-growing economy.
- ◆ Thus, East Asian industrialization spread from Japan to first Hong Kong in the mid-1950s, and then Taiwan in the late 1950s, and then South Korea and Singapore in the mid-1960s, and then Southeast Asia (Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia) in the 1970s, and then to Guangdong, Shanghai, Jiangsu and Zhejiang in China as China undertook economic reform and opened to the world beginning in 1978. During this industrial migration, the large trading firms such as Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Marubeni and Sumitomo of Japan and Li and Fung of Hong Kong played an important role as financiers, intermediaries, quality assurers, and managers of logistics and supply chains.

The "Wild Geese Flying Pattern"—The Further Advantage of China's Size

- ◆ This metaphor actually applies not only to East Asia but also to China itself because of its large size. Within China, industrialisation first started in the coastal provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities and then would migrate and spread to other provinces, regions and municipalities in the interior—to Chongqing, Henan, Hunan, Jiangxi, Shaanxi and Sichuan—as real wage rates rose on the coast.
- ◆ As the coastal provinces, regions and municipalities began to slow down in their economic growth, the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities in the central and western regions of China would take their turns as the fastest growing areas in China. China as a whole will therefore be able to maintain a relatively high rate of growth for many years to come.

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The "Wild Geese Flying Pattern"—The Further Advantage of China's Size

◆ The economies of the Chinese coastal regions such as the Pearl River Delta (Guangdong Province) and the Yangzi River Delta (Jiangsu and Zhejiang Provinces and Shanghai Municipality) would have slowed down a long time ago had it not been for the couple of hundreds of million migrant labourers that flocked to these regions from the interior, constantly replenishing the supply of surplus labour there.

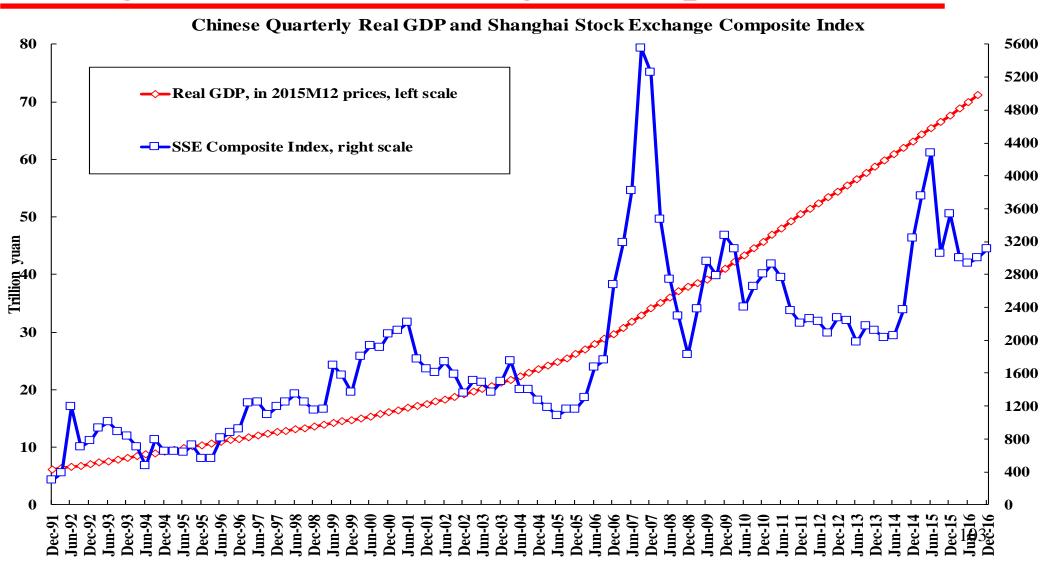
Chinese Economic Fundamentals: The Relative Backwardness

- ◆ In addition to a high domestic savings rate, abundant surplus labor, rising investment in intangible capital (human capital and R&D capital), and the huge domestic market, China also has the advantage of relative backwardness.
- ◆ Thus, the Chinese economy has:
 - ◆ The ability to learn from the experiences of successes and failures of other economies, e.g., by adopting an export-oriented rather than an import-substitution development strategy;
 - ◆ The ability to leap-frog and by-pass stages of development (e.g., the telex machine, the VHS video-tape player, and the fixed landline telephone are all mostly unknown in China; and the personal computer is not a household consumer good as it was in the developed economies); and
 - ◆ The possibility of creation without destruction (e.g., online virtual bookstores like Amazon.com do not have to destroy brick and mortar bookstores which do not exist in the first place; internet shopping versus brick and mortar malls).

