

Lucky chancellor has not solved Britain's growth puzzle — MARTIN WOLF, PAGE 9

Tax burden surges despite Hunt cuts

► National insurance main rate to fall 2 percentage points to 10%

► 'Full expensing' capital allowance regime for business made permanent

► Overall taxes rising to postwar high of 38% of GDP, says budget watchdog



Charlie Bibby/FT

GEORGE PARKER, SAM FLEMING AND VALENTINA ROMEO

Jeremy Hunt has cut business and personal taxes by £20bn in an Autumn Statement aimed at boosting growth yesterday but the budget watchdog warned that overall taxes were still rising to a postwar high.

The independent Office for Budget Responsibility shed a harsh light on the chancellor's fiscal plan, saying it would provide only "a modest" boost to growth and would see the tax burden rise for each of the next five years.

In a highly political statement, Hunt said he would cut the main rate of national insurance by 2 percentage points to 10 per cent from January 6 — the start of what is expected to be an election year — at a cost of about £9bn. He also made permanent the "full

expensing" capital allowance regime, at a cost rising to £11bn a year, which he described as "the largest business tax cut in modern British history".

The timing of the national insurance cuts, which will benefit 27m working people, prompted speculation that the government wants to leave open the option of a spring general election if its dire opinion poll ratings improve.

But the OBR said the tax cuts were dwarfed by the impact of the government's freeze on tax thresholds between 2022-23 and 2028-29; it said nearly 4m more people would end up paying income tax for the first time and 3m more would move to the higher rate.

"While personal and business tax cuts reduce the tax burden by half a percentage point, it still rises in each of the next five years to a postwar high of 38 per

cent of GDP," the fiscal watchdog said.

Rachel Reeves, shadow chancellor, accused the government of presiding over record tax rises because of "fiscal drag" but did not commit Labour to opposing any of Hunt's policy measures. Sir Ed Davey, Liberal Democrat leader, called the Autumn Statement "a hoax".

The chancellor had opted to leave government departmental spending "broadly unchanged", the OBR said, reducing borrowing by £27bn compared with prior forecasts but leaving budgets squeezed. Hunt said he would set a new target to keep public spending growth below overall economic growth "while always protecting services".

Hunt said lower inflation meant it was time to take the foot off the fiscal brake.

"Our plan for the British economy is working but the work is not done," the

chancellor said, as he set out 110 supply-side measures intended to boost business, bring the sick back to work and get more capital flowing into the economy.

The full expensing of capital investment, which was due to expire in 2026, allows a company immediately to deduct all its spending on IT equipment, plant or machinery from taxable profits.

Hunt said the measures would raise business investment by about £20bn a year within a decade and were "a decisive step towards closing the productivity gap with other major economies". The OBR expects growth of 0.6 per cent this year and 0.7 per cent next year.

That compares with the watchdog's previous forecasts of a 0.2 per cent contraction this year and 1.8 per cent growth in 2024. The Bank of England expects growth to remain flat next year.

The chancellor confirmed that the state pension would rise by 8.5 per cent in April and that universal credit and other benefits would increase by 6.7 per cent, in line with September inflation, rather than the lower October level.

The OBR forecast that living standards, as measured by real household disposable income per person, would be 3.5 per cent lower in 2024-25 than their pre-pandemic level. "While this is half the peak-to-trough fall we expected in March, it still represents the largest reduction in real living standards since Office for National Statistics records began in the 1950s," it said.

Main points

- OBR cuts growth forecast to 0.7 per cent for next year, less than half the 1.8 per cent it was forecasting in March
- Fiscal watchdog raises forecast for inflation next year to 3.6 per cent, up from the 0.9 per cent it forecast in March
- Tory MPs see national insurance cut as evidence that the government will consider an early election in the spring
- Gilt yields rise following a smaller reduction in issuance than expected. The FTSE 100 ends the day down slightly
- Charities welcome rise in housing benefits cap but say alone it will be insufficient to tackle homelessness surge
- Biggest retailers, factories and offices excluded from freeze on business rates, leaving them facing £1.6bn bill

► Chancellor's package is founded on a 'fiscal fiction' that will leave a bitter legacy, says Resolution Foundation

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OpenAI takes back Altman after turmoil spurs rethink

Sam Altman is poised to return to run OpenAI after being fired last week by the board of directors at the company he co-founded. The reversal follows a staff revolt and days of turmoil at the leading generative artificial intelligence start-up. Co-founder Greg Brockman, who quit after Altman was fired, will also return under the supervision of a new board. "I love OpenAI," said Altman. "Everything I've done... has been in service of keeping this team together."

