



Can China weaponize its Treasury Holdings?

The question keeps coming up as to whether China could use its considerable holdings of US Treasury securities as a weapon in its tensions with the US. However, China's importance for the Treasury market has already declined significantly, and selling off US bonds could hurt China itself. This weapon is therefore unlikely to be fired.

Bernd Weidensteiner ^{AC}

Tommy Wu ^{AC}

US Treasuries held by China as a "weapon"?

Economic and political tensions between the US and China have escalated significantly over the past decade. So far, both sides have been imposing tariffs on imports from the other country, restricting exports of certain goods (e.g. Rare Earths from China to the US or high-end semiconductors by American companies to China), and blacklisting companies from the other country. However, many observers fear that China could exploit its position as one of the US's largest international creditors and use its holdings of US Treasury securities as a weapon.

If China were to dump its holdings on the market, yields on US bonds would rise significantly. As a result, the US government would have to pay more to finance its deficits, and borrowing costs for businesses and households could rise significantly, which in turn would slow down the US economy considerably. In an extreme case, the resulting turmoil could shake the US financial system and trigger a global sell-off. So, it is being thought that Beijing could possibly use the sell-off of Treasuries as a threat and leverage in negotiations with the US.

China has reduced its holdings of US bonds, ...

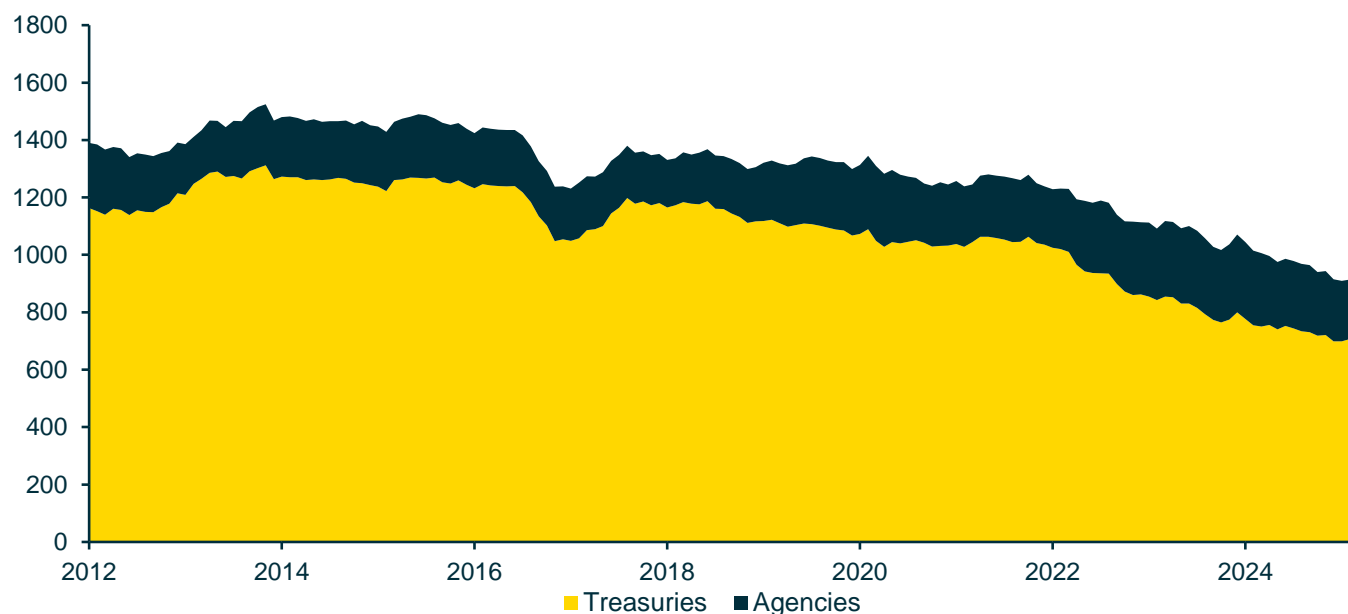
However, the size of this potential "weapon" is uncertain. According to data from the US Treasury, China has reduced its holdings of US Treasury securities. China still held \$765 billion in US Treasuries in March, which is still considerable but significantly less than the peak of \$1.3 trillion in 2013.^[1] This would make China the third-largest foreign holder of US government bonds behind Japan and the United Kingdom (title chart) ^[2].

