



## Oh, The Places We Could Go<sup>1</sup>: on the US dollar, reserve currencies and the South China Morning Post

Before getting into the US\$ discussion, two quick things.

#1: Despite strong US data in Q1 and Q2, the US still appears headed for a slowdown later this year. As shown below, many longer-horizon leading indicators point in that direction. Excess household savings are also being run down and should be 60%-70% depleted by the end of the year. Click [here](#) for the chart collection.

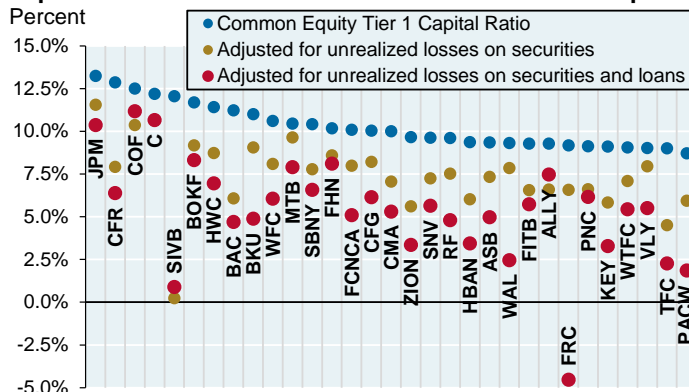
#	Category	Leading indicator...	Advanced by...	Predicts a deterioration in...
1	Economy	New orders less inventories in ISM survey	3 months	ISM manufacturing index
2	Employment	Unemployment, labor force participation rate, PCE inflation and avg. hourly earnings	12 months	Non-farm payrolls
3	Employment	Single family home sales	16 months	Initial jobless claims
4	Inflation	Small business pricing plans	12 months	Median CPI
5	Inflation-goods	Retail inventory to sales ratio	12 months	Core goods CPI
6	Inflation-services	Services prices in ISM survey	9 months	Consumer price inflation in services
7	Inflation-services	Producer prices inflation in services	9 months	Consumer price inflation in services
8	Inflation-services	Job openings	9 months	CPI in services ex-shelter
9	Lending	Banks tightening C&I loans	9 months	Corporate defaults
10	Lending	Respondents reporting tighter credit standards	9 months	Bank lending
11	Construction	Leading economic indicators	18 months	Construction activity
12	Profits	Fed Funds Rate, effective corporate tax rate, unemployment and productivity growth	8 months	Economy-wide profits
13	Profits	Economic activity, business confidence, supplier deliveries, wages, inflation, cyclical GDP	12 months	S&P profits
14	Rents	Zillow observed rent index	12 months	Rent inflation
15	Revenue	Active truck utilization	6 months	S&P revenue growth
16	Wages	Avg. growth in wages advertised in job postings	4 months	Median wages
17	Wages	Rehiring rate proxy	12 months	Wages

Source: Alpine Macro, Bloomberg, Morgan Stanley, Piper Sandler, Steno Research, Trahan Macro Research, JPMAM. April 2023.

#2: **A chicken pox party and US regional banks.** I don't have too much more to say on this. On March 10 and April 10 I walked through all the balance sheet mechanics and the combination of (a) the Fed's yield curve manipulation, monetary expansion and inflation blunder, (b) poor asset-liability and duration decisions by some banks and (c) over-concentration by depositors ignoring FDIC guarantee limits which got us to where we are.

The only thing I will add: given "collective responsibility" rules under which existing large banks are on the hook for any losses incurred by the FDIC as it dismantles failed ones, large banks have economic incentives to throw lifelines to unviable banks that they might otherwise not throw. I'm not sure that this kind of "chicken pox party" is such a great idea for reducing contagion, but we will see.

### Impact of unrealized securities and loan losses on capital



Source: JPMAM, Q4 2022. All calculations based on 10-K reports

To be clear, banks have footed the bill in the past for large losses incurred by the FDIC. In 2009, the FDIC imposed a replenishment fee that was based on assets minus Tier 1 capital rather than on deposits, in order to shift more of the burden to bigger banks. If the FDIC is going to end up bailing out uninsured depositors with big banks footing the bill, some kind of graduated deposit insurance makes sense under which all banks pay higher guarantee fees for larger commercial deposits, scaled as well for the degree to which uninsured deposits make up the bulk of their funding.

<sup>1</sup> Inspired by "Oh, The Places You'll Go!", Dr. Seuss' last book which was published in 1990

**Oh, The Places We Could Go: on the US dollar, reserve currencies and the South China Morning Post**

There was an article in the South China Morning Post on April 4<sup>th</sup> entitled “*End of dollar dominance will also spell demise of US hegemony*”. Oh, the places we could go on this one: we could explore press freedom by country with data from the World Economic Forum; issues related to the ownership of that particular publication; Chinese currency intervention after its acceptance into the World Trade Organization and the impact on US manufacturing wages; mercantilism measures from the OECD; and country-specific assessments of rule of law, judicial independence, property rights and capital controls, all of which affect reserve currency status.

Now is a bad time to do that, and since I’ve written about these topics before I will only address the dollar reserve currency issue since clients ask about it. Looking at the big picture is important to avoid being overly influenced by individual anecdotes about countries adopting the Chinese RMB or other currencies for trading and settlement purposes. De-dollarization is a hot topic, but there’s more smoke than fire so far.

**To be clear, reserve currency status is a big deal.** The US share of global trade is just ~12% and the US share of global GDP is ~25%. Yet the dollar’s share of foreign exchange, trade invoicing, debt issuance and foreign exchange reserve investment is much higher, which is why the dollar is known as the world’s reserve currency. Around 35% of all Treasury bonds are owned by foreign official and private sector investors; should that figure drop to 20% (the average foreign ownership share for high grade sovereign issuers in Europe<sup>2</sup>), there could be a sharp increase in US interest rates to absorb an additional \$3.6 trillion in Treasury supply. Let’s take a look.

**Table of Contents**

i.	Foreign exchange, trade and international finance .....	3
ii.	Investment of foreign exchange reserves .....	4
iii.	What about the impact of US sanctions on the desire to hold dollar reserves? .....	5
iv.	What about central bank diversification into gold? .....	6
v.	The risks to China of greater capital account openness.....	7
vi.	The Russia-China axis and the behavior of non-aligned nations.....	8
vii.	Threats to reserve currency status and overvaluation are two different things .....	8
viii.	What about Central Bank selling of Treasuries during COVID?.....	9
ix.	Anything to learn from the history of the US dollar overtaking the British pound in the 20 <sup>th</sup> century? .....	9
x.	Wrapping up: the US has around 20 years to figure it out.....	10
xi.	Appendix and Sources .....	11

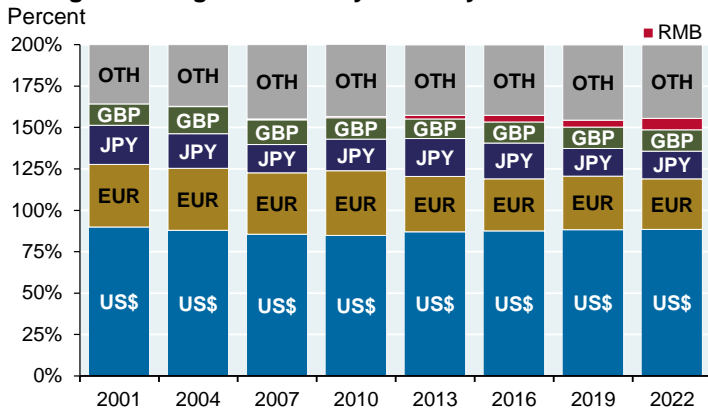
<sup>2</sup> Germany, France, Netherlands and Austria are the major high-grade sovereign issuers of the Eurozone. Around 20% of their sovereign debt is held outside the Eurosystem. This figure was higher before the ECB Pandemic Emergency Purchase Program absorbed EUR 1.7 trillion in government debt (Eichengreen and Gros, 2020).



