17 Aug 2022

# Geopolitical alpha ain't where it used to be!

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#### High Level Summary

- **Cold War?** The narrative that the world is experiencing Cold War 2.0 has received a boost in 2022 as Chinese assertiveness towards Taiwan grows and as Sino-Russian axis - allegedly - grows stronger.
- Multipolarity We stick to our decade-long view that the world remains multipolar, not bipolar. The US remains constrained in creating coalitions of the willing against China. Even the one against Russia will, we think, dissipate as the war in Ukraine stalls. China, on the other hand, has stalled as a great power. Western bias makes it difficult for investors to realize that Chinese geopolitical aggression has actually been toned down, not increased, since 2017.
- **Geopolitics Is Not Transitory** A multipolar environment that is further colored by populism and the green transition will ensure that this is a CAPEX-led cycle. The world needs more stuff - "planes, trains, and automobiles," - not software. On a secular basis, we are bond bearish due to inflation and tech bearish, while remaining commodity bulls. In the near term, however, there may be more downside to commodities due to growth concerns.
- **Ukraine Is a Symptom of Multipolarity** Nothing proves that the world is multipolar like the war in Ukraine. Our view is that the conflict is stalling, which means the second derivative of geopolitical risk premium will fall.



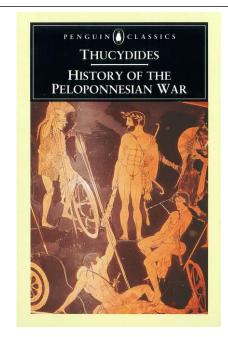
The Case for a New Cold War



# Cold War 2.0 | The Thucydides Trap Is Real...



"It was the rise of Athens and the fear that this instilled in Sparta that made war inevitable."

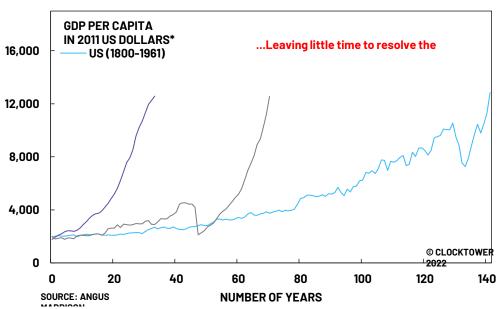




#### Cold War 2.0 | ...But China Is *Not* Athens

Unlike challenger powers of the past, China has closed the gap with the status quo power with impressive speed.



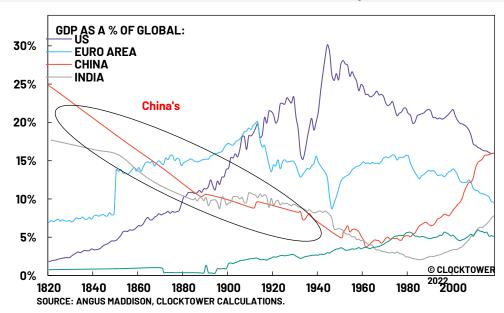




## Cold War 2.0 | Mean Reversion

China believes that it is not just another challenger power... it believes that it is reverting to the mean and reversing a Century of Humiliation.

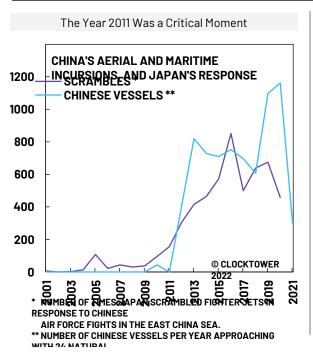
#### China Does Not See Itself as the "Challenger"

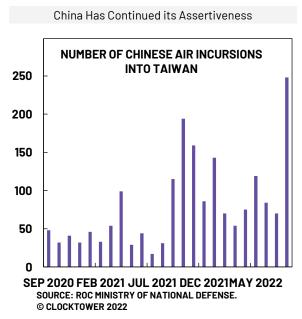




#### Cold War 2.0 | China Has Shown Its Assertiveness

As Chinese capabilities have grown, so has its assertiveness. Since 2011, China's military has taken a much more aggressive posture throughout East Asia.

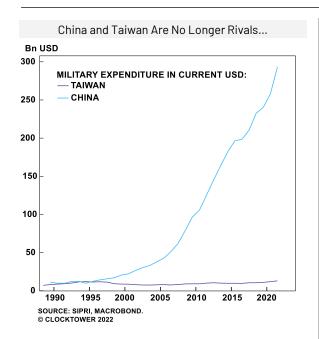






# Cold War 2.0 | China Is Now a Regional Hegemon

China has shown its capabilities in the recent standoff with Taiwan. Unlike 20 years ago, the China-Taiwan rivalry is no longer a fair fight. China knows it and is acting like it.



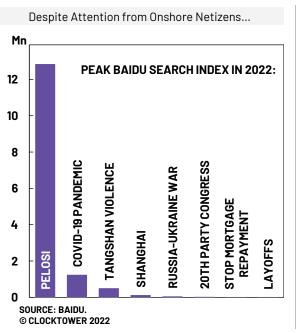


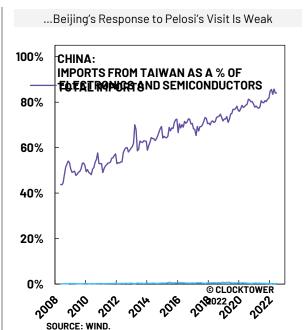
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# China | Domestic Politics Are Complicated

The smooth landing of Pelosi's plane in Taiwan reveals three things – **Beijing remains constrained**, **President Xi's domestic standing is strong**, and the constraint from nationalistic sentiment is limited.

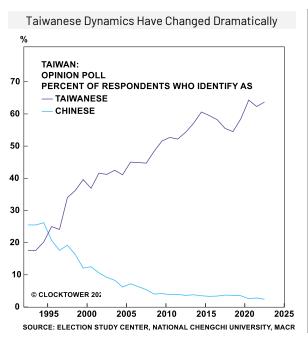


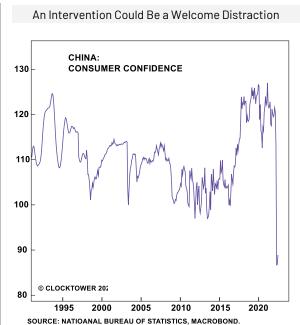




# China | Time for Confrontation May Be *Now*

Beijing may believe that the window for an all-out military reunification with Taiwan is *now*. And, with Chinese economy facing intractable headwinds, an intervention may be a welcome distraction.