Comeback chief ▶ **PAGE 13**

US warned India after foiling plot to kill Sikh separatist on American soil

DEMETRI SEVASTOPULO — WASHINGTON

US authorities thwarted a conspiracy to assassinate a Sikh separatist on American soil and issued a warning to India's government over concerns it was involved in the plot, according to multiple people familiar with the case.

The target of the plot was Gurpatwant Singh Pannun, an American and Canadian citizen who is general counsel for Sikhs for Justice, a US-based group pushing for an independent Sikh state called Khalistan.

The people familiar with the case did not say whether the protest to New Delhi led the plotters to abandon their plan or whether the FBI intervened and foiled a scheme already in motion.

The US informed some allies of the plot following the murder of Hardeep Singh Nijjar, a Canadian Sikh separatist

killed in Vancouver in June. In September, Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau said there were "credible allegations" linking New Delhi to Nijjar's fatal shooting. One person familiar with the situation said the US warning was issued after Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi made a high-profile state visit to Washington in June.

Separate from the diplomatic warning, US federal prosecutors have filed a sealed indictment against at least one alleged perpetrator of the plot, according to people familiar with the case.

Following publication of the Financial Times story online yesterday, the National Security Council issued a statement saying the US was treating the issue with "utmost seriousness".

Washington shared details of the Pannun case with a wider group of allies after Trudeau went public with details

of the Vancouver killing, the combination of which sparked concern among allies over a possible pattern of behaviour. India has rejected Canada's claims about New Delhi's involvement in Nijjar's murder as "absurd".

India's external affairs ministry said after the FT's report that in recent talks on India-US security, "the US side shared some inputs pertaining to [the] nexus between organised criminals, gun runners, terrorists and others".

"The inputs are a cause of concern for both countries and they decided to take necessary follow-up action," it added.

Pannun told the FT he would "let the US government respond to the issue of threats to my life on American soil from the Indian operatives".

The US has avoided being too critical of India over the Vancouver case. It sees India as part of a plan to counter China.

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World Markets

STOCK MARKETS

	Nov 22	Prev	%chg
S&P 500	4560.90	4538.19	0.50
Nasdaq Composite	14292.45	14199.98	0.65
Dow Jones Ind	35285.79	35088.29	0.56
FTSEurofirst 300	1808.69	1803.33	0.30
Euro Stoxx 50	4352.75	4331.90	0.48
FTSE 100	7469.51	7481.99	-0.17
FTSE All-Share	4069.60	4071.11	-0.04
CAC 40	7260.73	7229.45	0.43
Xetra Dax	15957.82	15900.53	0.36
Nikkei	33451.83	33354.14	0.29
Hang Seng	17734.60	17733.89	0.00
MSCI World \$	2999.87	3004.88	-0.17
MSCI EM \$	988.47	985.41	0.31
MSCI ACWI \$	689.60	690.40	-0.12
FT Wilshire 2500	5846.67	5862.90	-0.28
FT Wilshire 5000	45510.20	45643.00	-0.29

CURRENCIES

Pair	Nov 22	Prev	Pair	Nov 22	Prev
\$/€	1.087	1.093	€/£	0.920	0.915
\$/¥	1.246	1.254	€/¥	0.803	0.798
€/£	0.872	0.872	€/€	1.147	1.147
¥/\$	149.685	147.795	¥/€	162.655	161.606
¥/€	186.514	185.297	£ index	81.061	80.813
SFr/€	0.962	0.965	SFr/£	1.104	1.106

CRYPTO

	Nov 22	Prev	%chg
Bitcoin (\$)	36468.00	35789.00	1.90
Ethereum	2037.62	1935.20	5.29

COMMODITIES

	Nov 22	Prev	%chg
Oil WTI \$	74.90	77.77	-3.69
Oil Brent \$	79.49	82.45	-3.59
Gold \$	2006.60	1968.70	1.93