Chinese Economic Fundamentals: The Unimportance of the Stock Market

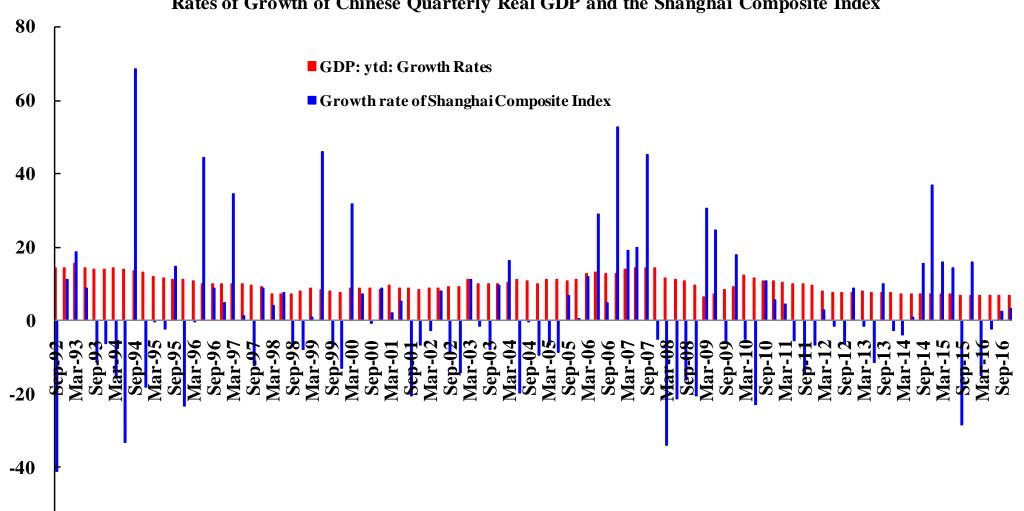
- ◆ What is the impact of the bursting of the Chinese stock market bubble in June 2015 on the Chinese economy itself? It should be realized that this is not the first time that a Chinese stock market price bubble burst. It happened once before, in 2007, when the peak of the bubble was higher and the trough was lower than the current one (see the following chart). However, neither the run-up of the stock price bubble, or its subsequent burst, appeared to have had much effect on the Chinese real economy.
- ◆ Why is this the case? One reason is that approximately 90 percent of the Chinese stock investors are individual retail investors, who tend to hold their shares for only brief periods, and trade very often. It is probably more accurate to describe their behavior as "gambling" rather than "investing". Moreover, for the longest time, "Initial Public Offerings (IPOs)" were suspended on Chinese stock markets. Thus, the developments in the real economy and the stock market are uncorrelated. The next two charts also show that the real rates of growth of the Chinese economy are basically uncorrelated with the rates of growth of the Shanghai Composite Stock Price Index.

The Chinese Quarterly Real GDP and the Shanghai Stock Exchange Composite Index



The Rates of Growth of Chinese Quarterly Real GDP and the Shanghai Stock Index (1993-

Rates of Growth of Chinese Quarterly Real GDP and the Shanghai Composite Index



The Chinese Economic Fundamentals

- ◆ However, while good economic fundamentals are necessary for a sustained high rate of growth of an economy, they are by no means sufficient.
- ◆ In the thirty years between 1949, the year of the founding of the People's Republic of China, and 1978, the first year of the Chinese economic reform and opening, China also had (1) a high domestic saving rate; (2) an unlimited supply of surplus labour; and (3) a large domestic economy. But the Chinese economy did not experience a sustained high rate of growth during that period.
- ◆ Similarly, the former Soviet Union also had a high rate of tangible capital accumulation as well as a large domestic economy, but did not experience a sustained high rate of economic growth either.

