

#### THE CLASH OF CAPITALISMS?

Chinese Companies in the United States

Chinese foreign direct investment in the United States has generated intense debates. Some welcome it for the immediate benefits such as job creation; others view Chinese investments, especially those controlled by the Chinese government, as a critical threat. The debates have so far missed an important question: how do Chinese companies investing in the United States react to the host country's law? Ji Li formulates a novel analytical framework to examine the adaptation of Chinese companies to general U.S. institutions and their compliance with U.S. laws governing tax, employment equality, and national security review of foreign investments. The level of compliance varies, and this variation is examined in relation to company ownership, including state ownership. Li's analysis is based on interviews and a unique and comprehensive dataset about Chinese companies in the United States that has never been systematically explored.

Ji Li is Professor of Law and a member of the Associate Faculty of the Division of Global Affairs at Rutgers University.





# The Clash of Capitalisms?

#### CHINESE COMPANIES IN THE UNITED STATES

JI LI

Rutgers University School of Law





## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107157156 DOI: 10.1017/9781316661802

0.101/19/0131000100

© Ji Li 2018

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2018

Printed in the United States of America by Sheridan Books, Inc.

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Li, Ji, 1976- author.

TITLE: The clash of capitalisms: Chinese investors in the United States /

Ji Li, Rutgers University School of Law.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge

University Press, 2018. | Includes index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2017051371 | ISBN 9781107157156

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Business enterprises, Foreign – Law and legislation – United States. | Investments, Chinese – Law and legislation – United States. | Business enterprises,

Foreign – Social aspects – United States. | Investments, Chinese – Social aspects – United States.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC KF1419 .L55 2018 | DDC 346.7307–dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2017051371

ISBN 978-1-107-15715-6 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



to my family





## Contents

List	of Tables and Figures pag	e viii
Ackı	nowledgments	xi
Abb	reviations	xiii
1	Introduction	1
2	Chinese Foreign Direct Investment in the United States	11
3	Chinese Investments and U.S. Legal and Regulatory Institutions	47
4	State Ownership and Chinese Investors' Reactions to U.S. Institutions	82
5	Chinese Companies in the U.S. Tax System	115
6	Chinese Companies and U.S. Employment Law	148
7	Chinese Companies and the U.S. National Security Review	182
8	Implications and Questions for the Future	215
Inde	Index	



## Tables and Figures

#### Tables

2.1	Investments by state	bage 43
2.2	Companies of board directors of China General Chamber of	
	Commerce—USA	44
3.1	Relationship between investment motives and foreign investors' desired	<u>;</u>
	to adapt	53
4.1	Summary statistics	86
4.2	State ownership and U.S. compliance costs relative to costs in China	86
4.3	Summary statistics (variables for testing state ownership and investment	nt
	motives)	90
4.4	State ownership and "government encouragement" as a main reason for	or
	U.S. investment	92
4.5	Summary statistics (additional variables for testing long-term	
	commitment to U.S. business)	93
4.6	State ownership and plan to reinvest most of U.S. profits	94
4.7	Summary statistics	96
4.8	State ownership and perceptions of U.S. institutions (state	
	ownership > 50%)	98
4.9	State ownership and perceptions of U.S. institutions (state	
	ownership > 10%)	99
1.10	Summary statistics (additional variables for tests of this subsection)	102
<b>ļ.11</b>	State ownership and management localization (personnel decisions re	2
	mid-level U.S. managers)	103
1.12	State ownership and management localization (personnel decisions re	e
	high-level U.S. managers)	104
1.13	Summary statistics	105
1.14	State ownership and decision on major U.S. compliance and	
	legal matters	105
4.15	Summary statistics	107