GOVERNMENT BONDS

Yield (%)	Nov 22	Prev	Chg
US 2 yr	4.91	4.86	0.06
US 10 yr	4.42	4.40	0.02
US 30 yr	4.55	4.56	-0.01
UK 2 yr	4.58	4.55	0.03
UK 10 yr	4.32	4.27	0.05
UK 30 yr	4.62	4.54	0.08
JPN 2 yr	0.05	0.03	0.02
JPN 10 yr	0.73	0.69	0.03
JPN 30 yr	1.64	1.59	0.05
GER 2 yr	3.00	2.98	0.02
GER 10 yr	2.56	2.56	0.00
GER 30 yr	2.74	2.77	-0.03

Prices are latest for edition
Data provided by Morningstar

Experts' view

Nimesh Shah
Chief executive,
Blick
Rothenberg



When is a tax cut not a tax cut? The £50bn cuts to national insurance contributions are not as generous as the chancellor proclaimed. Lower earners might have preferred an inflationary increase to the personal allowance: someone earning £20,000 would have been £185 better off (compared with £149 for NI changes) had Jeremy Hunt simply increased the allowance by the 4.6 per cent inflation rate.

Frozen allowances and tax thresholds continue to cause pain for taxpayers. But middle earners may feel slightly less squeezed after today. Someone earning £60,000 will be £63 a month better off with the 2 percentage points NIC cut.

Abolishing class 2 NICs for the self-employed is generous, but I don't see them doing cartwheels. They were handed a £179 saving from the class 2 move, and a 1 percentage point class 4 NIC cut from April 2024.

Christine Ross
Client director,
Handelsbanken
Wealth & Asset
Management



The Autumn Statement delivered some immediate tax relief for many, though there were no announcements in the speech for savers. The annual limits on individual savings accounts (Isas) are frozen at the present level of £20,000.

There were nonetheless substantive changes to the Isa regime. Savers will be able to open multiple Isas of the same type within a single tax year. At present, individuals are restricted to one cash Isa and one stocks and shares Isa annually.

Savers and investors will also be able to ask for a partial transfer of an Isa fund to another provider. With some attractive cash deposit rates on offer, this increased flexibility should stoke competition.

The minimum age for Isa applications has been set at 18. At present, a minor can have a £9,000 Junior Isa until age 18 as well as a cash Isa from age 16. This anomaly will now end.

Simon Edelsten
Former fund
manager



Retail investors may benefit from the extension of capital allowances, with some mature large companies in the FTSE index having substantial fixed assets. Many of these UK stocks plan to invest to reach net zero targets. They also often have high current dividend yields, such as British Telecom or British Land, yielding more than 6 per cent.

Hunt announced plans to sell more of the state's holdings in NatWest Group, referencing the 1980s "Tell Sid" advertising campaign. BT and British Gas were among privatisations which encouraged UK savers to dip their toes in the stock market. But investing in utilities is very different from investing in a bank. The value of a bank's shares has been described as "the sliver of hope between massive loans and deposits". The latest placing in NatWest may not be very popular with the public.

Laura Suter
Head of
personal
finance,
AJ Bell



The idea of one pension pot for life, following you around your various jobs, is good in theory. The average person changes jobs 11 times in their lifetime. We know there's an estimated £27bn sitting in lost pension pots — and any plan to reunite the money with its owners should be applauded.

But enabling this looks challenging. For it to work, every business in the country, from the local hairdresser and café to multinational companies, would potentially need the ability to connect with any pension scheme in the country.

The government acknowledges the need for a central clearing house, but has swatted away any mention of who would build or pay for it. This won't be a quick win if the delays besetting the "pensions dashboard" are any guide.

And while the branding of "pot for life" is great, employees can make it a reality already, by consolidating their pension schemes in one place.

Savings

Isas shake-up aims to boost investment

Tapping into illiquid long-term asset funds among the key reforms

RAFE UDDIN

Individual savings accounts will undergo their first structural changes in more than five years next April, after the government outlined a series of reforms intended to expand the current regime to boost growth.

Documents published as part of the Autumn Statement showed chancellor Jeremy Hunt would expand the current Isa regime to include long-term asset funds (LTAFs), a type of open-ended fund invested in illiquid assets. The investments can include private equity and real estate.

The government will also allow savers to pay into multiple accounts of the same type from April next year, while

enabling partial transfers between providers.

Savers can currently hold multiple Isa accounts, but pay into only one of each type every year. This limits their ability to move funds between providers without requesting a transfer to maintain tax-free status.

The current £20,000 tax-free allowance will remain unchanged, while the government wants to allow investments in fractional shares — portions of a single share — after consulting on how this should be implemented. A loophole enabling savers aged between 16 and 18 to double up on their allowance will be closed, meanwhile.