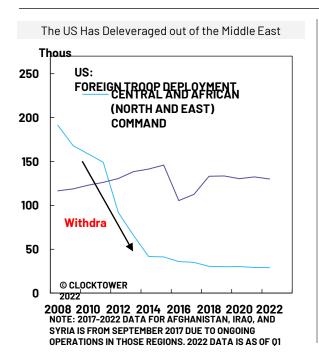


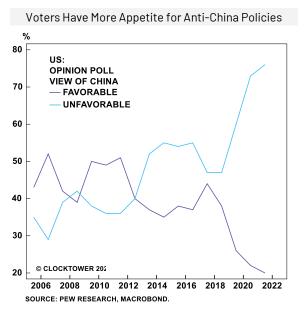




#### Cold War 2.0 | The US Has More Geo-Political Room to Maneuver

The US was caught off guard in 2011. It was distracted by an economic crisis and a massive geopolitical commitment in the Middle East. The US has more maneuvering room in 2022.



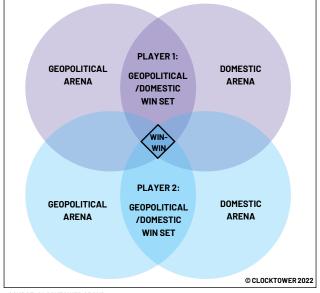




#### Cold War 2.0 | Beware Two-Level Games

Investors should expect the Biden Administration to focus on foreign policy following the Midterms. As Biden seeks relevance abroad, more geopolitical risk will follow in 2023.

In Two-Level Games, a Win-Win Outcome Is Difficult to Achieve



SOURCE: CLOCKTOWER GROUP.

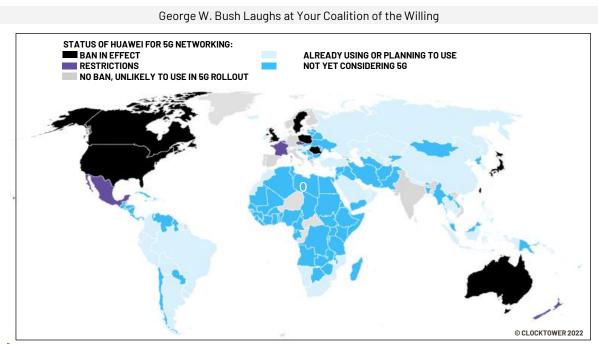


Cold War Is a Lazy Analogy: Global Multipolarity and Constraints on the US



# US Constraints | America Will Struggle to Produce...

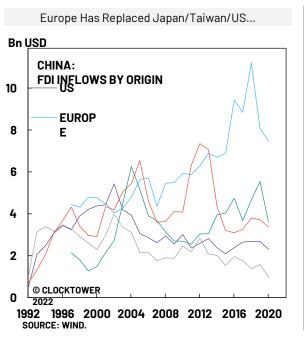
... a coalition of the willing against China. European allies simply do not see China as a serious enough of a threat necessitating a response analogous to the fight against the USSR.

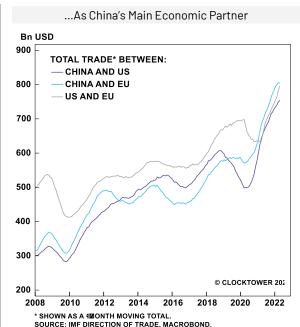




# US Constraints | Europe Sees China as an Opportunity

Europe has not bought into the US view of China. While the EU has called China a "rival," it continues to trade and invest in the economy.

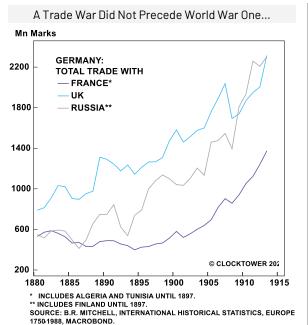


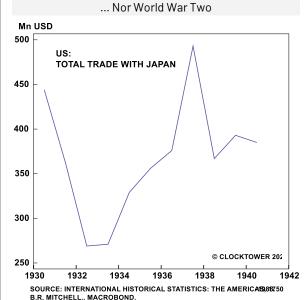




# US Constraints | This Is a Replay of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

A multipolar global ordering of power does not lead to neatly decoupled economic spheres. Both history and political science teach us that trade between enemies continues.

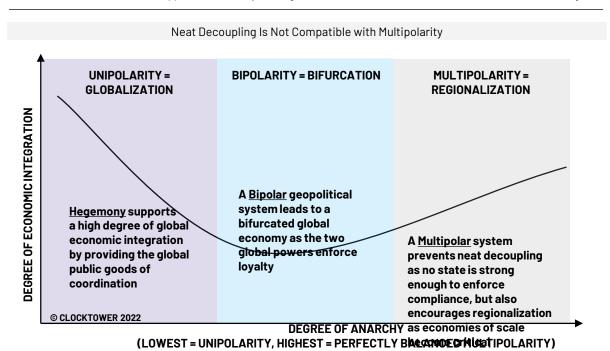






## US Constraints | Multipolar Geopolitics

Is the world then hurtling towards the inevitability of a Cold War? No. The Cold War is a lazy and overused analogy. In a multipolar global context, a bifurcated world is unlikely.