**i. Foreign exchange, trade and international finance**

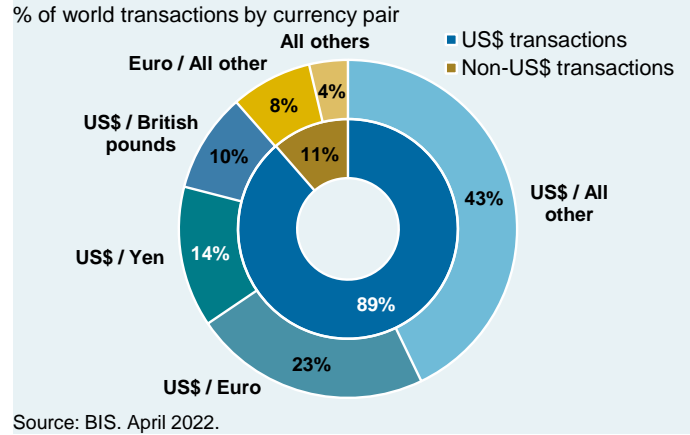
The dollar’s role in foreign exchange markets is mostly unchanged over the last 20+ years; in 2022 the dollar accounted for ~89% of all FX transactions. In other words, the dollar was involved on one side or the other in 89% of all global transactions. The dollar’s average turnover per day was \$6.6 trillion in 2022, up 14% from \$5.8 trillion in 2019 and in line with the change in total turnover. In addition to dominating the spot market, the dollar also dominates 85% of currency forward and swap markets. The RMB share has grown but is still not large enough for the label to fit in the red segment in the bar chart.

**Foreign exchange turnover by currency**



Source: BIS. April 2022.

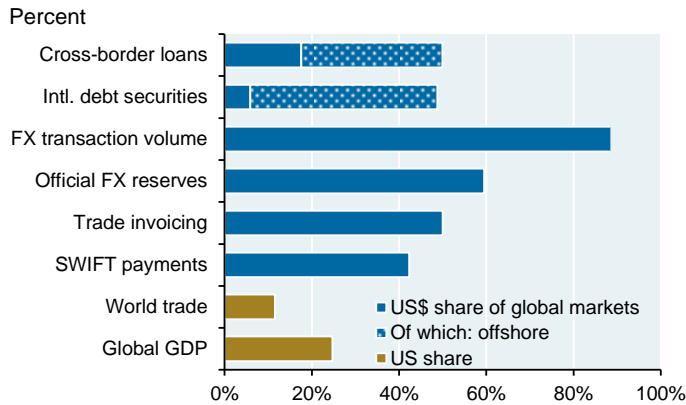
**Dollar still dominates FX transactions**



Source: BIS. April 2022.

**Part of the reason for the dollar’s dominance in foreign exchange: its use as a medium of exchange in trade and international finance.** As shown below, around half of all cross-border loans and international debt securities are denominated in dollars. For 65% of all global loan issuance and 88% of all international debt issuance, non-US entities are the issuer/borrower; that’s a clear demonstration of the dollar’s dominance in international finance. The dollar is also used for around half of all trade invoicing, much higher than the dollar’s 12% share in global trade.

**The international role of the US dollar**



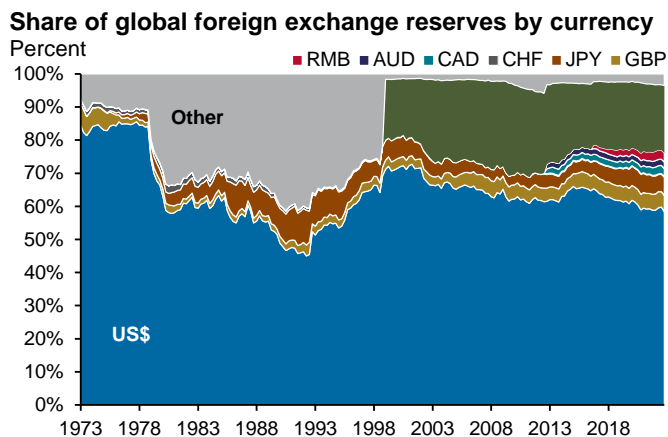
Source: BIS Quarterly Review. December 5, 2022.



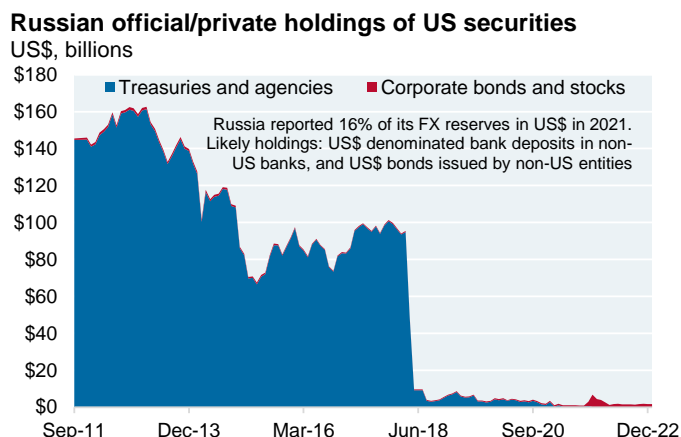
**ii. Investment of foreign exchange reserves**

The dollar is still the dominant currency of choice for investment of foreign exchange reserves at ~60%. The dollar’s share has declined by ~6% since 2015 as some Central Banks diversify holdings away from the dollar and the euro. However, most of this shift (~75%) is explained by increased allocations into currencies of smaller economies, which is a recent phenomenon: Australian and Canadian dollars, Swedish krona and Korean won. Note that the abrupt selling of Treasuries by Russia shown on the right has not been repeated elsewhere.

**Only 25% of the shift is explained by increased allocations to the Chinese RMB**, much of which is driven by Russia which holds one third of all Chinese RMB reserves. China’s government bond market is the third largest in the world (larger than Germany, France and Spain combined) and the IMF added China to its Special Drawing Rights Basket in 2016, providing some impetus for other Central Banks to add it; but it’s very slow going so far.



Source: International Monetary Fund, JPMAM, Q4 2022.



Source: US Treasury, JPMAM, 2023

FX reserves by country, excluding gold and including SDRs, US\$ millions					
1 China	3,247,257	6 Saudi Arabia	452,231	11 Singapore	289,153
2 Japan	1,203,213	7 Russia	446,713	12 United States	235,949
3 Switzerland	837,358	8 Hong Kong	428,999	13 Thailand	210,346
4 Taiwan	567,114	9 South Korea	419,444	14 Israel	200,490
5 India	521,183	10 Brazil	332,907	15 Mexico	198,636
		16 Poland	155,798	17 Britain	153,635
		18 Czech	139,801	19 Indonesia	135,755
		20 Germany	99,735		

Source: Bloomberg, JP Morgan. 2023. Countries show n = 85% of global reserves

A recent article in the FT cited the 8% decline in dollar reserves in absolute terms over the last couple of years as evidence of the dollar’s weakening status<sup>3</sup>. **But as Brad Setser<sup>4</sup> at the Council on Foreign Relations explains, this reasoning is flawed and an example of sloppy economics:**

- The decline in absolute dollar reserves is mostly a reflection of valuation changes in reserve portfolios as US rates rose and bond prices fell
- Central banks also sold dollars as the dollar rose in value to maintain the shares they held in other currencies such as the pound, yen and euro (normal portfolio rebalancing)
- Japan sold \$50 billion to halt the slide in the yen last year (not a dollar diversification event)
- The IMF data cited above only reflects Central Bank foreign exchange reserve allocations. Other material holders of US debt securities include Sovereign Wealth funds and state banks, and there’s no evidence of de-dollarization there either

<sup>3</sup> “Dollar 😞”, Financial Times, April 19, 2023

<sup>4</sup> Brad Setser at CFR is one of my favorite sources on all matters pertaining to foreign exchange, central bank reserves, balance of payments, trade, etc. Brad also served as a staff economist at the US Treasury focusing on international economic analysis



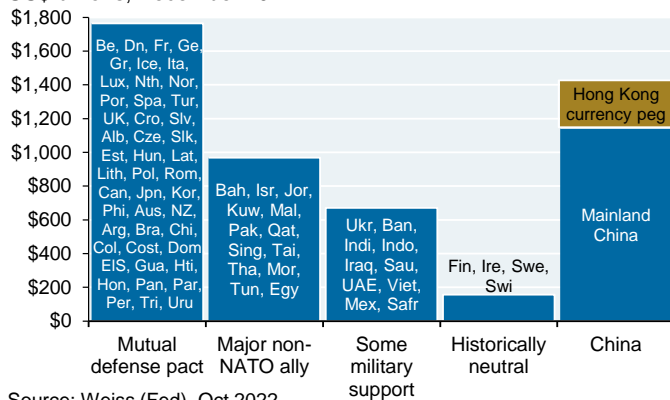
**iii. What about the impact of US sanctions on the desire to hold dollar reserves?**

Since the freezing of Russian assets after the Ukraine invasion, there has been speculation on the impact of sanctions on the dollar’s reserve currency status. While the US also imposed sanctions on Afghanistan, Iran, Libya and Venezuela, the Russian sanctions were applied more broadly and to a larger economy. **However, reserve currency risks to the dollar may be exaggerated:**