Reforms are designed to simplify the regime and tempt more savers to invest in equities at a time when the government is eager to stimulate growth.

Hunt's Mansion House speech in July set out reforms designed to channel pension savings into unlisted busi-

nesses, though yesterday's proposals did not feature previously trailed plans for a dedicated UK equities allowance.

LTAFs and open-ended property funds will be incorporated within the Innovative Finance Isa. However, the scheme has previously proved unpopular, raising only £17m in 2021-22, compared with £4bn in stocks and shares Isas in the same period.

Adults subscribed to almost 12m Isa accounts in 2020-21 but the majority opted for cash Isas rather than investment products.

The £20,000 tax-free allowance has remained unchanged since 2017-18. It can be split between cash and other investments. No tax is payable on savings interest, dividends or capital gains, and withdrawals are not subject to income tax.

In meetings this year between industry leaders and the Treasury, officials asked Isa providers what measures

could be delivered by the spring Budget, according to two people familiar with the matter.

Providers had hoped the statement would include plans to pare back withdrawal penalties for the lifetime Isa, a savings product that offers a 25 per cent boost to savings up to £4,000 for first-time home buyers.

The Investing and Savings Alliance (Tisa), a trade body, said it was disappointed that exit penalties had not been tweaked to make the current regime fairer for savers.

AJ Bell, the brokerage platform, said measures did not go far enough to simplify the current regime.

"The chancellor appears to have chosen to tinker at the edges rather than pursue radical Isa simplification," said Tom Selby, head of retirement policy at AJ Bell. He labelled announcements "sensible" but said they failed to address current complexity.

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Duty freeze Tax pegged to defend 'great British pint'

Ministers have frozen alcohol duty until next summer in a bid to encourage patrons to spend in pubs, which have been facing closures because of rising costs.

Rates of duty on beer, cider, wine and spirits would be held steady until next August at a cost of £510m in lost tax income, chancellor Jeremy Hunt announced yesterday.

Hunt told MPs that he had "listened to defenders of the great British pint" and decided to freeze the tax, in a move that would stop a further 3p rise in the duty cost of an average pint of beer.

"This is now one less additional cost venues have to worry about," said Kate Nicholls, chief executive of trade body UKHospitality.

David McDowall, chief executive of Stonegate, the UK's biggest pub group, welcomed the freeze, saying the move would "provide some respite and comfort to the hospitality sector".

The sector had battled against a "triple threat" of soaring energy costs, rampant inflation and cost of living pressures over the past year, McDowall added.

However, smaller, independent pub

Night out: but 383 pubs have closed this year, as energy bills have risen and inflation hit customer spending

Jose Sarmiento Matos/
Bloomberg

operators warned that the depressing effect on profits of increased minimum wages might outweigh the effect of the alcohol duty freeze and the extension of 75 per cent business rates relief for single-site operators.

Minimum wage rises would "hugely impact" the profitability of venues, said Steven Alton, chief executive of the British Institute of Innkeeping, an industry body representing independent pubs.

"While we welcome measures that protect workers, there must be recognition of the impact this mandated increase will have on our small pub businesses," Alton added.

High inflation and fears over an economic slowdown have deterred customers and led to a wave of pub closures. A total of 383 pubs shut in the first six months of the year, according to real estate adviser Altus Group. The figure nearly matched the total for the whole of 2022. In September, the number of licensed premises across the UK dipped below 100,000 for the first time, according to UKHospitality.

The government said it had extended the freeze to give businesses

time to adapt to a new alcohol duty regime, introduced in August.

An inflation-linked rise in alcohol duty in March's Budget was largely offset for draught beer and cider by an increase in draught relief, for drinks served in pubs. However, duty on bottled wines and spirits rose steeply.

The Wine and Spirit Trade Association said the alcohol duty freeze came as a "huge relief" to drink makers which had "taken a battering" over the past few years. Miles Beale, the WSTA's chief executive, said the latest sales data showed "worrying" declines following the introduction of the higher duty rates for still wines and spirits.

Wines and spirits had experienced soaring supply chain costs and glass recycling fees, the trade body said.

According to Office for National Statistics data for September, the average price of a bottle of gin was up 14 per cent compared with a year earlier, while fortified wines such as port were up 17 per cent.