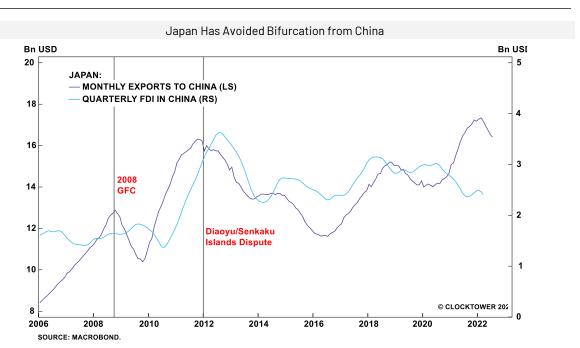


For Professional Investors and qualified investors only. | 18



# US Constraints | Not Just A 20th Century Phenomenon

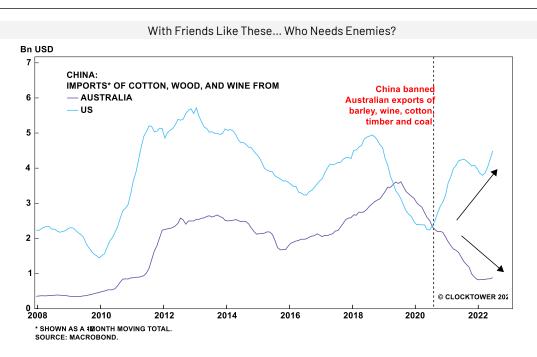
Japan has similarly avoided decoupling from China over the course of the past decade, despite significant tensions - and rising nationalism in both countries.





# US Constraints | Misjudging Multipolarity Is Folly!

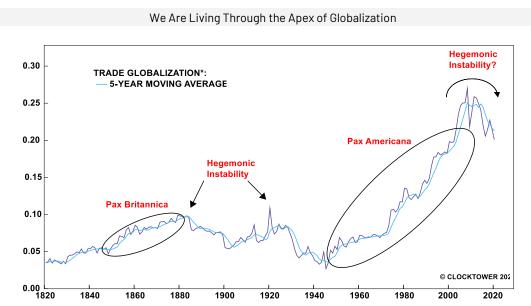
The one country that does not understand that the world is multipolar is <u>Australia</u>. Its "loss" has been America's "gain," its purportedly strongest ally. That is multipolarity at work.





#### US Constraints | Globalization Is *Not* the Norm

That said, globalization will not proceed as before, given multipolarity. Without a hegemon to provide the expensive global public goods, globalization will fray, but not collapse completely.



\* TRADE GLOBALIZATION IS MEASURED BY IMPORTS AS PERCENTAGE OF GDP WEIGHTED BY POPULATION SOURCE: MACROBOND, BCA RESEARCH, CRIMARE C., KAWANO Y., AND BREWER B., "TRADE GIZOBIKIN SINCE 179 WAVESING FEGRATION IN THE WORLD SYSTEM," AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, VOL. 65, NO. 1 AND CLOCKTOWER CASING EMPONS

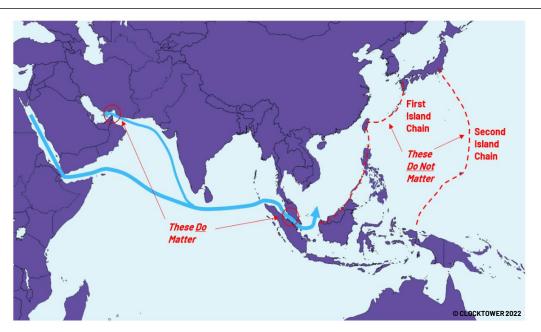


Multipolarity and Constraints on China: Beijing Has Peaked as a Global Power



# Peak China | China's Trap #1: Geography

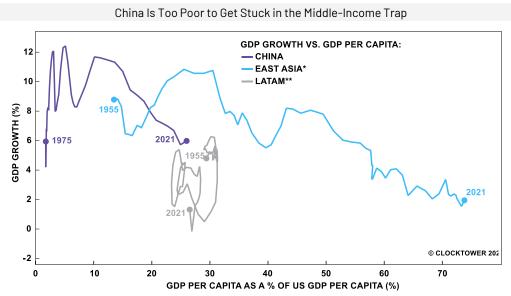
Many geopolitical strategists talk of First & Second Island Chains... this is all nonsense. China's geographic fulcrum is half the planet away: The Strait of Hormuz.





## Peak China | China's Trap #2: The Middle-Income Trap

China's productivity growth is declining, a dire outcome that will result in the country potentially being trapped in the middle income. China needs to avoid the middle-income trap.

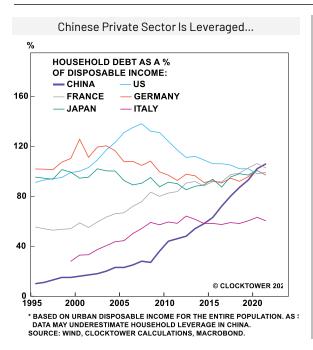


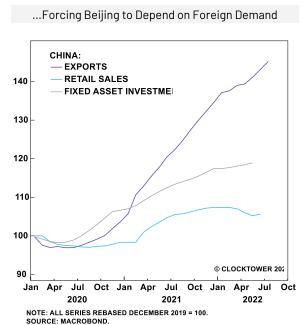
<sup>\*</sup> AVERAGE OF JAPAN, SOUTH KOREA, AND TAIWAN.
\*\* AVERAGE OF ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, CHILE, COLOMBIA, ECUADOR, GUATEMALA, MEXIQID, AND PER
NOTE: ALL SERIES SHOWN AS-XISAR MOVING AVERAGE.
SOURCE: CONFERENCE BOARD TOTAL ECONOMY DATABASE. BCA RESEARCH, MACROBOND.



## Peak China | Exports Are the Only Thing that "Works"

The private sector is at the end of its debt supercycle and policymakers are pushing on a string. The only source of growth for China are exports, which means the economy is leveraged to foreign demand.

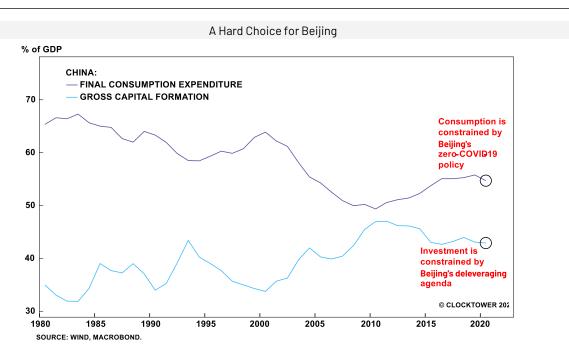






#### Peak China | Beijing Has to Pivot Towards Investment

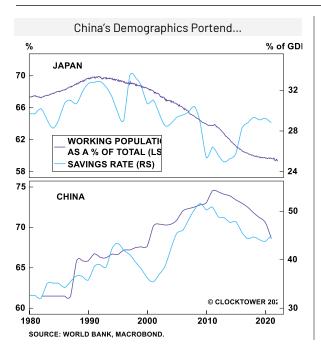
Exports won't be healthy forever, forcing Beijing to choose between leveraging the private or public sectors. Given constraints to private sector, we expect public investment to surge in 2023.