China has also recently reduced its holdings of bonds issued by the large US government-sponsored mortgage refinance companies (known as agencies). In March, China's agency bond holdings worth around \$200 billion. Compared with its portfolio of US government bonds, China's agency holdings remained relatively stable for many years. Only in the past 12 months have they fallen quite sharply, by \$50 billion (Chart 1).



Chart 1 - China's US bond holdings are not limited to Treasuries

Chinese holdings of longer-term US Treasuries and US Agencies, monthly data in billion dollars



Source: US Treasury, Commerzbank Research

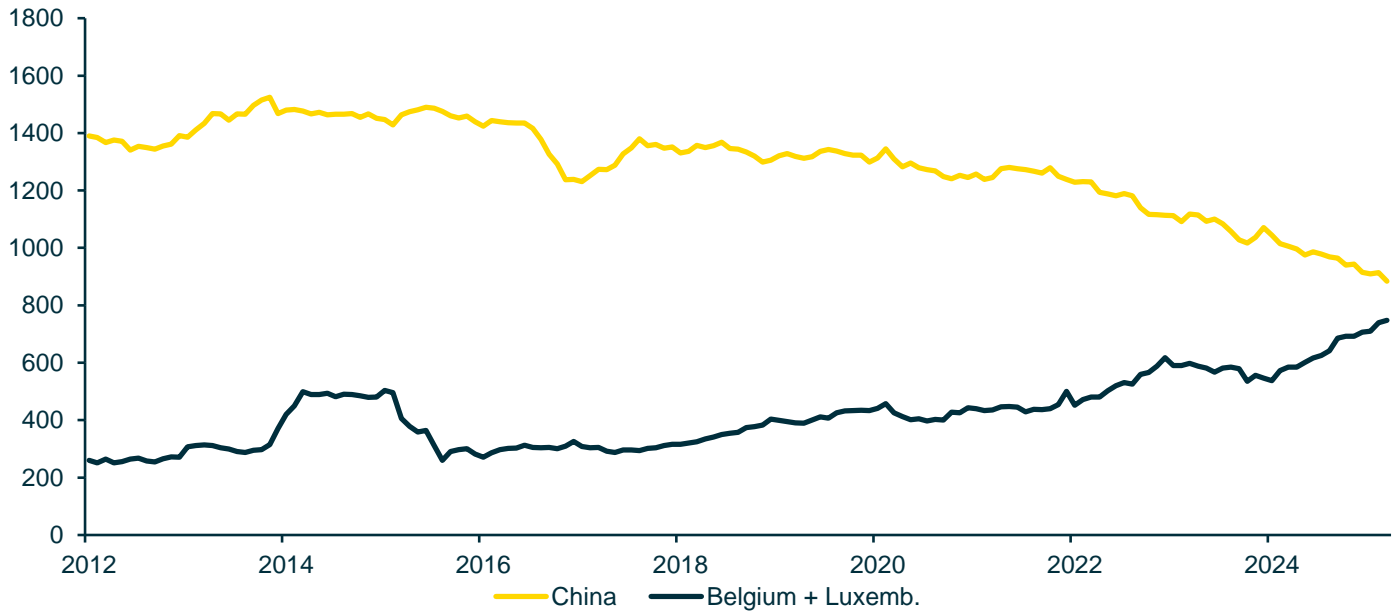
... but probably by much less than official figures show

However, these figures probably underestimate China's holdings. This is because the data from US Treasury only records in which foreign countries Treasuries are held, not who own them. According to official figures, Luxembourg and Belgium have the sixth and seventh largest holdings of Treasuries (title chart). However, only a small proportion of these holdings are likely to be held by the respective central banks or private investors from these countries, but rather by international investors. After all, the two largest offshore custodians, Euroclear (Belgium) and Clearstream (Luxembourg), are based in these countries. These offshore custodians offer settlement and custody services for a wide range of domestic and international financial securities on behalf of domestic and foreign clients. If China holds Treasuries via Euroclear, these holdings are recorded under "Belgium" in the US Treasury's data.

Although it is not known who ultimately owns the Treasuries and agencies held by the custodians, it is striking that Belgium's and Luxembourg's holdings of US securities have risen sharply in recent years, at the same time and to a similar extent as China's holdings have fallen (Chart 2). Consequently, it is quite possible that China has reduced its holdings of US Treasuries to a much lesser extent than the US Treasury statistics indicate. If the entire increase in Belgium's and Luxembourg's holdings were attributable to such a shift (an admittedly extreme assumption), China would now hold roughly the same amount of Treasuries as it did twelve years ago. The motive for such a shift in holdings could be the ongoing tensions between the US and China, which could give Beijing an interest in concealing the actual size of its US securities holdings [3].