viii



	List of Tables and Figures	ix
4.16	State ownership and full-time compliance staff	108
י 4.17	State ownership and full-time in-house counsel with license to practice	
1 /	U.S. law	109
4.18	State ownership and frequent use of U.S. lawyers	110
, 5.1	Summary statistics	135
5.2	State ownership of Chinese investors and perceptions of U.S. tax	- 22
	institutions	137
5.3	Summary statistics	140
5.4	U.S. tax avoidance	141
5.5	Summary statistics	143
5.6	IRS audits, or disputes with the IRS	144
6.1	Summary statistics	173
6.2	State ownership and opinions of U.S. labor and employment law	173
6.3	Summary statistics	176
6.4	State ownership and measures to prevent employment discrimination	176
6.5	Summary statistics	178
6.6	State ownership and discrimination complaints	178
7.1	Summary statistics	203
7.2	Viewing the CFIUS process as lawful and transparent	205
7.3	Considering CFIUS when investing in the United States	208
7.4	Filing with CFIUS when investing in the United States	211
Figu	ures	
2.1	Chinese foreign exchange reserve (1976–2016; unit = US\$100 million)	13
2.2	FDI inflows and outflows (China 1982–2015, current US\$ million)	16
2.3	Chinese FDI in the United States 1980–2015 (direct investment position	
	on a historical-cost basis; US\$ million)	23
2.4	Sectoral distribution of survey respondents (showing top eight out of	
	nineteen sectors from the 2016 CGCC survey)	34
2.5	Ownership structure of the Chinese investors	34
2.6	Investment location choice of survey respondents	36
2.7	Top ten motives for Chinese MNEs to invest in the United States	38
2.8	U.S. profits compared to global profits	40
2.9	Plans for U.S. profits	40
2.10	Major challenges and risks of doing business in the United States	41
3.1	Analytical framework	49
3.2	Legal and compliance costs (U.S. versus China)	67
3.3	Chinese managers' views of various U.S. institutions and systems	72
3.4	Allocation of power re major U.S. personnel decisions	76
3.5	Decisions re major U.S. legal and compliance issues	77



.

#### List of Tables and Figures

3.6	Full-time in-house legal capacity of Chinese companies in the	
	United States	78
3.7	Compliance capacity of Chinese companies in the United States	79
3.8	Perceptions of U.S. institutions	81
4.1	Mapping the three areas under the analytical framework	113
5.1	Perception of the U.S. tax burden in comparison to Chinese tax	125
5.2	U.S. tax law in comparison with Chinese tax law	127
5.3	General view of the U.S. tax system	128
5.4	Dealing with U.S. tax matters	129
5.5	Tax avoidance by Chinese companies in the United States	131
5.6	Sources of information for U.S. tax avoidance	132
5.7	IRS audits, or disputes with the IRS	133
6.1	Major challenges and risks of doing business in the United States	164
6.2	View on the effect of U.S. labor and employment rules	165
6.3	Human resource staff (survey question: whether your firm has a human	
	resource department in the United States)	166
6.4	Benchmark model used in designing the human resource system	167
6.5	HRM compared to local U.S. companies	168
6.6	Measures taken to prevent employment discrimination	168
6.7	Complaints about discrimination by U.S. employees	171
7.1	CFIUS-reported covered transactions by investor's home country	
	(2006–15)	188
7.2	CFIUS notices filed and investigation–notice ratio (2005–15)	189
7.3	Views of the CFIUS process	194
7.4	Whether U.S. lawyers were engaged in CFIUS review	196
7.5	Consideration and filing with CFIUS when investing in the	
	United States	198



### Acknowledgments

In the course of writing this book, I was fortunate to receive the support of many friends and colleagues. I owe special thanks to Karen Alter, Susan Rose-Ackerman, Curtis Milhaupt, Benjamin van Rooij, Weiyi Shi, Simone Tsigounis, Wei Zhang, and Wentong Zheng, who read the entire manuscript of this book and offered me valuable suggestions and comments. I also benefited enormously from the comments of a large group of specialists who read parts of the manuscript. Weitseng Chen, Jerome Cohen, Douglas Eakeley, Gary Francione, Hualing Fu, Christopher Gane, Yunsong Ge, Jie Gong, Li Guo, Taja-Nia Y. Henderson, Virginia Ho, Robin Huang, Alan Hyde, Jing Leng, John Leubsdorf, Benjamin Liebman, Haitian Lu, Shaowei Mao, Curtis Milhaupt, Kwai Ng, Shitong Qiao, Sabrina Safrin, Victor Shih, and Yingmao Tang read and commented on earlier versions of Chapters 3 and 4, which set forth the analytical framework of the research.

In addition, I would like to thank Cynthia Blum, Thomas Brennan, Dhammika Dharmapala, Alan Hyde, Stuart Deutsch, John Leubsdorf, Omri Marian, David Noll, Mark Ramseyer, Fadi Shaheen, Stephen Shay, and Yan Xu for their comments on parts of Chapter 5, which explores Chinese companies in the U.S. tax system. The chapter also incorporated feedback from several other participants at the 27th Annual Meeting for the American Law and Economics Association at Harvard Law School.