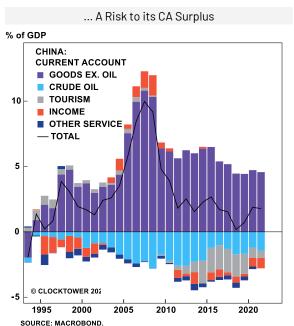




## Peak China | Trap #3: Demographics Are A Risk to the BoP

If Y = C + I + G + NX, and S = Y - (G + C), then S - I = NX = CA. Math story put simple: China's demographics will guarantee to tip the country into a CA deficit.

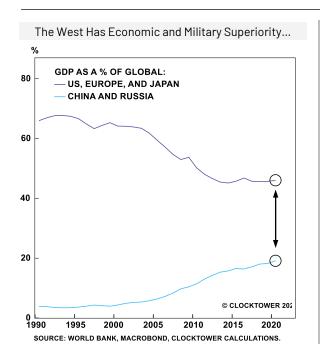


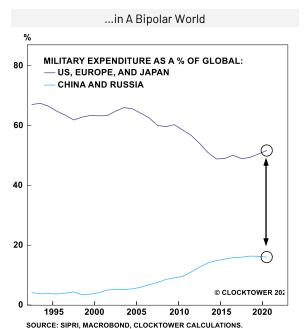




#### Peak China | Will China Usher in A Bipolar World?

If Beijing takes the Russian side and isolates itself from the EU, it may create the conditions for the world to evolve from a multipolar distribution of power to a bipolar one.

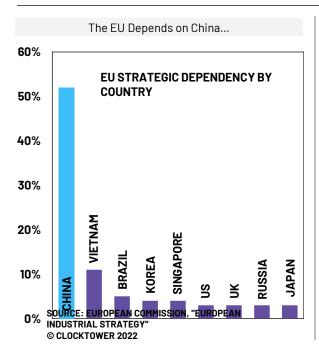


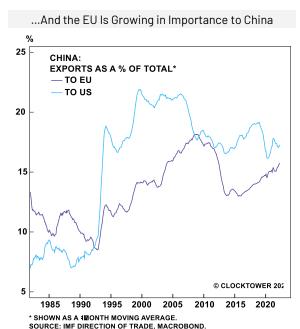




#### Peak China | The Importance of Sino-EU Relationship

The value of bilateral trade between China and the EU is now the world's largest, with China's export dependence on the European market gradually growing to match that of the US.



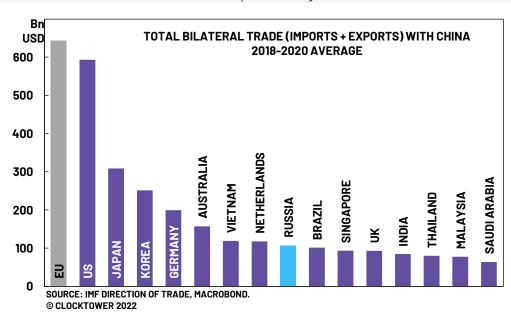




## Peak China | Less Substance in Sino-Russia Partnership

The substance of the Sino-Russia comprehensive strategic partnership is far less significant than many think, particularly in the West.

Russia Is Not Even in the Top Five Trading Partners of China





#### Peak China | Russia-China Infrastructure Links Are Paltry

Infrastructural needs for a robust Sino-Russian relationship are huge. They have not been built yet. Getting Yamal Peninsula gas to China would be one of the greatest infra projects ever attempted.





#### Peak China | When Was the Last Time You Focused on SCS?

While China's focus on Taiwan and Hong Kong has increased, its aggressive posture towards neighbors – Japan, Malaysia, Philippines, Vietnam, etc. – has been toned down. Beijing has trimmed its ambitions.

#### South China Sea Has Not Been Relevant Since 2016!



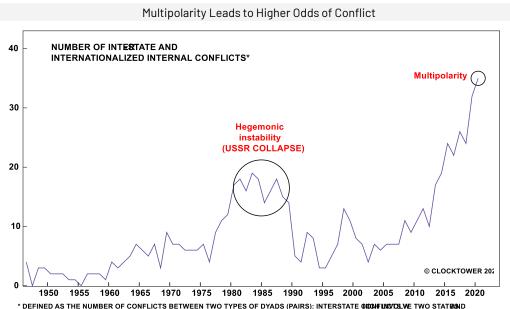


So What?



# So What? | Multipolar World Is Fraught With Risks

Geopolitical conflict is more likely in a multipolar world for a number of reasons, both theory and empirics support this view. Nation states will seek to bolster their defenses and alliances.

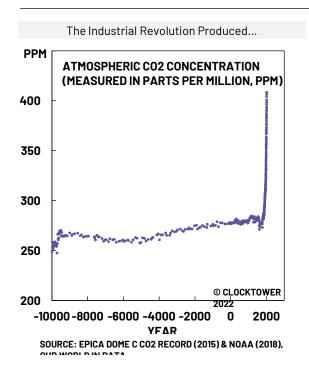


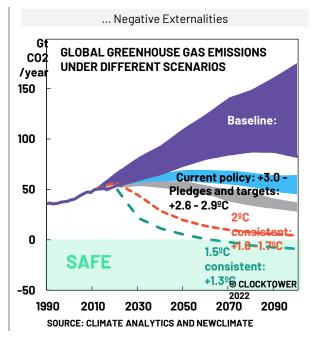
<sup>\*</sup> DEFINED AS THE NUMBER OF CONFLICTS BETWEEN TWO TYPES OF DYADS (PAIRS): INTERSTATE @DDMFINOTOLIVE TWO STATESHO INTERNATIONALIZED INTERNAL CONFLICTS WHICH INVOLVE A STATE AND ORGANIZATION SUPPORTHEERESYTAINE. SOURCE: UPPSALA CONFLICT DATA PROGRAM.