- Several studies find linkages between geopolitical ties and a country’s FX reserve investments. This is observed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century; and from the 1960’s to the 1980’s, dollar reserves were held exclusively by political allies of the US reliant on its military support. Emerging economies also tend to allocate reserves to currencies of countries from whom they import military equipment (Iancu et al, 2020)
- What about today? The Fed’s International Finance Division found that 50%-60% of US “safe dollar assets” are held by foreign governments that have consistently strong ties with the US (Weiss, Oct 2022). This figure rises to 75% when including countries with military cooperation agreements with the US (non-NATO allies eligible for access to US military supplies) and neutral countries, two of which are joining NATO. Safe dollar assets include Treasuries, Agencies and short-term debts of US financial institutions. As for the sanctions-related benefits of diversifying, the immobilization of Russia’s reserves froze even more euros than dollars
- **Hong Kong’s** currency peg to the dollar stipulates that at least 80% of its liquid assets be held in dollars (currently its dollar assets are ~90%). Similarly, **Saudi Arabia and the UAE** peg their currencies to the dollar since most oil sales are invoiced in dollars
- **Brazil** President Lula expressed frustrations on the dollar’s central role but the dollar still accounts for 80% of Brazil’s FX reserves. Brazil’s RMB holdings (5.4%) have surpassed the Euro (4.8%), but amounts are small
- What about **China**? Its bankers told Chinese officials in April 2022 that diversifying into Yen or Euros was “not practical”<sup>5</sup> given the size of China’s reserves (see Appendix for comments on the collapse in trading volumes of Japanese government bonds). While Chinese holdings in dollars have been declining, the dollar share of China’s FX reserves is roughly unchanged at ~60% (Brad Setser, CFR)

**Est. safe dollar asset holdings by foreign official investors**

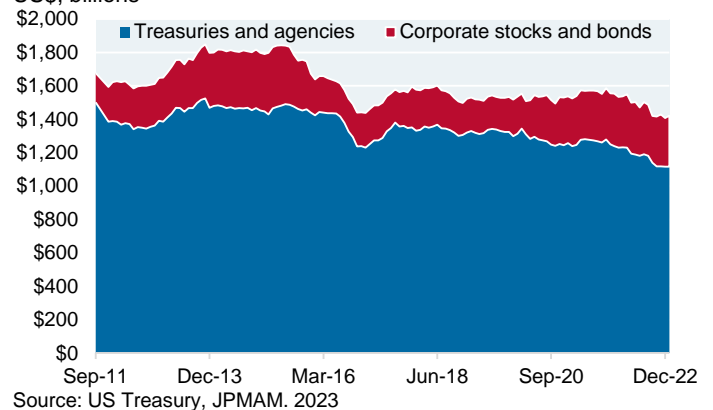
US\$ billions, December 2021



Source: Weiss (Fed), Oct 2022.

**China official/private holdings of US securities**

US\$, billions



Source: US Treasury, JPMAM, 2023

**A trifecta of circumstances that could reduce the dollar’s share of global FX reserves below 50%:** emerging economies reduce their dollar share of reserves to levels based on their dollar export invoicing; China reduces the dollar share of its reserves by 10%, or \$320 billion; and Hong Kong abandons its peg, divesting of \$170 billion in Treasuries. In this case, the dollar would account for 40%-50% of global FX reserves, down from 60% today (Weiss, Oct 2022). Even so, the dollar would still be projected to capture twice the share of global FX reserves than any other currency.

<sup>5</sup> “China meets banks to discuss protecting assets from US sanctions”, Financial Times, April 30, 2022



**iv. What about central bank diversification into gold?**

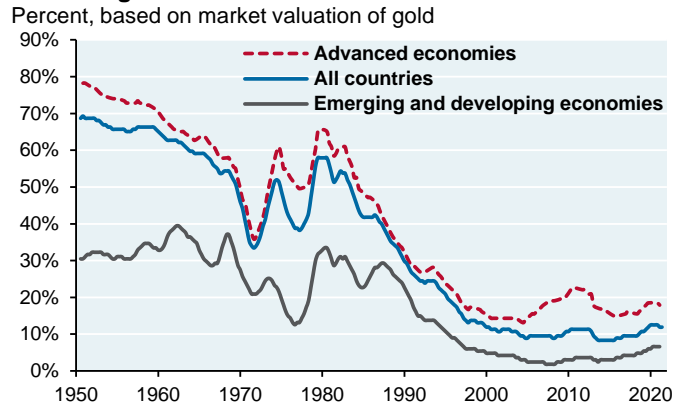
**Dollar diversification could occur via increased gold holdings rather than via moves to another fiat currency,** a trend which has been underway in volume terms since 2009. But when measured as a share of official reserves, the gold increases of the last decade are small and pale in comparison to the post-war era when gold was the primary reserve asset (see second chart). The table shows Central Banks with the largest increase in gold holdings since 2015.

**Gold holdings in Official Reserve Assets vs gold prices**



Source: IMF, Bloomberg, JPMAM. April 2023.

**Share of gold in Official Reserve Assets**



Source: IMF, International Financial Statistics, Eichengreen et al. 2023.

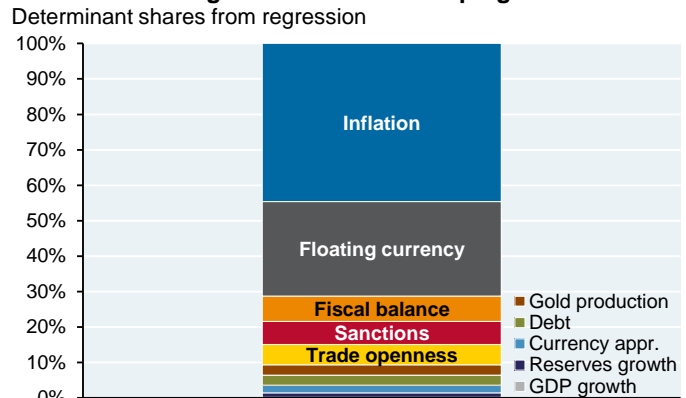
There are examples of when sanctions drove certain economies to add gold: Turkey in 2020 after US/EU sanctions; Paraguay (2012) after Mercosur sanctions; and Belarus after Russian sanctions in one year (2010) and after US/EU sanctions in another (2006). **But as shown in the last chart, sanctions (red bar) are estimated to play a minor role in gold reserve allocations. The three largest explanatory factors: issues related to monetary and fiscal policy (Eichengreen et al, 2023).**

**Largest increases in central bank gold holdings vs 2015**

Country	Gold (troy oz)	Change vs 2015 (oz)	Change vs 2015 (%)	Gold % of FX reserves
Russia	74.8	36.0	48%	25%
China	66.5	32.6	49%	4%
Turkey	24.5	7.9	32%	39%
India	25.4	7.5	29%	9%
Poland	7.4	4.0	55%	9%
Thailand	7.9	3.0	38%	7%
Japan	27.2	2.6	10%	4%
Singapore	6.6	2.5	38%	4%

Source: IMF, Bloomberg, JPMAM. 2023

**Determinants of gold shares in developing economies**



Source: Eichengreen et al. 2023.

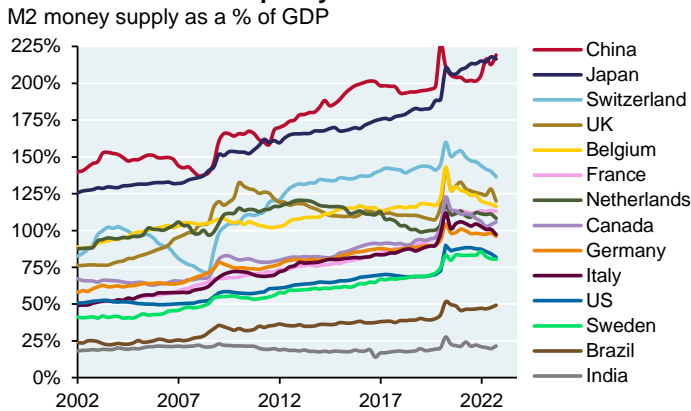
**What about crypto?** To date, no central banks other than El Salvador (2% in Bitcoin) have added cryptocurrency, despite studies arguing for Bitcoin as a complement to gold to protect ex-ante against the risk of sanctions (Ferranti, 2023). As for central bank digital currencies, these are simply digital representations of fiat currency risk. In other words, they are backed by the full faith and credit of the issuing central bank. As a result, Country A buying the central bank digital currency of Country B would not be achieving greater diversification when compared to simply holding assets denominated in the currency of Country B, whether they be government bonds or offshore bank deposits. The same logic would apply to stablecoins backed explicitly or indirectly by financial assets.