China as a Surplus Economy

- ◆ After the completion of the transition to an open market economy, the Chinese economy grew rapidly on the basis of a high investment rate, surplus labour and economies of scale on the supply side and the expansion of export demand as a result of accession to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2001 and pent-up domestic demand of a rising middle class on the demand side.
- ◆ With a high domestic investment rate of over 40% of its GDP, China in the early 2000s has begun to evolve into not only a surplus labour economy but also a surplus capital economy.
- ◆ The high domestic investment rate, enabled by a high national saving rate, has resulted in massively excess manufacturing capacities almost everywhere. The average capacity utilisation rate of many manufacturing industries is around 70%.

China as a Surplus Economy

- ◆ Given the excess manufacturing capacities, Chinese real GDP is actually not supply-constrained but aggregate demand-determined. If there is aggregate demand, there will be sufficient supply forthcoming to meet the demand.
- ◆ The growth of exports and fixed investment in manufacturing and residential housing can no longer be the principal drivers of the growth of Chinese aggregate demand.

China as a Surplus Economy: Huge Excess Capacities in Manufacturing Sectors

- ◆ The fact that loans do not have to be repaid by the borrowers if things turn out badly leads to blind expansion of manufacturing capacities, resulting in huge excesses in industries such as steel, cement, glass, aluminum, ship-building, solar panels, residential housing, etc.
- ◆ It also means that a high interest rate alone is not an effective deterrent to borrowing and to investment—this explains why the Chinese central bank has had to resort to credit rationing.
- ◆ The chronically excess demand for credit is also in part responsible for the growth of "shadow banking" in Mainland China. Shadow banking has resulted in higher "effective" borrowing rates for those enterprises and individuals who are able to obtain credit because of the shift to making "shadow loans" rather than regular bank loans on the part of banks.

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China as a Surplus Economy: Aggregate Demand-Constrained Output

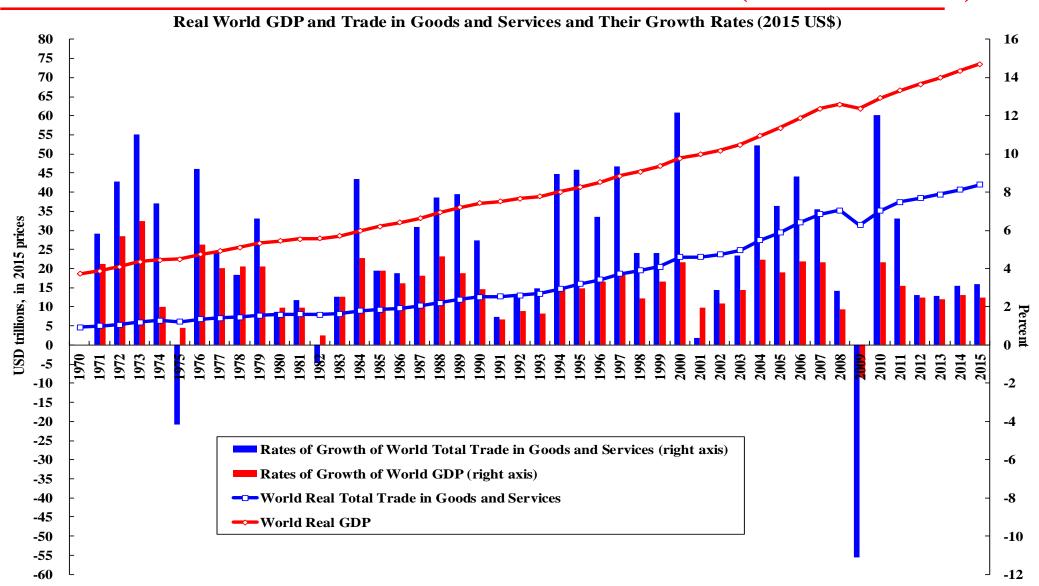
- ◆ The massively excess fixed investment in manufacturing has resulted in huge excess manufacturing capacities in China in industries such as steel, cement, glass, aluminum, ship-building, solar panels, residential housing, etc. at the present time.
- ◆ One important implication of the excess capacities in the Chinese manufacturing sector is that the Chinese real output or GDP is not supply-constrained but aggregate-demand-constrained—as long as there is aggregate demand, the supply will be there to meet the demand.
- ◆ The Chinese GDP is therefore primarily determined by aggregate demand at the present time and the Government can exercise a decisive influence on the level of aggregate demand.
- ◆ Thus, China should be able to continue to grow at an average annual rate of around 6.5% for the next five to ten years, more or less independently of what happens in the rest of the World.