#### So What? | From Race to Scale...

The global *Race to Scale* was made possible by the two Industrial Revolutions. **It ultimately produced negative externalities**, such as pollution and – ultimately – two World Wars.

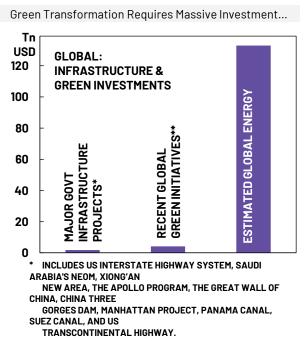


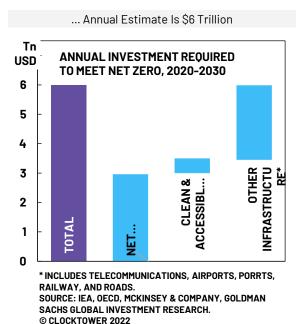




#### So What? | ... To Race to Zero

The capex necessary to ensure the transition to green energy will have to be gargantuan. Not only will capex need to support green energy, but also to maintain current supplies of old energy sources.

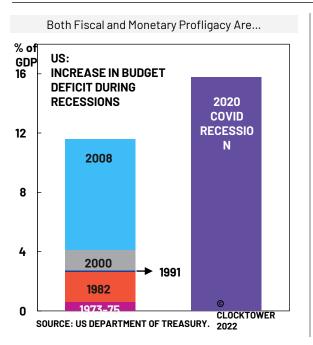


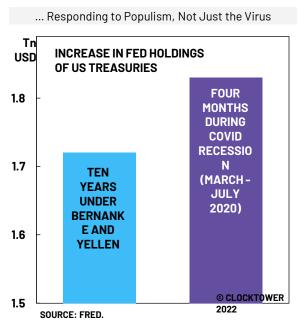




#### So What? | The Pandemic Did Not Cause the Stimulus

While it is impossible to prove, we would argue that policymakers would have responded to *any* recession with gargantuan stimulus. When the pandemic dissipates, unorthodoxy will not.

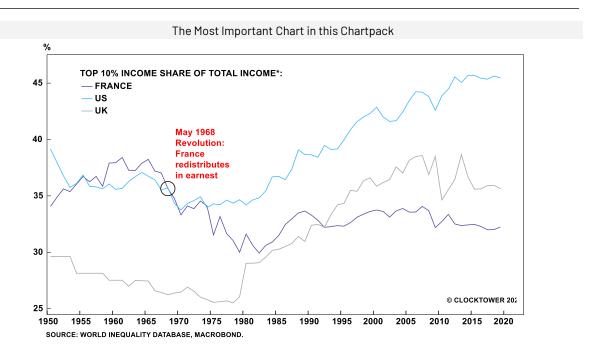






#### So What? | A BAC Bull Market

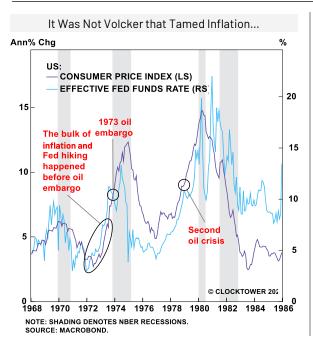
Underpinning this cycle is our most important paradigm: the Buenos Aires Consensus. It represents a shift from the macro-orthodoxy of the Washington Consensus to... something else.

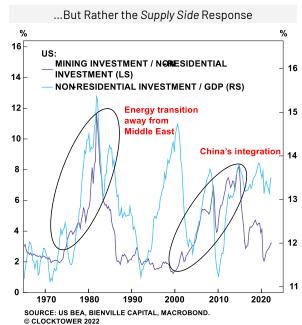




## So What? | Inflation Is Not Going Away Without Capex

Investors put too much emphasis on monetary policy when thinking about inflation. What the world needs is *capex*, not demand control. A massive capex boom is necessary to resolve supply problems.

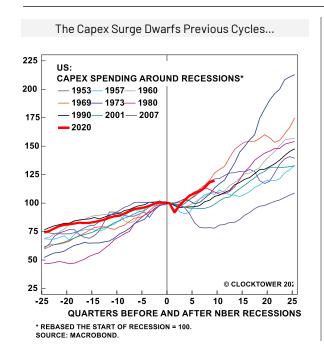


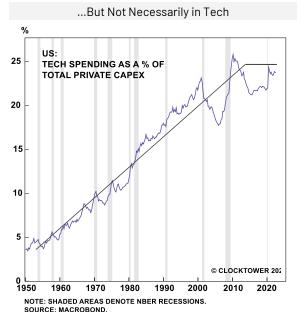




## So What? | And that Capex Is Already Here

This cycle has already seen an upturn in capex, although energy and mining capex still lags. Intriguingly, capex in tech is weak, and actually has been weak since 2010.









## So What? | Some Level of "Decoupling" Is Inevitable

China and the US will continue to diverge on 21st century goods and services. But this is not a risk, it is an investment opportunity. Trade and capital flows will continue.

Remember When VHS Tapes...

...And Cell Phones Could Not Travel?

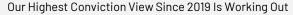


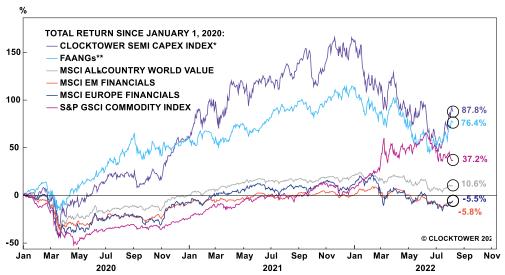




## So What? | But Decoupling Will Be Nuanced

Capex plays are a clear winner of nuanced decoupling. As manufacturing becomes geopolitically bifurcated, capex players will win by selling to both China and the West!