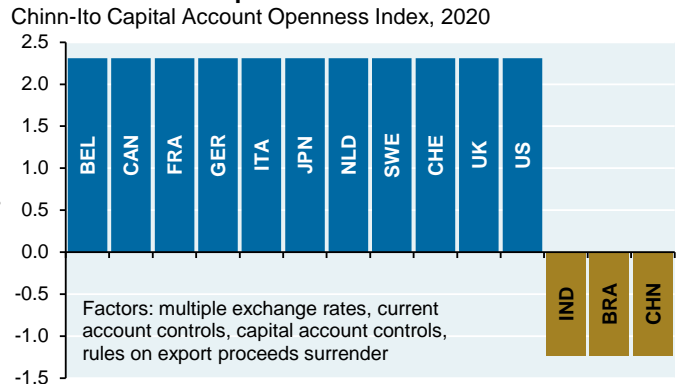
**v. The risks to China of greater capital account openness**

If China wants to see greater diversification into the RMB, it might have to relax constraints on outbound capital flows by residents. That could in turn create incentives for non-Chinese entities to issue debt denominated in RMB, and create depth and liquidity common to dollar and euro markets. But a fully convertible RMB appears inconsistent with Chinese policies. **China’s money supply is very high; if China fully opened its capital account, possible outflows could crush the RMB and cause a collapse in Chinese equity/real estate markets.** China is arranging swap lines and currency clearing mechanisms, but is not moving towards a fully convertible currency. The Chinn-Ito Index is one measure of capital account openness and is shown on the right.

**How much Chinese liquidity would leave if it could?**



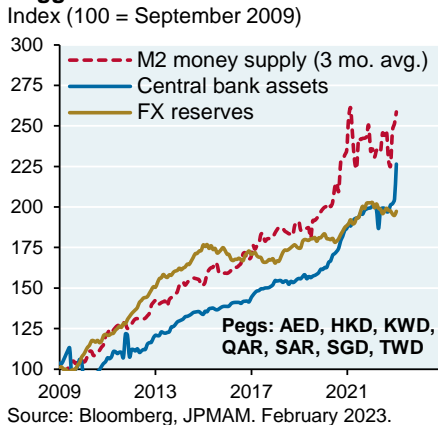
**Chinese RMB: an open and shut case**



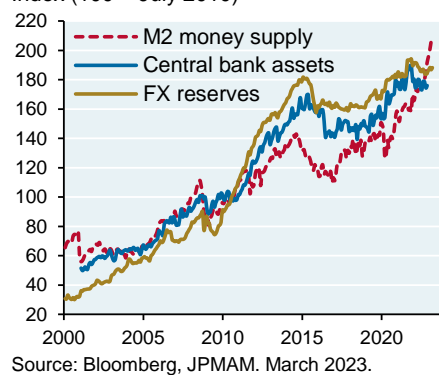
My colleague Alex Wolf in Singapore has done some analysis that’s even more illustrative of China’s challenge with the RMB. China achieved high growth targets via one of the largest monetary expansions the world has seen: domestic banking assets in China have reached 55% of *global* GDP. However, this may only be sustainable with a closed capital account. **Here’s why: FX reserves, central bank assets and money supply should broadly match, whether we’re looking at a fixed currency peg or a floating exchange rate.** Pegged currencies require monetary discipline, while floating currencies adjust if domestic money supply gets too far out of line with FX reserves. There’s an example in the Appendix showing how devaluation can occur when money supply diverges too far from Central Bank assets/reserves, using Argentina.

**As you can see, China is quite different: there’s a massive disconnect between its money supply, FX reserves and central bank assets. This may only be sustainable when accompanied by a continuously closed capital account, which appears inconsistent with reserve currency status.**

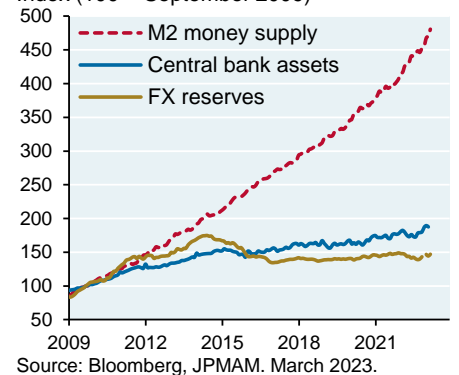
**Pegged currencies**



**Mexico: monetary policy and currency aligned in free-floating economies too**



**China: disconnect between money supply & central bank assets/reserves**





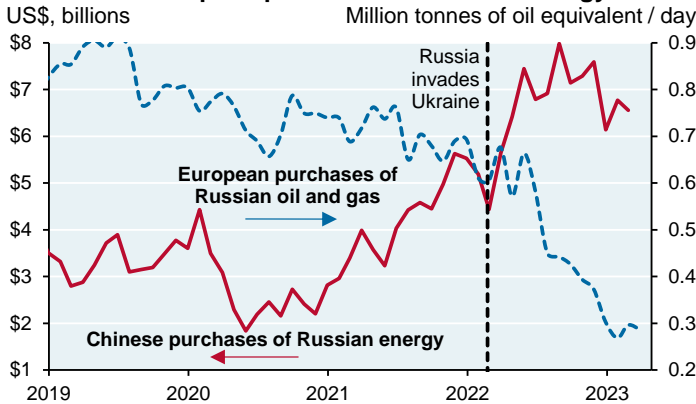
**vi. The Russia-China axis and the behavior of non-aligned nations**

**As the China-Russia axis solidifies, it will be important to watch the behavior of non-aligned nations.** The seeds of de-dollarization do exist: we’re monitoring Saudi-Chinese oil flows, some of which may soon be denominated in RMB; India purchases of Russian oil, which are already denominated in UAE dirhams; Power of Siberia 2 gas flows from Russia to China, which are being negotiated (Power of Siberia 1 flows are in Euros); and Chinese purchases of iron ore from Brazil, which may one day be settled in RMB. **But amounts matter**, and it’s not clear yet how material these flows will be in the bigger picture.

**What is already notable: 3.7 trillion RMB (\$550 bn) in swap lines arranged by China with other central banks.** This is part of China’s strategy to be a new “lender of last resort” which parallels the role of the US after WWII. The lender of last resort role cemented the dollar’s dominance at the time, and took place before liberalization of US markets. China’s overseas lending and bailouts mostly go to China Belt and Road Initiative countries, and amount to roughly 20% of IMF lending over the last decade (Horn et al, 2023).

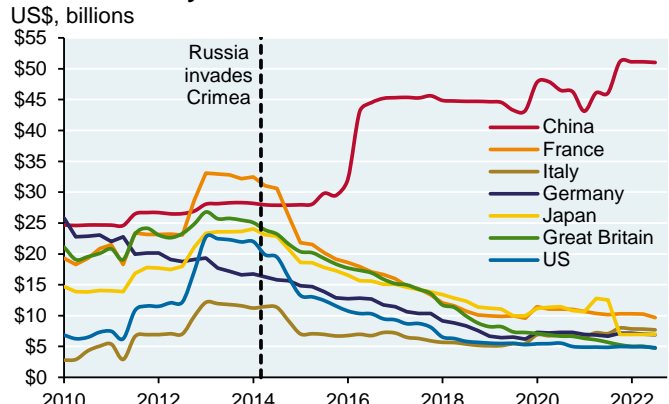
**What about decisions by Turkey, China, India and other countries to not participate in the Russia oil embargo?** Without Russian production, oil prices could spike to \$200; so, the West reportedly wants Russia to keep producing oil. The ~\$30 discount at which these countries buy Russian crude is aligned with Western objectives to reduce Russian capital inflows and also aligned with their own economic interests.

**Chinese vs European purchases of Russian energy**



Source: CREA, EIA, GACC, Bloomberg, JPMAM. March 2023.

**Cross-border syndicated loans to Russia**



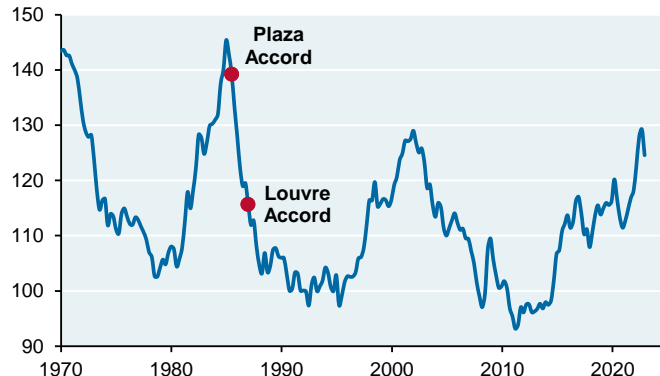
Source: BIS. Q3 2022.