Global Economic Trends: The Slowdown in GDP and Trade Growth

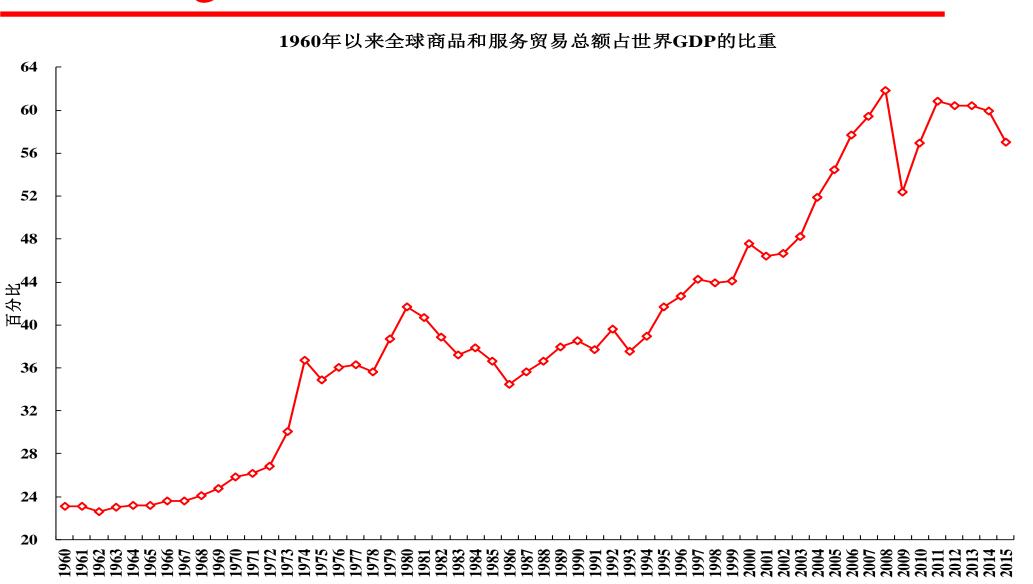
- ◆ Since the global financial crisis that began with the U.S. sub-prime loan crisis in 2007, the growth of world trade has slowed significantly and has even turned negative more recently. (For the value of world trade in nominal terms, the recent fall in the world price of oil is an important factor.)
- ◆ Similarly, the growth of world GDP has also slowed. Recently the International Monetary Fund has had to lower its projections of world GDP growth. World GDP was projected to grow at 3.1% in 2016 and 3.4% in 2017.
- ◆ The projected growth rate for the U.S. has been raised to around 3% but those for Europe and Japan have remained at between 1% and 2%. There is also a great deal of uncertainty in 2017. The outlook for the developing economies is slightly better, with China projected to grow at 6.5% and India projected to grow at 7% or higher.

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Real World GDP and Trade in Goods and Services and Their Growth Rates (2015 US\$)



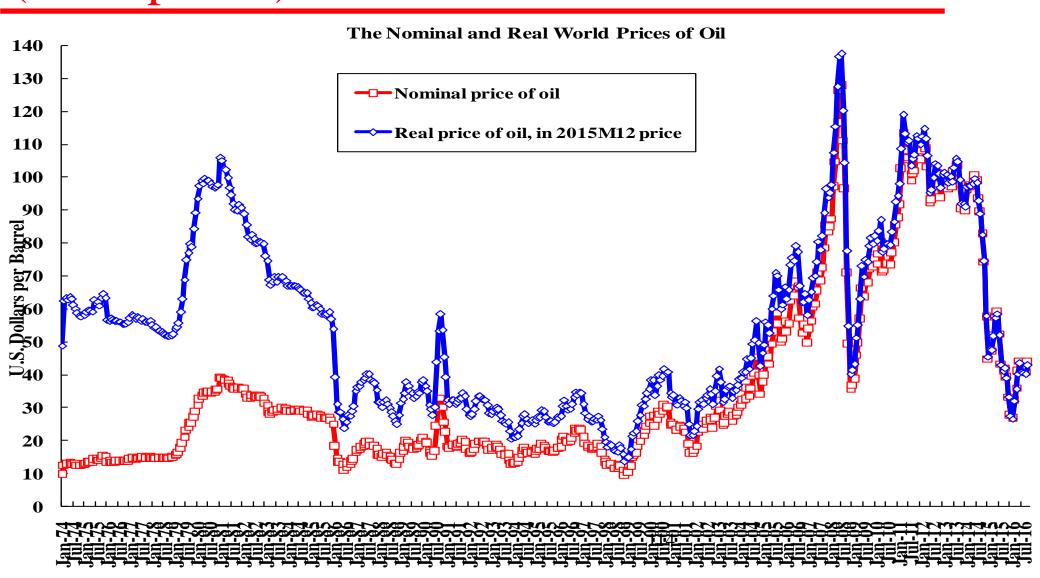
Total World Trade in Goods and Services as a Percentage of World GDP since 1960