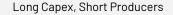
<sup>\*</sup> INCLUDES AMAT, LRCX, KLAC, MKSI, AEIS, BRKS, TER, ASML, TOELY.

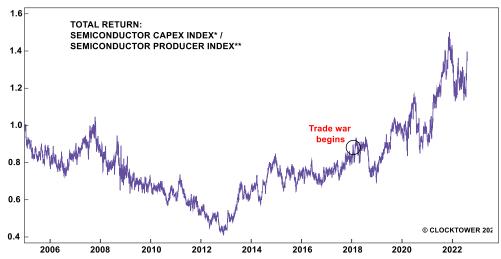
<sup>\*\*</sup> INCLUDES APPLE, ALPHABET, AMAZON, META, AND MICROSOFT. SOURCE: MACROBOND.



## So What? | Long Capex, Short Producers

Manufacturers are the biggest losers as they will have to dip into revenues to build out new capacity according to the whims of Washington and Beijing. Long Capex, Short Producers.





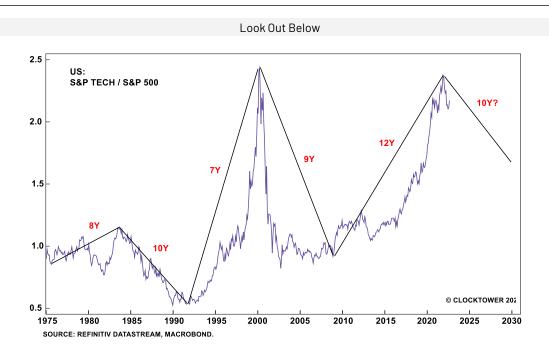
<sup>\*</sup> INCLUDES AMAT, LRCX, KLAC, MKSI, AEIS, BRKS, TER, ASML, TOELY. \*\* INCLUDES TSMC, SAMSUNG, UMC, SMIC.

NOTE: BOTH SERIES REBASED TO JANUARY 1, 2005 = 100. SOURCE: MACROBOND.



## So What? | The Tech Party Is Over

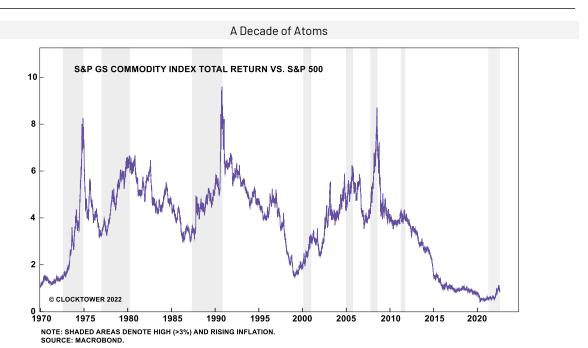
The epic run for tech is over. And not just for unprofitable tech. All tech. Tech is a sector finely tuned to the disinflationary era of the past decade. We are no longer in that decade. Act accordingly.





### So What? | We Are in a Commodity Supercycle Decade

The 2020s will be characterized by a decade of building stuff out of atoms, not bytes. As such, invest in commodities on a long-term horizon, even if they are overstretched in the short-term.





Ukraine Is a Symptom of Multipolarity



## Tactical | Russia's Quagmire Is Not Going Anywhere

Geopolitical risk premium associated with Ukraine no longer makes any sense. The war is entering a stasis, one from which Putin must untangle Russia.

Russia Has Withdrawn from all of the North...



SOUR 29:164 STITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF WAR. © CLOCKTOWER 2022

...And its Gains in Donbas Are Pathetic

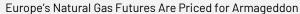


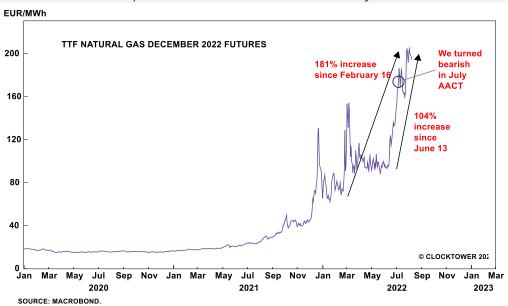
SOURCE: BBC, UK MOD / INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF WAR.



#### Gas Crisis | Markets Are Priced for Genius Putin, But...

...Is Russia really that smart? Not according to our math.

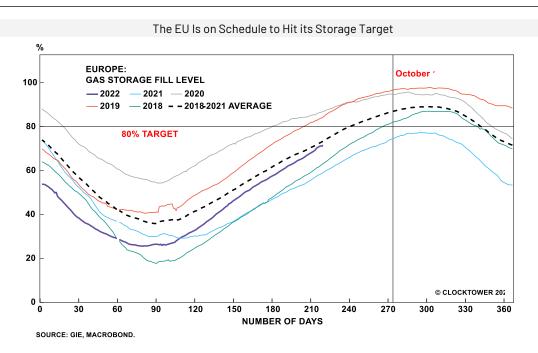






## Gas Crisis | Europe Is Not Stupid

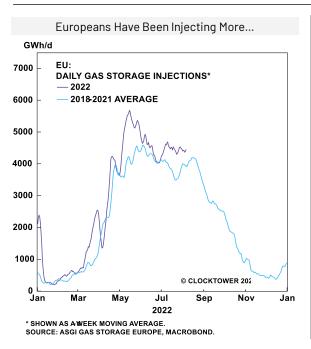
Europeans are on pace to hit their storage target, which should – ceteris paribus – allow them to get through the winter with minimal rationing of natural gas use.

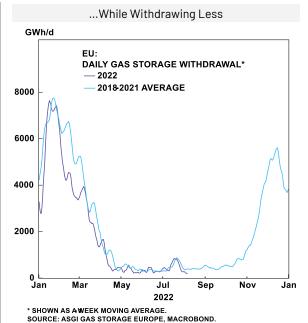




#### Gas Crisis | How Is that Possible?

Europe's injection and withdrawal trend this year shows that the EU has been intentionally building up a buffer since the war in Ukraine began. The media ignores this because it does not fit its neat narrative.