**vii. Threats to reserve currency status and overvaluation are two different things**

While the dollar’s reserve currency status may not be under imminent siege, that doesn’t mean that the dollar doesn’t have room to fall from here. The chart below shows how the dollar has recently come off its highest levels in 30 years. As a result, there are plenty of economic outcomes that could keep driving the dollar lower; just don’t confuse macroeconomic issues with reserve currency issues.

**JPMorgan US Real Broad Effective Exchange Rate Index**

CPI Based, Index (100 = 2010)



Source: JPMAM. Q1 2023.

**On currency forecasting**

While it appears that the dollar might retrace its steps back to 2015-2019 levels, currency forecasting has often been a fool’s errand. Many academics that analyze exchange rate models conclude that nominal exchange rates are nearly unpredictable, and a 2023 study of macroeconomic models finds that they are no better at predicting exchange rates than a random walk approach (Engel and Wu, 2023).





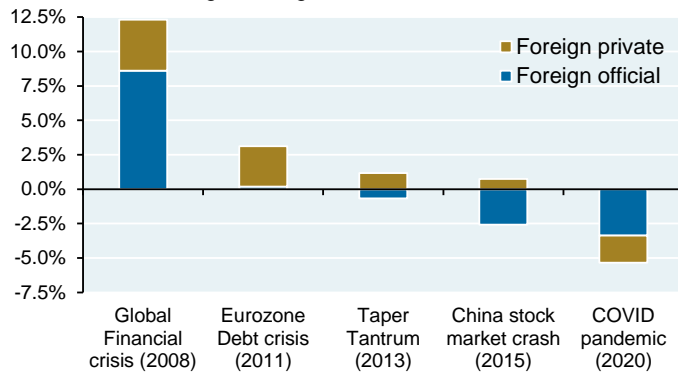
**viii. What about Central Bank selling of Treasuries during COVID?**

During the Financial Crisis there was net *buying* of Treasuries by foreign official investors, and net *selling* during COVID. However, net selling also occurred during the 2013 Fed taper tantrum and the 2015 China stock market crash, and in this regard 2020 selling was not unique. According to the Fed, the reasons for greater Treasury selling in 2020 were (a) unwind of a Treasury basis trade by foreign domiciled hedge funds, and (b) outflows from mutual funds prompting Treasury sales to meet redemptions. These two channels were less important during 2008 since the Treasury cash-futures basis trade grew substantially only in 2018, and since mutual fund holdings of Treasuries increased significantly after the Financial Crisis (Vissing-Jorgensen, 2021).

As illustrated on the right, post-COVID foreign purchases of Treasuries have rebounded and are similar to what they were before (Weiss, Jan 2022). In other words, little evidence of a change in reserve currency status based on what took place during COVID.

**Net foreign purchases of Treasuries by crisis**

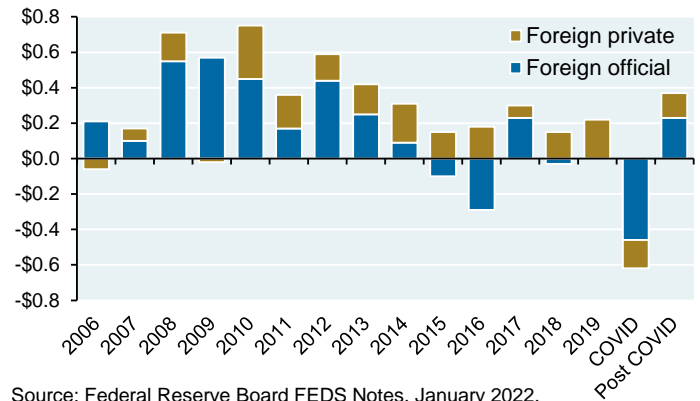
Percent of total foreign holdings



Source: Federal Reserve Board FEDS Notes. January 2022.

**Net foreign purchases of Treasuries by year/type**

US\$, trillions



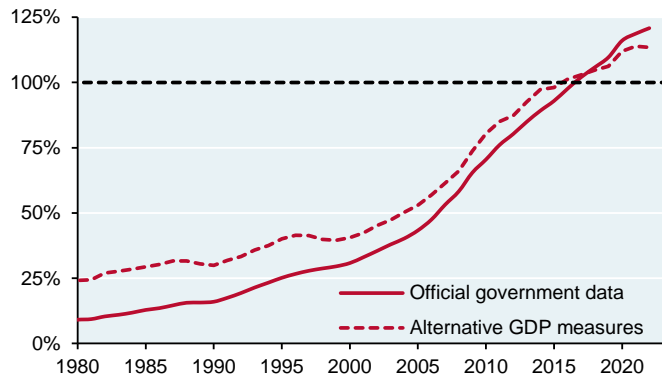
Source: Federal Reserve Board FEDS Notes. January 2022.

**ix. Anything to learn from the history of the US dollar overtaking the British pound in the 20<sup>th</sup> century?**

There's a lot of discussion on how the size of China's economy has surpassed the US. China's rise has been remarkable and resulted in the largest per capita GDP gains of any country over the last 100 years (see Appendix). But there's more to reserve currency status than size, such as market depth, liquidity, clarity of default resolution, ability to perfect interest in property, etc. As shown in the second chart, the US was at least 3.5x larger than the UK by the time the dollar replaced the pound as the world's reserve currency, even when using the late 1920's as the transition point based on research from Eichengreen et al (2012). Using the standard historical transition date of 1945, the US was 4.7x larger than the UK when the pound=>dollar switch occurred.

**China's economy now larger than the US**

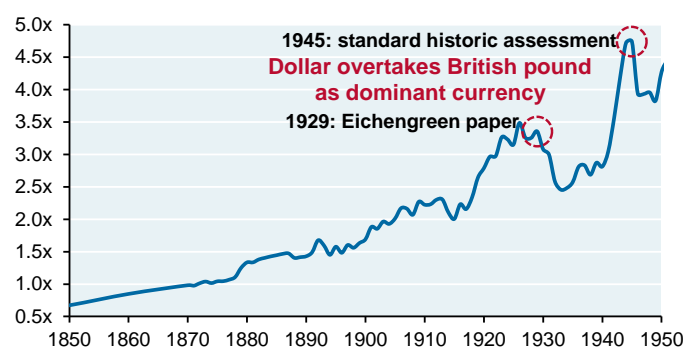
China GDP as a percentage of US GDP



Source: Conference Board, JPMAM. 2022.

**The US economy was 3.5x-5x larger than the UK when the US\$ replaced the pound as the world's reserve currency**

US GDP as a % of UK GDP



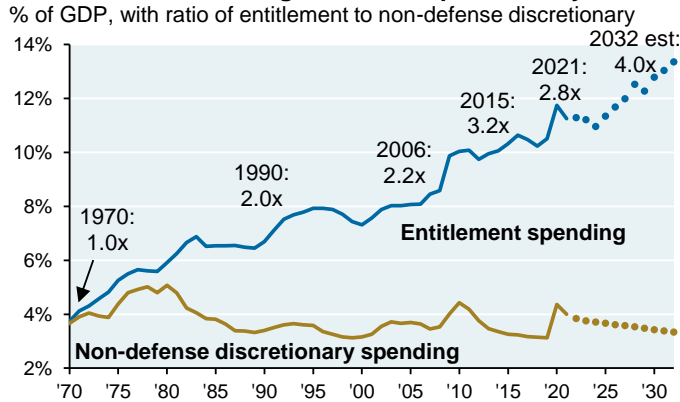
Source: Conference Board, Angus Maddison Project, JPMAM. 2022.