Global Economic Trends: The World Price of Oil

- ◆ The world price of oil has been falling since 2014. In real terms it is now back where it was before its spectacular rise in 2004.
- ◆ Overall, the fall in the world price of oil has to be regarded as a net positive factor for the world economy.
- ◆ The world price of oil is not really determined by supply and demand. It has never been determined by supply and demand. It is an oligopolistic market. The largest producer, Saudi Arabia, used to produce at the rate of 8.5 million barrels a day. Currently, it produces at more than 10 million barrels a day. It has the capacity of producing 12.5 barrels a day.
- ♦ However, given the advances in shale oil technology ("fracking") and the abundant potential supply in the U.S., which can be tapped in a matter of months, it is unlikely that the world price of oil will rise above US\$60 a barrel for a long time.

The Nominal and Real World Prices of Oil (2015 prices)



- ◆ Going forward, will the Chinese economy continue to grow at close to 10 percent per annum in the future? The short answer is no for many reasons. The target rate of growth under the "New Normal" is likely to be around 7 percent per annum.
- ♦ However, it is important to realise that because the Chinese economy is now much bigger--a 7% rate of growth today will generate an absolute increase in real GDP equivalent to what a 14% rate of growth would have done ten years ago.
- ◆ On the supply side, the Chinese economy will still have strong economic fundamentals--a high domestic saving rate, abundant labour, and a huge domestic market that enables the realisation of economies of scale—for a couple of decades. Moreover, advances in the information and communication technology has enhanced the positive effects of economies of scale even further.
- ◆ In time, Chinese economic growth will also be driven by innovation and technical progress in addition to the growth in tangible inputs.

◆ On the demand side, Chinese economic growth will be driven by the growth of its own internal demand, consisting of public infrastructural investment (for example, high-speed railroads and urban mass transit systems, public wifi towers, affordable housing), public goods consumption (education, health care, elderly care, and environmental control, preservation and restoration—clean air, water and soil) as well as household consumption, rather than the growth of exports, or fixed investment in the manufacturing sector, or residential real estate.

- ◆ In the medium term, say in the next three to five years, economic stimulus is unlikely to be inflationary because of the excess manufacturing capacities already in place, especially if the economic stimulus is carefully targeted.
- ◆ In the longer term, there is still a great deal of room for Chinese GDP to grow. There is still a significant supply of surplus labour. Both the tangible capital and the intangible capital per unit labour in China are still relatively low compared to the developed economies. Moreover, there is substantial scope for the further growth of human capital and R&D capital.

Tangible Capital per Unit Labour, 2013 US\$, China and the U.S.



- ◆ China has also been gradually changing from its role as the world's factory to the world's new growth market. It is already the world's largest exporting country and is on its way to becoming the largest importing country in a couple of years.
- ◆ The Chinese trade surplus vis-a-vis the world has been declining and will continue to decline until Chinese international trade is approximately balanced.