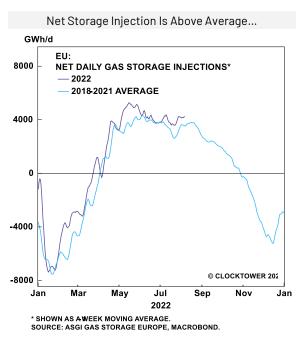


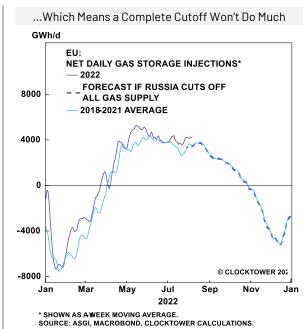
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## Gas Crisis | Europe Is Going to Be Just Fine this Winter

European net injections have been higher than normal, allowing the EU to fill its storage as planned.

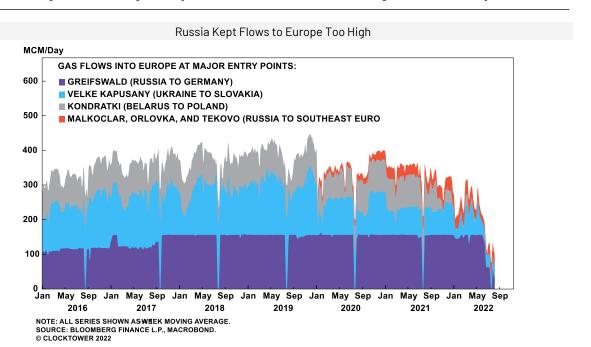






#### Gas Crisis | Moscow Made a Mistake

Russia only began shutting off natural gas flows to Europe this summer, giving the EU enough time to squirrel enough into storage. Why didn't Moscow shut down all gas immediately in late February?

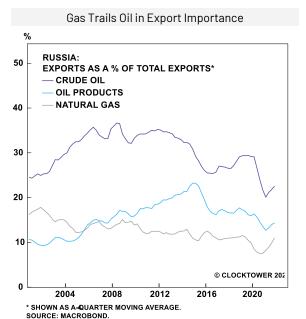




# Gas Crisis | Why Did Russia Make the Mistake...

...When it supposedly does not need natural gas revenue? It is correct that natural gas accounts for "only" 10% of government revenue. However, sales to Europe are still \$55bn per year!

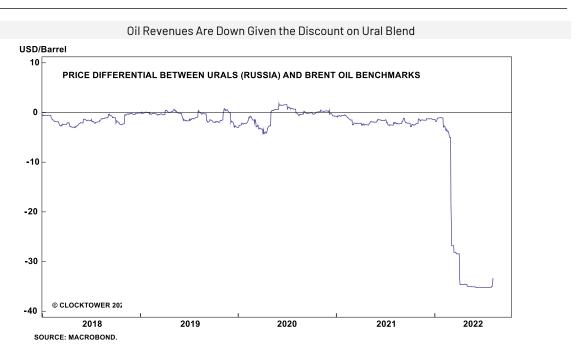






## Gas Crisis | Does Russia Really Not Need the Revenue?

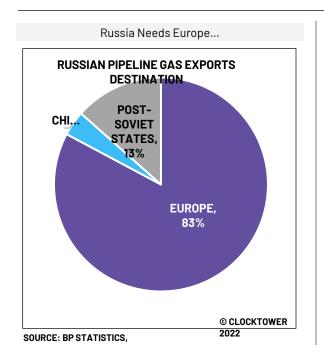
We doubt that Russia does not need natural gas revenue. Especially given the decline in revenues from oil sales. Furthermore, what kind of a regime is the Kremlin? Kleptocratic or Strategic?

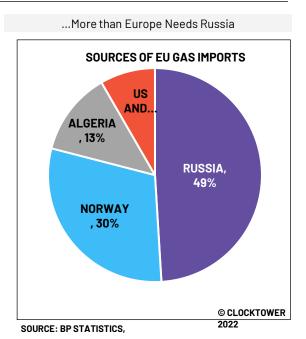




## Gas Crisis | Europe Has Putin by the Pipelines

Despite supposedly not needing natural gas revenue, Moscow was still too late in cutting off gas. Why? We think it is because it does need the revenue. Russia is a kleptocratic regime, not a geopolitical one.

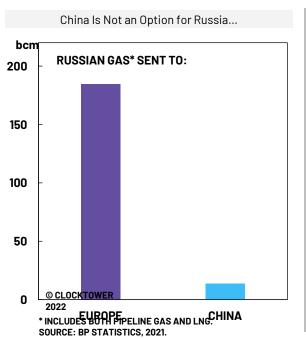


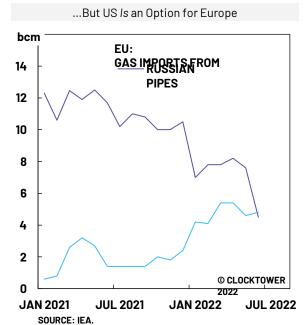




## Gas Crisis | Russia Has No Alternative to Europe

While Europe can find alternatives to RUS supply, RUS cannot find alternatives to EU demand. As such, if the Kremlin wants its \$55bn (we know empirically it does), then it has to engage with the EU.



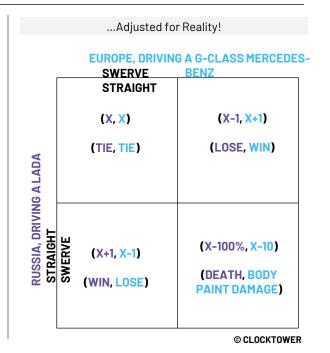




#### Gas Crisis | The Natural Gas Game of Chicken

In the short term, Russia can impose some pain on Europe (but less than the conventional wisdom believes). In the long term, Europe has Russia by the pipelines.