**x. Wrapping up: the US has around 20 years to figure it out**

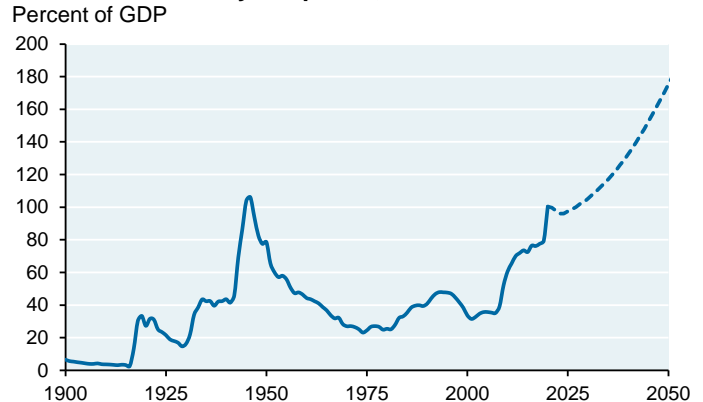
I'm not ignoring the long-term fiscal issues that the US faces<sup>6</sup>. I've written about them often as part of the "chart that everyone hates" series, which is the first chart below. As a reminder, everyone hates this chart since it highlights how non-defense discretionary spending<sup>7</sup> that affects long-run productivity is being crowded out by entitlement spending that no one knows how to control, and which the CBO projects will end up doubling US Federal debt/GDP by 2050. Even mentioning the issue continues to be the third rail of American politics<sup>8</sup>.

**What does the Federal government spend money on?**



Source: CBO, JPMAM. May 2022. Dots are CBO projections.

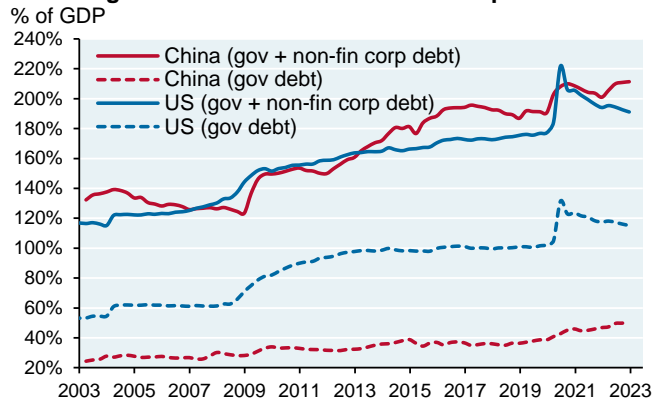
**Federal debt held by the public, 1900 to 2050**



Source: "The 2022 Long-Term Budget Outlook," CBO. July 2022.

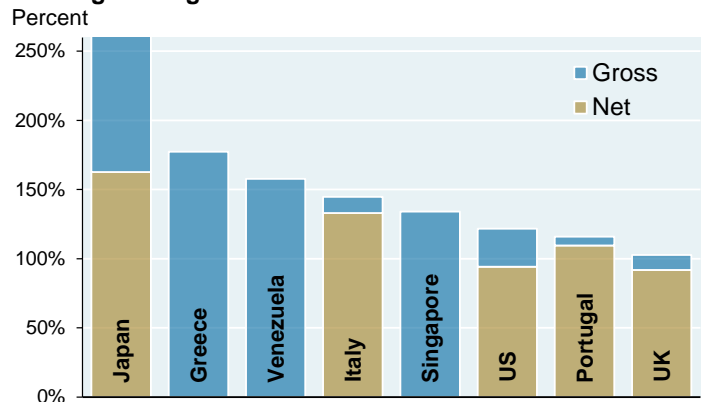
I'm of the view that the US has around 20 years to figure things out before a more sustained reserve currency threat from the RMB materializes, particularly since China has debt issues of its own. China's debt has accumulated in the corporate sector, some of which is increasingly indistinguishable from the government. If by that time the US debt ratios have veered off into Greece/Japan/Venezuela territory, then the long-predicted decline of the dollar as reserve currency may finally occur.

**General government and non-financial corporate debt**



Source: Wind, CNBS, Federal Reserve. Q4 2022.

**Select general government debt to GDP ratios**



Source: IMF, JPMAM. 2022. Net debt not available for Gre, Ven, Sin

Michael Cembalest, JP Morgan Asset Management

<sup>6</sup> I view the debt ceiling dispute as much more likely to result in a Gramm-Rudman-Hollings style agreement to curtail gov't spending than in a default, so I don't think the debt ceiling is a risk to the dollar right now

<sup>7</sup> Examples of non-defense discretionary spending: transportation infrastructure, air traffic control, Arms Corps of Engineers, science/energy, pollution abatement, education/training, law enforcement, judiciary, vaccine development, FDA, bioterrorism etc.

<sup>8</sup> From the NYT, Feb 17, 2023: "Rick Scott Drops Social Security from Plan as GOP Retreats from Entitlement Cuts. The backtracking by the Florida Republican came after bipartisan criticism and signaled how completely the GOP has pulled away from calls to overhaul the nation's entitlement programs"

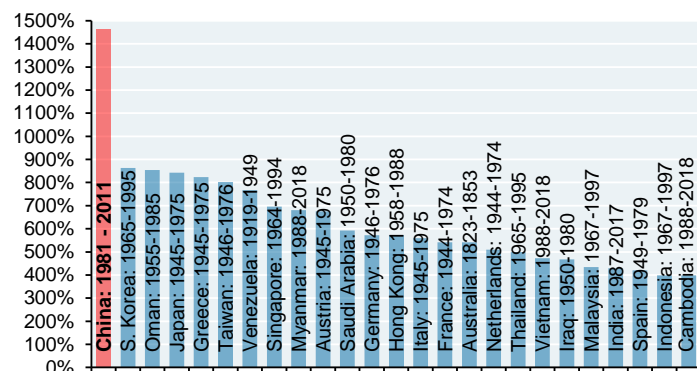


## xi. Appendix and Sources

The first chart shows the largest per capita GDP gains in the last 100 years; China is #1 by far. The second chart shows that whenever the Argentine money supply grows too quickly relative to Central Bank assets/reserves, the currency eventually collapses. There have been 5 such episodes since the year 2000 (!!).

### China's economic transformation in context

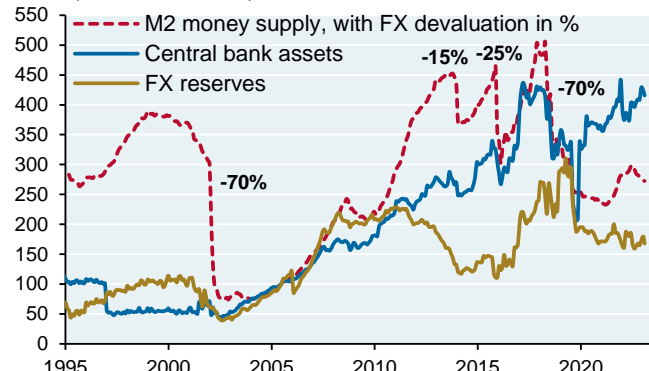
Largest 30 year increase in real per capita GDP by country



Source: Conference Board, University of Groningen, JPMAM. 2021.

### Argentina

Index (100 = June 2005)



Source: Bloomberg, JPMAM. February 2023. Note: %=deval. in ARS vs USD.

*Japanese government bond traders: work from home is completely fine.* As reported by the Wall Street Journal, there has been a collapse in trading volumes of Japanese government bonds. Last October, none of the on-the-run 10 year Japanese government bonds traded for four days in a row, for the first time since 1999. The reason: the Bank of Japan was implementing a cap on 10 year JGB yields at 0.25% at a time when 30 year yields were 1.475%, leaving traders with nothing to do. The collapse in JGB trading began several years ago when the 10 year rate cap was 0%. At one point in 2016, average daily trading volumes in 5-10 year government bonds was \$112 billion in the US compared to \$172 million in Japan.

### Sources

Arslanalp, Eichengreen and Simpson-Bell. *"The Stealth Erosion of Dollar Dominance: Active Diversifiers and the Rise of Nontraditional Reserve Currencies,"* IMF Working Paper, 2022

Arslanalp, Eichengreen and Simpson-Bell. *"Gold as International Reserves: A Barbarous Relic No More?"*, International Monetary Fund Working Paper, January 2023

Eichengreen and Gros. *"Post-COVID-19 Global Currency Order: Risks and Opportunities for the Euro"*, European Parliament ECON Committee, September 2020

Eichengreen, Chitu and Mehl. *"When did the US Dollar overtake Sterling as the leading international currency? Evidence from the bond markets"*, NBER Working Paper, 2012

Engel and Wu. *"Forecasting the US dollar in the 21<sup>st</sup> century"*, Journal of International Economics, January 2023

Ferranti, Matthew. *"Hedging Sanctions Risk: Cryptocurrency in Central Bank Reserves"*, Harvard, January 2023

Horn, Parks, Reinhart and Trebesch. *"China as an International Lender of Last Resort"*, NBER, April 2023

Iancu, Anderson, Ando, Boswell, Gamba, Haboyan, Lusinyan, Meads, and Wu. *"Reserve Currencies in an Evolving International Monetary System"*, IMF Departmental Papers, 2020

Vissing-Jorgensen, Annette. *"The Treasury Market in Spring 2020 and the Response of the Federal Reserve,"* Journal of Monetary Economics, April 2021

Weiss, Colin. *"Foreign Demand for US Treasury Securities during the Pandemic"*, FEDS Notes, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, January 2022

Weiss, Colin. *"Geopolitics and the US Dollar's Future as a Reserve Currency"*, International Finance Discussion Papers, Federal Reserve Board of Governors, October 2022

**Eye on the Market Archives, 2023****[American Gothic](#)****January 24, 2023**

The Federal debt and how the Visigoths may try to break the system if no one fixes it

**[Winter Heating](#)****February 21, 2023**

The large language model battles begin: a look at the future of web search, conventional wisdom machines, hallucinating bears in space, some early application successes and how far they still are from humans in the realm of real intelligence.