**Chart 2 - Chinese US bond holdings: reduced or relocated?**

Treasury/Agency securities holdings of China and of Belgium plus Luxembourg



Source: US Treasury, Commerzbank Research

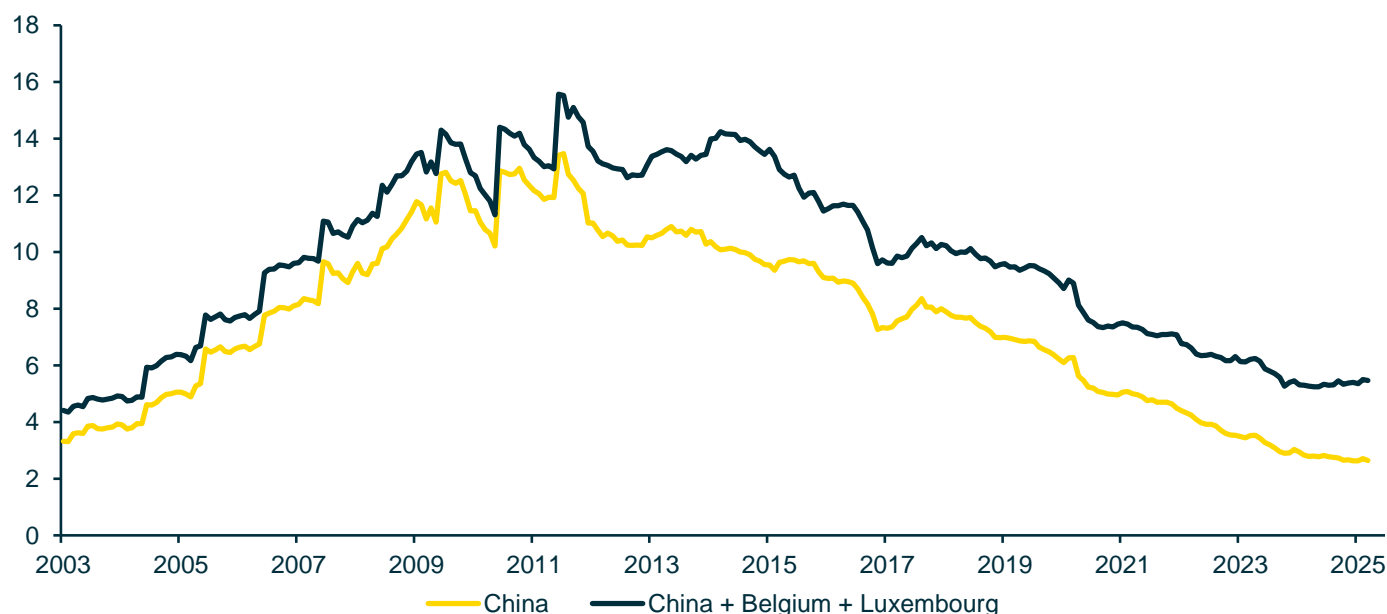
China has lost importance as an investor...

Including securities held offshore, the Chinese holdings of US Treasuries might not have fallen significantly. Given the rapid pace of issuance by the United States, China's share of outstanding Treasury securities has however fallen noticeably. In March, the holdings of Treasuries directly attributable to China accounted for only 2.6% of total outstanding bonds. Even by including the entire holdings of Belgium and Luxembourg, which are certainly not all held on behalf of China, the share is only 5.5% (Chart 3). At its peak in 2011, China's share of direct holdings was almost 13%. In other words, the caliber of China's "weapon" has thus become significantly smaller in recent years.



Chart 3 - China's share of the Treasury market has fallen significantly

Treasury holdings in % of outstanding Treasuries: China and China + Belgium + Luxembourg



Source: US Treasury, Commerzbank Research

... and using Treasuries as a weapon is extremely risky

There are also several reasons why China would be ill-advised to use this "weapon":

- A "successful" attack that triggers a global sell-off would also be extremely costly for China. In addition to probable price losses on the sales, a strong exchange rate reaction would be particularly likely: the renminbi would appreciate, placing a heavy burden on Chinese exports, which are currently contributing to 40% of the country's growth amid domestic economic weakness.
- A sell-off attack on the Treasury market would severely damage the global financial system, as US Treasuries are its linchpin. The likely consequence would be a global crisis and recessions in many countries. This would also hit the Chinese economy hard. Moreover, China would not make any friends by doing so. All attempts to position itself as a responsible player and as an alternative to the US would fail.
- Washington would hardly be defenseless against an attack on the Treasury market. On the one hand, it could "freeze" the Treasuries held by China in the US, thereby removing them from China's reach. On the other hand, the Fed would not stand idly by and watch the Treasury market collapse, but would buy up US government bonds on a large scale.