Moreover, for valuable comments on parts of Chapter 6, which examines Chinese companies and U.S. employment law, I would like to thank Stuart Benjamin, Cynthia Estlund, Katie Eyer, Mary Gallagher, Aaron Halegua, Virginia Ho, Alan Hyde, Jedidiah Kroncke, Mingwei Liu, Yan Tian, and a few participants in the conference on the Global Transformation of Work held at Rutgers School of Management and Labor Relations and the 12th Annual Conference on Empirical Legal Studies at Cornell Law School.

Furthermore, for helpful comments on parts of Chapter 7, which investigates the interactions between Chinese companies and the U.S. national security review system, I am grateful to Stuart Benjamin, Adam Chilton, Jim Cox, Stuart



xii

#### Acknowledgments

Deutsch, Douglas Eakeley, Taja-Nia Henderson, David Noll, John Leubsdorf, Sabrina Safrin, Reid Weisbord, Huyue Zhang, and other participants of the 11th Annual Conference on Empirical Legal Studies at Duke Law School.

In revising earlier versions of the manuscript, I incorporated comments and suggestions from participants in workshops, seminars, and conferences hosted by Cheung Kong Graduate School of Business, Chinese University of Hong Kong Faculty of Law, Columbia Law School, National University of Singapore Faculty of Law, Northwestern University, Peking University Law School, Peking University School of Transnational Law, Rutgers Business School, Rutgers School of Management and Labor Relations, University of California–Irvine Law School, University of California—San Diego, University of Hong Kong Faculty of Law, and Yale School of Management.

Through the course of this book project, Rutgers Law School has served as a nurturing intellectual home. I have had the honor of learning from a wonderful group of colleagues who at various points reviewed and commented on parts of the book.

A special note of appreciation to Candice Niu, Junchen Pan, Sherry Qu, Evelyn Shi, and other staff members of the China General Chamber of Commerce—USA, whose hard work made possible the annual survey of Chinese companies in the United States and the compilation of the unique data set. I also want to express my appreciation to the group of anonymous business practitioners for generously sharing their views and experience with me, and to the Philip Shuchman Fund for Empirical Research for generous support.

At Cambridge University Press, I am grateful to senior editor John Berger for his guidance, patience and professionalism, and to Sharon McCann and her colleagues whose meticulous work sped the manuscript through the publications process, and to John Gaunt for excellent copyediting. I also thank the two anonymous reviewers for their interest in the project, valuable comments, and support.

Several paragraphs of Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 were published in the Northwestern Journal of International Law and Business, Volume 36, Issue 1 (2016); portions of Chapter 5 were published in the Hastings Law Journal, Volume 68, Issue 3 (2017); portions of Chapter 7 were originally published in the Berkeley Business Law Journal, Volume 14, Issue 1 (2017). I am grateful for the excellent editing assistance by the editors of those journals, in particular Kara Cooper, William Carpenter, and their colleagues at the Northwestern Journal of International Law and Business; Amy Holtz, Eric Young, and Jonathan Goldstein at the Hastings Law Journal; and Gavin Moler and Eugene Choi at the Berkeley Business Law Journal.

My deepest thanks, of course, go to my family.



ACFTU

SAT

SME

SOE

STB

TVE

TWEA VAT

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-15715-6 — The Clash of Capitalisms? Ji Li Frontmatter More Information

#### **Abbreviations**

All-China Federation of Trade Unions

CCP Chinese Communist Party CDIC Central Discipline Inspection Committee (of the Chinese Communist Party) CEO chief executive officer **CFIUS** Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States China General Chamber of Commerce-USA CGCC COD Central Organization Department (of the Chinese Communist Party) DPA Defense Production Act (1950) Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (1977) (United States) FCPA FDI foreign direct investment FINSA Foreign Investment and National Security Act (2007) (United States) **GAO** Government Accountability Office (United States) **GDP** gross domestic product **HBV** hepatitis B virus HRM human resource management Internal Revenue Service (United States) IRS LTB Local Tax Bureau (China) M & A mergers and acquisitions MNE multinational enterprise NGO non-governmental organization ODI outbound foreign direct investment PC personal computer SASAC State-Owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission

xiii

State Administration of Taxation (China)

Trading with the Enemy Act (United States)

small and medium-sized enterprise

state-owned enterprise

value added tax

State Tax Bureau (China)

township and village enterprise