**[Silicon Valley Bank failure](#)****March 10, 2023**

One of these things is not like the other, and that thing is Silicon Valley Bank.

**[13<sup>th</sup> annual energy paper](#)****March 28, 2023**

Renewables are growing but don't always behave the way you want them to. This year's topics include the impact of rising clean energy investment and new energy bills, how grid decarbonization is outpacing electrification, the long-term oil demand outlook, the flawed concept of levelized cost when applied to wind and solar power, the scramble for critical minerals, the improving economics of energy storage and heat pumps, the transmission quagmire, energy from municipal waste, carbon sequestration, the Russia-China energy partnership, methane tracking and some futuristic energy ideas that you can just ignore, for now.

**[Frankenstein's Monster](#)****April 10, 2023**

Banking system deposits and the unintended fallout from the Fed's monetary experiment; commercial real estate, regional banks and the COVID occupancy shock; the wipeout of Credit Suisse contingent capital securities; a market and economic update; and an update on San Francisco, which has experienced the weakest post-COVID recovery of any major city in North America

**IMPORTANT INFORMATION**

This report uses rigorous security protocols for selected data sourced from Chase credit and debit card transactions to ensure all information is kept confidential and secure. All selected data is highly aggregated and all unique identifiable information, including names, account numbers, addresses, dates of birth, and Social Security Numbers, is removed from the data before the report's author receives it. The data in this report is not representative of Chase's overall credit and debit cardholder population.

The views, opinions and estimates expressed herein constitute Michael Cembalest's judgment based on current market conditions and are subject to change without notice. Information herein may differ from those expressed by other areas of J.P. Morgan. This information in no way constitutes J.P. Morgan Research and should not be treated as such.

The views contained herein are not to be taken as advice or a recommendation to buy or sell any investment in any jurisdiction, nor is it a commitment from J.P. Morgan or any of its subsidiaries to participate in any of the transactions mentioned herein. Any forecasts, figures, opinions or investment techniques and strategies set out are for information purposes only, based on certain assumptions and current market conditions and are subject to change without prior notice. All information presented herein is considered to be accurate at the time of production. This material does not contain sufficient information to support an investment decision and it should not be relied upon by you in evaluating the merits of investing in any securities or products. In addition, users should make an independent assessment of the legal, regulatory, tax, credit and accounting implications and determine, together with their own professional advisers, if any investment mentioned herein is believed to be suitable to their personal goals. Investors should ensure that they obtain all available relevant information before making any investment. It should be noted that investment involves risks, the value of investments and the income from them may fluctuate in accordance with market conditions and taxation agreements and investors may not get back the full amount invested. Both past performance and yields are not reliable indicators of current and future results.

Non-affiliated entities mentioned are for informational purposes only and should not be construed as an endorsement or sponsorship of J.P. Morgan Chase & Co. or its affiliates.

**For J.P. Morgan Asset Management Clients:**

J.P. Morgan Asset Management is the brand for the asset management business of JPMorgan Chase & Co. and its affiliates worldwide.

To the extent permitted by applicable law, we may record telephone calls and monitor electronic communications to comply with our legal and regulatory obligations and internal policies. Personal data will be collected, stored and processed by J.P. Morgan Asset Management in accordance with our privacy policies at <https://am.jpmorgan.com/global/privacy>.

**ACCESSIBILITY**

For U.S. only: If you are a person with a disability and need additional support in viewing the material, please call us at 1-800-343-1113 for assistance.

This communication is issued by the following entities:

In the United States, by J.P. Morgan Investment Management Inc. or J.P. Morgan Alternative Asset Management, Inc., both regulated by the Securities and Exchange Commission; in Latin America, for intended recipients' use only, by local J.P. Morgan entities, as the case may be.; in Canada, for institutional clients' use only, by JPMorgan Asset Management (Canada) Inc., which is a registered Portfolio Manager and Exempt Market Dealer in all Canadian provinces and territories except the Yukon and is also registered as an Investment Fund Manager in British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec and Newfoundland and Labrador. In the United Kingdom, by JPMorgan Asset Management (UK) Limited, which is authorized and regulated by the Financial Conduct Authority; in other European jurisdictions, by JPMorgan Asset Management (Europe) S.à r.l. In Asia Pacific ("APAC"), by the following issuing entities and in the respective jurisdictions in which they are primarily regulated: JPMorgan Asset Management (Asia Pacific) Limited, or JPMorgan Funds (Asia) Limited, or JPMorgan Asset Management Real Assets (Asia) Limited, each of which is regulated by the Securities and Futures Commission of Hong Kong; JPMorgan Asset Management (Singapore) Limited (Co. Reg. No. 197601586K), which this advertisement or publication has not been reviewed by the Monetary Authority of Singapore; JPMorgan Asset Management (Taiwan) Limited; JPMorgan Asset Management (Japan) Limited, which is a member of the Investment Trusts Association, Japan, the Japan Investment Advisers Association, Type II Financial Instruments Firms Association and the Japan Securities Dealers Association and is regulated by the Financial Services Agency (registration number "Kanto Local Finance Bureau (Financial Instruments Firm) No. 330"); in Australia, to wholesale clients only as defined in section 761A and 761G of the Corporations Act 2001 (Commonwealth), by JPMorgan Asset Management (Australia) Limited (ABN 55143832080) (AFSL 376919). For all other markets in APAC, to intended recipients only.

**For J.P. Morgan Private Bank Clients:****ACCESSIBILITY**

J.P. Morgan is committed to making our products and services accessible to meet the financial services needs of all our clients. Please direct any accessibility issues to the Private Bank Client Service Center at 1-866-265-1727.

**LEGAL ENTITY, BRAND & REGULATORY INFORMATION**

In the **United States**, bank deposit accounts and related services, such as checking, savings and bank lending, are offered by **JPMorgan Chase Bank, N.A.** Member FDIC.

**JPMorgan Chase Bank, N.A.** and its affiliates (collectively "**JPMCB**") offer investment products, which may include bank-managed investment accounts and custody, as part of its trust and fiduciary services. Other investment products and services, such as brokerage and advisory accounts, are offered through **J.P. Morgan Securities LLC ("JPMS")**, a member of [FINRA](#) and [SIPC](#). Annuities are made available through Chase Insurance Agency, Inc. (CIA), a licensed insurance agency, doing business as Chase Insurance Agency Services, Inc. in Florida. JPMCB, JPMS and CIA are affiliated companies under the common control of JPM. Products not available in all states.