Conclusion: "Weapon" unlikely to be fired

All in all, we believe it is unlikely that China will use its still considerable holdings of US bonds as a "weapon" in the conflict with the US. It is more likely that the trends observed for some time now will continue: China is unlikely to significantly reduce its holdings in absolute terms, but its share of total outstanding US securities will probably continue to decline gradually.

[1] Here we look at the securities holdings of mainland China. Hong Kong (with a recent Treasury holdings of \$263 billion) is not included. ([back to text](#))

[2] These figures also include short-term securities, known as T-bills. In the following, we will focus on holdings of longer-term US securities ([back to text](#)).

[3] Cf. Brad Setser [China Isn't Shifting Away From the Dollar or Dollar Bonds](#) | Council on Foreign Relations, October 2023 ([back to text](#))



Analysts

Dr. Jörg Krämer^{AC}
Chief Economist
+49 69 136 23650
joerg.kraemer@commerzbank.com

Bernd Weidensteiner^{AC}
Senior Economist
+49 69 9353 45625
bernd.weidensteiner@commerzbank.com

This report was completed 20/6/2025 07:43 CEST and disseminated 20/6/2025 07:43 CEST.

This document has been created and published by the Group Research department (GM-R) within the Group Management division of Commerzbank AG, Frankfurt/Main or Commerzbank's non-US branch offices mentioned in the document.

Analyst Certification (AC): The author(s), denoted by AC at the beginning of this report, individually certifies that the views expressed in this report accurately reflect their personal views about the subject securities and issuers; and no part of their compensation was, is, or will be directly or indirectly related to the specific recommendation(s) or views expressed by them contained in this document.

It has not been determined in advance whether and in what intervals this document will be updated. Unless otherwise stated current prices refer to the most recent trading day's closing price or spread which may fluctuate.

Conflicts of interest

Disclosures of potential conflicts of interest relating to Commerzbank AG, its affiliates, subsidiaries (together "Commerzbank") and its relevant employees with respect to the issuers, financial instruments and/or securities forming the subject of this document valid as of the end of the month prior to publication of this document*:

Please refer to the following link for disclosures on companies included in compendium reports or disclosures on any company covered by Commerzbank analysts: <https://commerzbank.bluematrix.com/sellside/Disclosures.action>*

*Updating this information may take up to ten days after month end.

Disclaimer

This document is for information purposes only and has been prepared for recipients who, like professional clients according to MiFID II, have the experience, knowledge and expertise to understand information related to the financial markets. The document does not take into account specific circumstances of any recipient and the information contained herein does not constitute the provision of investment advice. It is not intended to be and should not be construed as a recommendation, offer or solicitation to acquire, or dispose of, any of the financial instruments and/or securities mentioned in this document and will not form the basis or a part of any contract or commitment whatsoever. Investors should seek independent professional advice and draw their own conclusions regarding suitability of any transaction including the economic benefits, risks, legal, regulatory, credit, accounting and tax implications.

The information in this document is based on public data obtained from sources believed by Commerzbank to be reliable and in good faith, but no representations, guarantees or warranties are made by Commerzbank with regard to accuracy, completeness or suitability of the data. Commerzbank has not performed any independent review or due diligence of publicly available information regarding an unaffiliated reference asset or index. The opinions and estimates contained herein reflect the current judgement of the author(s) on the date of this document and are subject to change without notice. The opinions do not necessarily correspond to the opinions of Commerzbank. Commerzbank does not have an obligation to update, modify or amend this document or to otherwise notify a reader thereof in the event that any matter stated herein, or any opinion, projection, forecast or estimate set forth herein, changes or subsequently becomes inaccurate.

In order to address potential conflicts of interest Commerzbank's Research department operates independently of other business units of the bank. This is achieved by way of physical and administrative information barriers and separate reporting lines as well as by written internal policies and procedures.