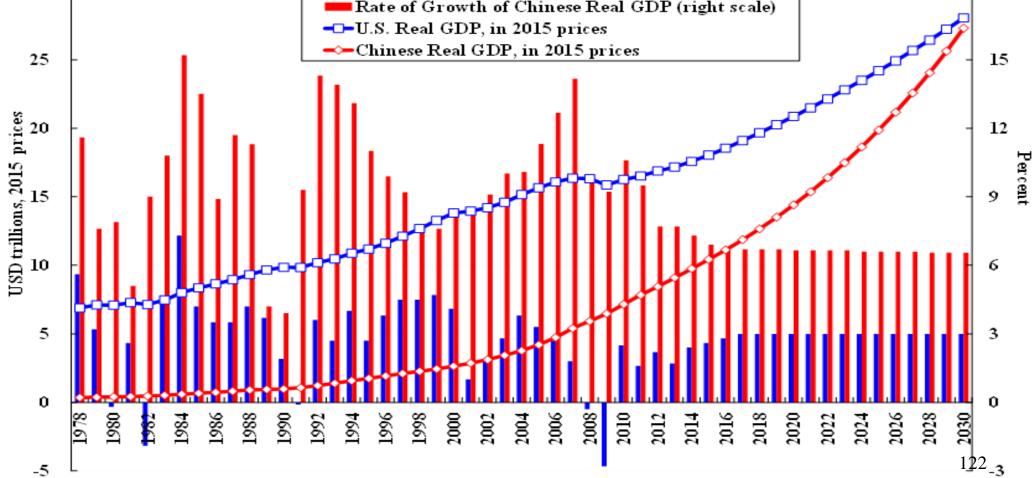
- ◆ There is a positive factor for the World economy as the energy markets of the World gradually shift in favour of consumers rather than producers as the anticipated additional supplies of unconventional sources of energy, including shale oil and gas, materialise, especially from the U.S.
- ◆ Yet, the possibility of another global financial crisis cannot be completely ruled out. Despite the implementation of the Basel III rules for the regulation of banks and the passage of the Dodd-Frank Act (which is about to be overturned) in the U.S., the regulation and supervision of financial institutions in the developed economies remain weak and can be further watered down by lobbyists for the financial institutions.

Projections of the Future

◆ It is projected that the Chinese and the U.S. economies will grow at average annual real rates of approximately 6.5% and 3.0% respectively between 2016 and 2030. Chinese real GDP is projected to catch up to U.S. real GDP around 2030, at which time both Chinese and U.S. real GDP will exceed US\$28 trillion (in 2015 prices), almost three times the Chinese GDP and approximately one and a half times the U.S. GDP in 2015. By that time, China and the U.S. will each account for approximately 15% of world GDP.

Actual and Projected Real GDPs and their Annual Rates of Growth: China & the U.S.

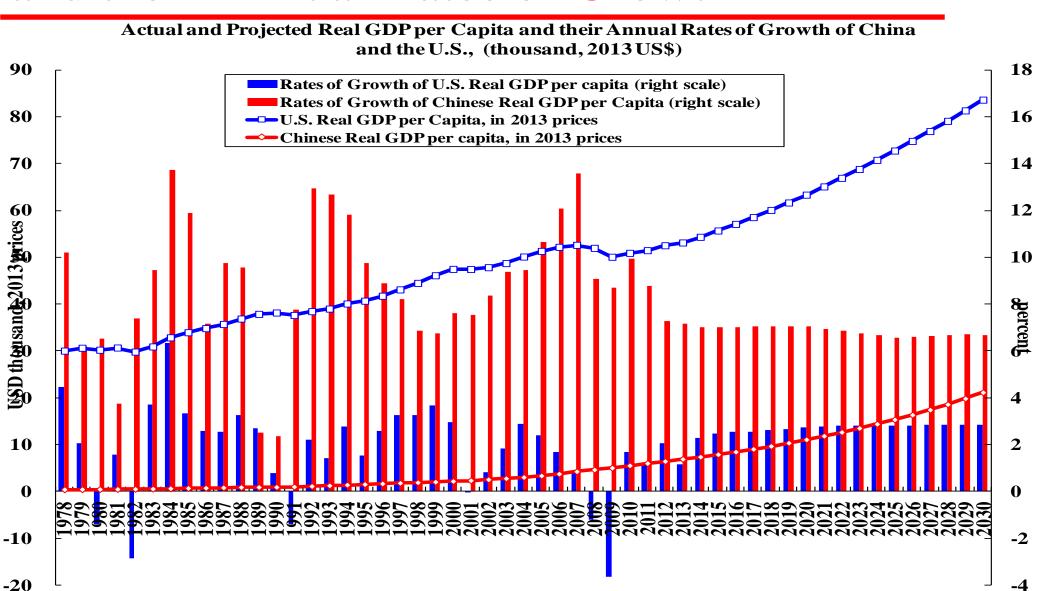




Projections of the Future

◆ By 2030, the Chinese real GDP per capita is projected to reach 19,000 (in 2015 prices), which would still be less than a quarter of the projected then U.S. real GDP per capita of US\$77,000. It will probably take until 2060 for China to catch up to the United States in terms of real GDP per capita.