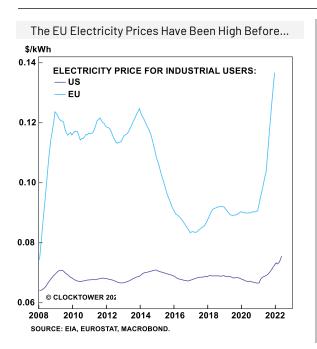
	The Game of	Chicken
PLAYER A SWERVE		
	STRAIGHT	
	(X, X)	(X-1, X+1)
	(TIE, TIE)	(LOSE, WIN)
ER B		
PLAYER B STRAIGHT SWERVE	(X+1, X-1) (WIN, LOSE)	(X-10, X-10) (CRASH, CRASH)
		© CLOCKTOWER

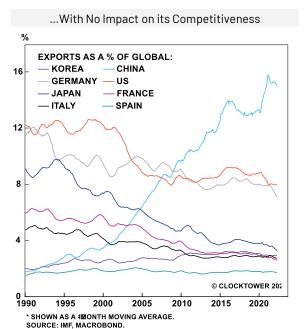




#### Gas Crisis | Europe Will Be Just Fine

In the long term, the current episode is the best thing that ever happened to Europe. It will find alternatives to Russian imports and focus on productivity gains, as it always has.

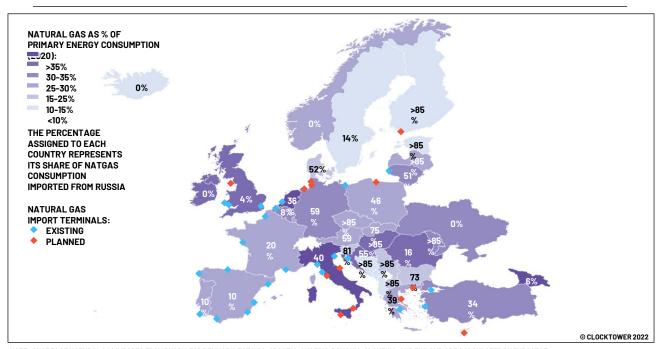






## Gas Crisis | LNG Buildout Is Already Happening

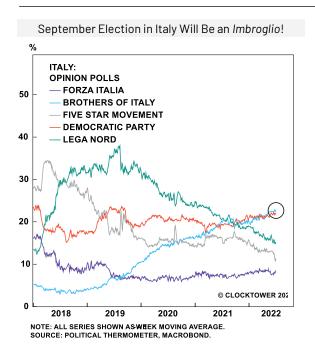
Europe is already building out new LNG import terminals, which should allow the EU to reduce Russian natural gas dependency.

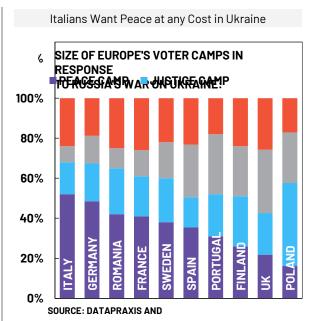




#### Gas Crisis | And European Politics Are Getting Complicated

Rising costs of energy in Europe are also going to force policymakers to move off their max-hawkish policies towards Russia. This is especially the case given the upcoming elections in Italy and Germany.

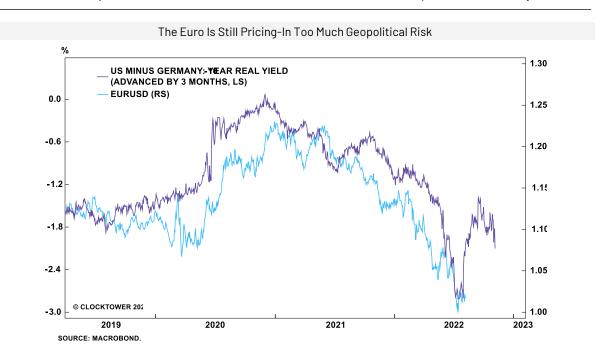






## Gas Crisis | Is Europe Really Going to Collapse?

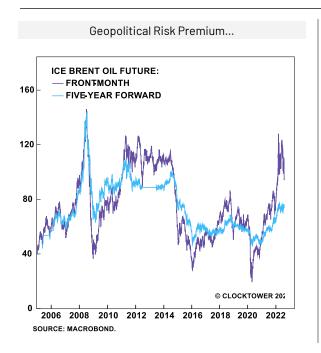
Given our natural gas storage math and view of Russian and European constraints, we suspect that the worst is over. As such, EURUSD is poised for a rally.





## Tactical | Oil Price Is Still Pricing-in Too Much Risk

Oil prices have diverged from fundamentals, with Chinese demand set to remain below expectations – see next section – and US demand flagging. Oil prices should fall further.

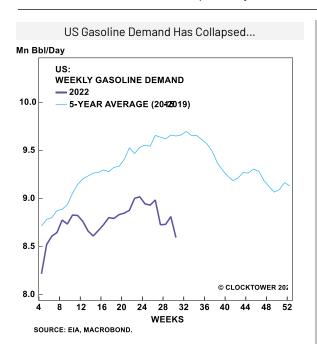


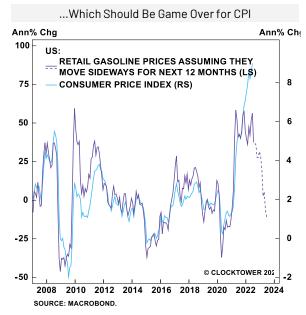




## Tactical | No Sign that Gasoline Demand Is Being Revived

Rising costs of energy in Europe are also going to force policymakers to move off their max-hawkish policies towards Russia. This is especially the case given the upcoming elections in Italy and Germany.

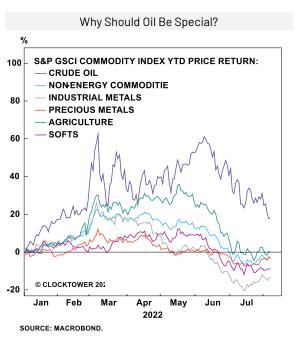


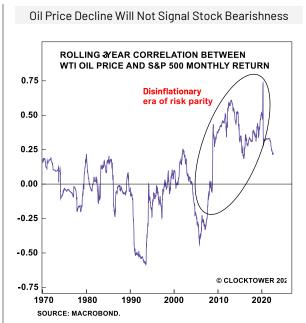




## Tactical | If Oil Prices Decline Further, Stocks Will Rally

Jay Powell told us on June 15 that he is watching headline inflation, which really means oil. With the entire commodity complex down, oil is next to stall. And given Fed reaction function, that's not bearish!







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