This communication may contain trading ideas where Commerzbank may trade in such financial instruments with customers or other counterparties. Any prices provided herein (other than those that are identified as being historical) are indicative only, and do not represent firm quotes as to either size or price. The past performance of financial instruments is not indicative of future results. No assurance can be given that any financial instrument or issuer described herein would yield favourable investment results. Any forecasts or price targets shown for companies and/or securities discussed in this document may not be achieved due to multiple risk factors including without limitation market volatility, sector volatility, corporate actions, the unavailability of complete and accurate information and/or the subsequent transpiration that underlying assumptions made by Commerzbank or by other sources relied upon in the document were inapposite.

Commerzbank and or its affiliates may act as a market maker in the instrument(s) and or its derivative that has been mentioned in our research reports. Employees of Commerzbank and or its affiliates may provide written or oral commentary, including trading strategies,



to our clients and business units that may be contrary to the opinions conveyed in this research report. Commerzbank may perform or seek to perform investment banking services for issuers mentioned in research reports.

Neither Commerzbank nor any of its respective directors, officers or employees accepts any responsibility or liability whatsoever for any expense, loss or damages arising out of or in any way connected with the use of all or any part of this document.

Commerzbank may provide hyperlinks to websites of entities mentioned in this document, however the inclusion of a link does not imply that Commerzbank endorses, recommends or approves any material on the linked page or accessible from it. Commerzbank does not accept responsibility whatsoever for any such material, nor for any consequences of its use.

This document is for the use of the addressees only and may not be reproduced, redistributed or passed on to any other person or published, in whole or in part, for any purpose, without the prior, written consent of Commerzbank. The manner of distributing this document may be restricted by law or regulation in certain countries, including the United States. Persons into whose possession this document may come are required to inform themselves about and to observe such restrictions. By accepting this document, a recipient hereof agrees to be bound by the foregoing limitations.

Additional notes to readers in the following countries:

Germany: Commerzbank AG is registered in the Commercial Register at Amtsgericht Frankfurt under the number HRB 32000. Commerzbank AG is supervised by both the German regulator, Bundesanstalt für Finanzdienstleistungsaufsicht (BaFin), Graurheindorfer Strasse 108, 53117 Bonn, Marie-Curie-Strasse 24-28, 60439 Frankfurt am Main and the European Central Bank, Sonnemannstrasse 20, 60314 Frankfurt am Main, Germany.

United Kingdom: This document is not for distribution to retail customers and has been issued or approved for issue in the United Kingdom by Commerzbank AG, London Branch, which is authorised and regulated by Bundesanstalt für Finanzdienstleistungsaufsicht (BaFin) and the European Central Bank. Authorised by the Prudential Regulation Authority. Subject to regulation by the Financial Conduct Authority and limited regulation by the Prudential Regulation Authority. Details about the extent of our regulation by the Prudential Regulation Authority are available from us on request.

United States: This research report was prepared by Commerzbank AG, a company authorized to engage in securities activities in Germany and the European Economic Area (EEA). Commerzbank AG is not a U.S. registered broker-dealer and is therefore not subject to U.S. rules regarding the preparation of research and associated rules pertaining to research analysts. This document is not for distribution to retail customers. Any distribution of this research report to U.S. investors is intended for "major U.S. institutional investors" in reliance on the exemption from registration provided by Rule 15a-6(a)(2) of the U.S. Securities Exchange Act of 1934, as amended (the "Exchange Act"). Any U.S. recipient of this research report seeking to effect transactions to buy or sell securities, or related financial instruments based upon the information provided in this research report, may only do so through a Financial Industry Regulatory Authority (FINRA) registered broker-dealer. Commerz Markets LLC (CMLLC) is a U.S. registered broker-dealer and wholly owned subsidiary of Commerzbank AG. Commerzbank AG is a registered derivatives swap dealer with the Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC), in accordance with the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act. U.S. Person(s) and related Dodd-Frank relevant investors seeking to effect transactions in non-security based swaps based upon the information provided in this research report, may only do so through a CFTC registered swap dealer.