Actual and Projected Real GDP per Capita's and their Annual Rates of Growth



- ◆ Chinese economic growth since economic reform and opening to the World began in 1978 can be mostly attributed to the growth of tangible inputs—tangible capital and labor, and in particular, tangible capital—rather than the growth in intangible capital or technical progress, just as the past economic growth of other East Asian economies at a similar stage of economic development.
- ◆ The successful Chinese experience strongly reaffirms the fundamental importance of having and maintaining a high investment rate, enabled by a high national savings rate, and surplus labor.
- ◆ In addition, the size of the Chinese domestic economy is a favorable factor allowing the ready realization of economies of scale and reducing vulnerability to external disturbances.
- ◆ The Chinese experience also reaffirms the importance of basic infrastructure and the maintenance of economic openness to the successful development of an economy.

- ◆ The center of gravity of the world economy has been gradually shifting to East and South Asia. The center of gravity of the East Asian economy has been gradually shifting to China.
- ◆ The Chinese and East Asian economies have been partially de-coupled from the United States and Europe.
- ◆ Will the Chinese economy be able to avoid the "Middle-Income-Trap"? The answer is yes.
- ◆ The Chinese economy will catch up to the U.S. economy in terms of aggregate GDP some time around 2030. However, it will be past the middle of this century, perhaps around 2060, before the Chinese economy can catch up to the U.S. economy in terms of per capita GDP (bear in mind that in the meantime, the U.S. economy will also continue to grow, albeit at rates significantly lower than those of the Chinese economy and that the Chinese population is likely to reach a plateau in 2045).

- ◆ In the short to medium term, continuing Chinese economic growth going forward will depend mostly on the growth of internal demand (public infrastructural investment, public goods consumption (education, health care and environmental control, preservation and restoration) and household consumption) and not on exports and not on manufacturing capacity expansion in the existing industries.
- ◆ The growth in household consumption will do its part, especially in the demand for services. The expanding and rising middle class will play a crucial role.
- ◆ In the longer run, Chinese economic growth will make a transition from tangible-inputs-driven to intangible-inputs- or innovation-driven.

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- ◆ The growth of intangible capital (human capital and R&D capital) will have to become a much more important source of Chinese economic growth as it has already become in the more developed East Asian economies such as Japan, South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan.
- ◆ The "New Normal" is thus neither a "boom" of close to double-digit rates of growth, nor a "bust" of negative or low single-digit real rates of growth. There will be both sufficient supply and demand in the Chinese economy to support an average annual real rate of growth of around 6.5%.

- ◆ China is a large continental country like the United States and will similarly develop into a largely internal-demand driven economy. International trade and international investment will not have a decisive impact on the Chinese economy in the future. Eventually, Chinese exports as a percent of its GDP should be relatively low, in the teens.
- ◆ Chinese economic growth will be marginally, but not critically, affected by a large decline in its exports, as demonstrated by its experience in the past several years as well as during the 1997-1998 East Asian currency crisis. Thus, it will be able to survive even prolonged economic recessions in the European and U.S. economies.

- ◆ Given the huge excess capacities in the Chinese manufacturing industries, in the time frame of the next five to ten years, Chinese GDP, as mentioned above, will not be supply-constrained but will be primarily determined by aggregate demand. China should have no problem achieving a rate of real economic growth of around 6.5%.
- ◆ Beyond that, on the basis of its strong economic fundamentals, China should also be able to continue to grow at an average annual rate of 6.5% for the following decade, more or less independently of what happens in the rest of the World.
- ◆ The declared goal of doubling real GDP per capita between 2013 and 2020 should be readily achievable.