In **Germany**, this material is issued by **J.P. Morgan SE**, with its registered office at Taunustor 1 (TaunusTurm), 60310 Frankfurt am Main, Germany, authorized by the Bundesanstalt für Finanzdienstleistungsaufsicht (BaFin) and jointly supervised by the BaFin, the German Central Bank (Deutsche Bundesbank) and the European Central Bank (ECB). In **Luxembourg**, this material is issued by **J.P. Morgan SE – Luxembourg Branch**, with registered office at European Bank and Business Centre, 6 route de Treves, L-2633, Senningerberg, Luxembourg, authorized by the Bundesanstalt für Finanzdienstleistungsaufsicht (BaFin) and jointly supervised by the BaFin, the German Central Bank (Deutsche Bundesbank) and the European Central Bank (ECB); J.P. Morgan SE – Luxembourg Branch is also supervised by the Commission de Surveillance du Secteur Financier (CSSF); registered under R.C.S Luxembourg B255938. In the **United Kingdom**, this material is issued by **J.P. Morgan SE – London Branch**, registered office at 25 Bank Street, Canary Wharf, London E14 5JP, authorized by the Bundesanstalt für Finanzdienstleistungsaufsicht (BaFin) and jointly supervised by the BaFin, the German Central Bank (Deutsche Bundesbank) and the European Central Bank (ECB); J.P. Morgan SE – London Branch is also supervised by the Financial Conduct Authority and Prudential Regulation Authority. In **Spain**, this material is



distributed by **J.P. Morgan SE, Sucursal en España**, with registered office at Paseo de la Castellana, 31, 28046 Madrid, Spain, authorized by the Bundesanstalt für Finanzdienstleistungsaufsicht (BaFin) and jointly supervised by the BaFin, the German Central Bank (Deutsche Bundesbank) and the European Central Bank (ECB); J.P. Morgan SE, Sucursal en España is also supervised by the Spanish Securities Market Commission (CNMV); registered with Bank of Spain as a branch of J.P. Morgan SE under code 1567. In **Italy**, this material is distributed by **J.P. Morgan SE – Milan Branch**, with its registered office at Via Cordusio, n.3, Milan 20123, Italy, authorized by the Bundesanstalt für Finanzdienstleistungsaufsicht (BaFin) and jointly supervised by the BaFin, the German Central Bank (Deutsche Bundesbank) and the European Central Bank (ECB); J.P. Morgan SE – Milan Branch is also supervised by Bank of Italy and the Commissione Nazionale per le Società e la Borsa (CONSOB); registered with Bank of Italy as a branch of J.P. Morgan SE under code 8076; Milan Chamber of Commerce Registered Number: REA MI 2536325. In the **Netherlands**, this material is distributed by **J.P. Morgan SE – Amsterdam Branch**, with registered office at World Trade Centre, Tower B, Strawinskylaan 1135, 1077 XX, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, authorized by the Bundesanstalt für Finanzdienstleistungsaufsicht (BaFin) and jointly supervised by the BaFin, the German Central Bank (Deutsche Bundesbank) and the European Central Bank (ECB); J.P. Morgan SE – Amsterdam Branch is also supervised by De Nederlandsche Bank (DNB) and the Autoriteit Financiële Markten (AFM) in the Netherlands. Registered with the Kamer van Koophandel as a branch of J.P. Morgan SE under registration number 72610220. In **Denmark**, this material is distributed by **J.P. Morgan SE – Copenhagen Branch, filial af J.P. Morgan SE, Tyskland**, with registered office at Kalvebod Brygge 39-41, 1560 København V, Denmark, authorized by the Bundesanstalt für Finanzdienstleistungsaufsicht (BaFin) and jointly supervised by the BaFin, the German Central Bank (Deutsche Bundesbank) and the European Central Bank (ECB); J.P. Morgan SE – Copenhagen Branch, filial af J.P. Morgan SE, Tyskland is also supervised by Finanstilsynet (Danish FSA) and is registered with Finanstilsynet as a branch of J.P. Morgan SE under code 29010. In **Sweden**, this material is distributed by **J.P. Morgan SE – Stockholm Bankfilial**, with registered office at Hamngatan 15, Stockholm, 11147, Sweden, authorized by the Bundesanstalt für Finanzdienstleistungsaufsicht (BaFin) and jointly supervised by the BaFin, the German Central Bank (Deutsche Bundesbank) and the European Central Bank (ECB); J.P. Morgan SE – Stockholm Bankfilial is also supervised by Finansinspektionen (Swedish FSA); registered with Finansinspektionen as a branch of J.P. Morgan SE. In **France**, this material is distributed by **JPMCB, Paris branch**, which is regulated by the French banking authorities Autorité de Contrôle Prudentiel et de Résolution and Autorité des Marchés Financiers. In **Switzerland**, this material is distributed by **J.P. Morgan (Suisse) SA**, with registered address at rue de la Confédération, 8, 1211, Geneva, Switzerland, which is authorised and supervised by the Swiss Financial Market Supervisory Authority (FINMA), as a bank and a securities dealer in Switzerland. Please consult the following link to obtain information regarding J.P. Morgan's EMEA data protection policy: <https://www.jpmorgan.com/privacy>.

In **Hong Kong**, this material is distributed by **JPMCB, Hong Kong branch**. JPMCB, Hong Kong branch is regulated by the Hong Kong Monetary Authority and the Securities and Futures Commission of Hong Kong. In Hong Kong, we will cease to use your personal data for our marketing purposes without charge if you so request. In **Singapore**, this material is distributed by **JPMCB, Singapore branch**. JPMCB, Singapore branch is regulated by the Monetary Authority of Singapore. Dealing and advisory services and discretionary investment management services are provided to you by JPMCB, Hong Kong/Singapore branch (as notified to you). Banking and custody services are provided to you by JPMCB Singapore Branch. The contents of this document have not been reviewed by any regulatory authority in Hong Kong, Singapore or any other jurisdictions. You are advised to exercise caution in relation to this document. If you are in any doubt about any of the contents of this document, you should obtain independent professional advice. For materials which constitute product advertisement under the Securities and Futures Act and the Financial Advisers Act, this advertisement has not been reviewed by the Monetary Authority of Singapore. JPMorgan Chase Bank, N.A. is a national banking association chartered under the laws of the United States, and as a body corporate, its shareholder's liability is limited.

With respect to countries in **Latin America**, the distribution of this material may be restricted in certain jurisdictions. We may offer and/or sell to you securities or other financial instruments which may not be registered under, and are not the subject of a public offering under, the securities or other financial regulatory laws of your home country. Such securities or instruments are offered and/or sold to you on a private basis only. Any communication by us to you regarding such securities or instruments, including without limitation the delivery of a prospectus, term sheet or other offering document, is not intended by us as an offer to sell or a solicitation of an offer to buy any securities or instruments in any jurisdiction in which such an offer or a solicitation is unlawful. Furthermore, such securities or instruments may be subject to certain regulatory and/or contractual restrictions on subsequent transfer by you, and you are solely responsible for ascertaining and complying with such restrictions. To the extent this content makes reference to a fund, the Fund may not be publicly offered in any Latin American country, without previous registration of such fund's securities in compliance with the laws of the corresponding jurisdiction. Public offering of any security, including the shares of the Fund, without previous registration at Brazilian Securities and Exchange Commission— CVM is completely prohibited. Some products or services contained in the materials might not be currently provided by the Brazilian and Mexican platforms.

JPMorgan Chase Bank, N.A. (JPMCBNA) (ABN 43 074 112 011/AFS Licence No: 238367) is regulated by the Australian Securities and Investment Commission and the Australian Prudential Regulation Authority. Material provided by JPMCBNA in Australia is to "wholesale clients" only. For the purposes of this paragraph the term "wholesale client" has the meaning given in section 761G of the Corporations Act 2001 (Cth). Please inform us if you are not a Wholesale Client now or if you cease to be a Wholesale Client at any time in the future.

JPMorgan Chase Bank, N.A. (JPMCBNA) (ABN 43 074 112 011/AFS Licence No: 238367) is regulated by the Australian Securities and Investment Commission and the Australian Prudential Regulation Authority. Material provided by JPMCBNA in Australia is to "wholesale clients" only. For the purposes of this paragraph the term "wholesale client" has the meaning given in section 761G of the Corporations Act 2001 (Cth). Please inform us if you are not a Wholesale Client now or if you cease to be a Wholesale Client at any time in the future.

JPMS is a registered foreign company (overseas) (ARBN 109293610) incorporated in Delaware, U.S.A. Under Australian financial services licensing requirements, carrying on a financial services business in Australia requires a financial service provider, such as J.P. Morgan Securities LLC (JPMS), to hold an Australian Financial Services Licence (AFSL), unless an exemption applies. **JPMS is exempt from the requirement to hold an AFSL under the Corporations Act 2001 (Cth) (Act) in respect of financial services it provides to you, and is regulated by the SEC, FINRA and CFTC under U.S. laws, which differ from Australian laws.** Material provided by JPMS in Australia is to "wholesale clients" only. The information provided in this material is not intended to be, and must not be, distributed or passed on, directly or indirectly, to any other class of persons in Australia. For the purposes of this paragraph the term "wholesale client" has the meaning given in section 761G of the Act. Please inform us immediately if you are not a Wholesale Client now or if you cease to be a Wholesale Client at any time in the future.

This material has not been prepared specifically for Australian investors. It:

- May contain references to dollar amounts which are not Australian dollars;
- May contain financial information which is not prepared in accordance with Australian law or practices;
- May not address risks associated with investment in foreign currency denominated investments; and
- Does not address Australian tax issues.