Canada: The information contained herein is not, and under no circumstances is to be construed as, a prospectus, an advertisement, a public offering, an offer to sell securities described herein, solicitation of an offer to buy securities described herein, in Canada or any province or territory thereof. Any offer or sale of the securities described herein in Canada will be made only under an exemption from the requirements to file a prospectus with the relevant Canadian securities regulators and only by a dealer properly registered under applicable securities laws or, alternatively, pursuant to an exemption from the dealer registration requirement in the relevant province or territory of Canada in which such offer or sale is made. Under no circumstances is the information contained herein to be construed as investment advice in any province or territory of Canada and is not tailored to the needs of the recipient. In Canada, the information contained herein is intended solely for distribution to Permitted Clients (as such term is defined in National Instrument 31-103) with whom Commerzbank AG and/or Commerz Markets LLC deals pursuant to the international dealer exemption. The information contained herein is not permitted to reference securities of an issuer incorporated, formed or created under the laws of Canada or a province or territory of Canada, as Commerzbank AG and Commerz Markets LLC operates under the international dealer exemption pursuant to National Instrument 31-103. No securities commission or similar regulatory authority in Canada has reviewed or in any way passed upon these materials, the information contained herein or the merits of the securities described herein and any representation to the contrary is an offence.

European Economic Area: Where this document has been produced by a legal entity outside of the EEA, the document has been re-issued by Commerzbank AG, London Branch for distribution into the EEA. Commerzbank AG, London Branch is authorised and regulated by Bundesanstalt für Finanzdienstleistungsaufsicht (BaFin) and the European Central Bank. Authorised by the Prudential Regulation Authority. Subject to regulation by the Financial Conduct Authority and limited regulation by the Prudential Regulation Authority. Details about the extent of our regulation by the Prudential Regulation Authority are available from us on request.

Switzerland: This document is generally not for distribution to retail clients. Neither this research report nor the information contained herein should be regarded as personal recommendations for transactions in financial instruments within the meaning of the Financial Services Act.

Singapore: This document is furnished in Singapore by Commerzbank AG, Singapore branch. It may only be received in Singapore by an institutional investor, an accredited investor or an expert investor as respectively defined in section 4A of the Securities and Futures Act, Chapter 289 of Singapore ("SFA") pursuant to section 274 or section 275 (as applicable) of the SFA. Nothing in this document constitutes accounting, legal, regulatory, tax, financial or other advice and/or recommendations to the recipient of this communication. Further, the communication/information provided herein does not constitute a "financial advisory service" within the meaning of the Financial Advisers Act, Chapter 110 of Singapore ("FAA") and therefore, the regulatory requirements and duties that may be owed to a client pursuant to or in connection with the FAA are not applicable to the recipient in connection with this communication. Recipients are advised to seek independent advice from their own professional advisers about the information contained discussed herein.



Japan: This information and its distribution do not constitute and should not be construed as a "solicitation" under the Financial Instrument Exchange Act (FIEA) of Japan. This information may be distributed from Commerzbank international branches outside Japan solely to "professional investors" as defined in Article 2(31) of the FIEA and Article 23 of the Cabinet Ordinance Regarding Definition of Article 2 of the FIEA. Please note that Commerzbank AG, Tokyo Branch has not participated in its preparation. Any instruments referred in this report cannot be introduced by the Branch. You should contact the Corporate Clients division of Commerzbank AG for inquiries on availability of such instruments.

Australia: Commerzbank AG does not hold an Australian financial services licence. This document is being distributed in Australia to wholesale customers pursuant to an Australian financial services licence exemption for Commerzbank AG under Class Order 04/1313. Commerzbank AG is regulated by Bundesanstalt für Finanzdienstleistungsaufsicht (BaFin) under the laws of Germany which differ from Australian laws.

People's Republic of China (PRC): This document is furnished by Commerzbank AG and is only intended for eligible entities in the PRC. No-one else may rely on any information contained within this document. The products and services in this document only apply to entities in the PRC where such products and services are permitted to be provided by PRC laws and regulations. For any person who receives this document, the information in this document shall neither be regarded as promotion or solicitation of the business nor accounting, legal, regulatory, tax, financial or other advice and/or recommendations to the recipient of this communication, and the recipient is advised to seek independent advice from its own professional advisers about the information contained herein and shall understand and abide by PRC laws and regulations while conducting any related transactions.

© Commerzbank AG 2025. All rights reserved. Version 25.02

Frankfurt

Commerzbank AG
DLZ - Gebäude 2, Händlerhaus
Mainzer Landstraße 153
60327 Frankfurt
Tel: + 49 69 136 21200

London

Commerzbank AG
PO BOX 52715
30 Gresham Street
London, EC2P 2XY
Tel: + 44 207 623 8000

New York

Commerz Markets LLC
225 Liberty Street, 32nd floor,
New York,
NY 10281-1050
Tel: + 1 212 703 4000

Singapore

Commerzbank AG
128 Beach Road
#17-01 Guoco Midtown
Singapore 189773
Tel: +65 631 10000