The chancellor also announced a 10 per cent increase in duty on hand-rolling tobacco. *Oliver Barnes and Madeleine Speed*

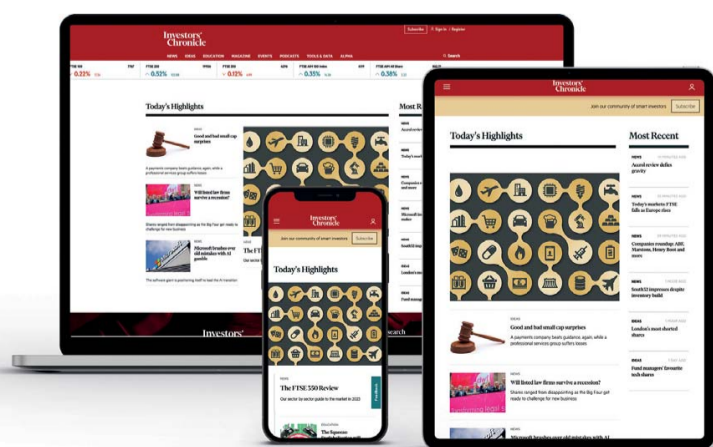
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Autumn Statement 2023 Opinion

A Tory chancellor walks into a bar . . .

POLITICS

Robert Shrimmsley



Enjoy this “down payment” on the Conservatives’ careful stewardship of the economy. There won’t be many more. There’s still the spring Budget to come, but chancellor Jeremy Hunt’s generosity was that of a man who knows someone else will be facing the consequences.

The politics of this Autumn Statement were achingly simple. Rishi Sunak needs a tale to tell the voters and after a few months of flailing around with implausible narratives – “I am the change” being the most fanciful – he and the chancellor have finally landed on the only one that was ever going to be available. But it remains a story and neither the Tories nor the electorate

should assume it has a happy ending.

The major political takeaway is that the Conservative leadership remains seriously tempted by an election next May. This is the obvious explanation for bringing forward the 2p cut in the rate of national insurance to January. Waiting till next spring’s Budget, as would be normal, would not allow people to feel enough of the benefit if Sunak decides to go early. This does not mean a May election is now likely. Party strategists will base that decision on the polls in March – if the gap remains as wide as today it is hard to see the prime minister rushing towards the cannon fire. But this move keeps his options open.

Hunt is a better communicator than Sunak and his statement offered a clear Conservative argument. It runs like this: after years of enormous external shocks (and weeks of Liz Truss), this government has taken the difficult and painful steps needed to get the economy back on track. Having weathered the pandemic (remember the furlough) and the Ukraine war (remember the energy support), the government is turning the

corner, conquering inflation, restoring the public finances and is now able to start giving money back. Only the Tories can be trusted with the economy.

It also offers some political clarity. With the welfare reforms to get more of the long-term sick back to work, the NI cuts, the rise in the national living wage and the moves to encourage business investment, Hunt offers a traditional Tory message that “work pays” and that prosperity comes from incentivising the private sector rather than the government. Against these, however, he has also clawed back money from capital and infrastructure investment.

Many of the supply-side measures are welcome and Hunt deserves credit for resisting even more blatant election giveaways. He steered a careful course between the competing desires of cementing his reputation through serious long-term reforms and the need to bolster his party’s polling day hopes.

But there is only so much he can do, not least because Labour will not allow Hunt to draw a sharp divide (although the NI cut will put pressure on

Rachel Reeves, the shadow chancellor, to find other sources of revenue).

The broader problem for Hunt and Sunak is the economics do not align with the politics. Underlying debt will still stand at 92.8 per cent of gross domestic product by 2028-29, hardly levels at which the state of the public finances should support any tax cuts. Growth

standards since . . . records began in the 1950s”. Even with the NI cut, voters will feel poorer and this does not even take account of the decline in key public services like the NHS. In any case the NI cuts are funded by the continued freezing of income tax thresholds, which means personal taxes continue to rise. By 2028-29, an extra 4mn people will be paying income tax and 5mn more will have been pulled into the higher rate.

Nor do the wider politics look happier for the Tories. The latest migration figures come out today and are predicted to puncture any pleasure felt by party MPs in the wake of Hunt’s statement. This highlights the foolishness of ramping up a political divide on an issue they are failing to address to the satisfaction of those at whom the message is aimed. (Incidentally, growth forecasts would have been even worse if legal migration was lower.)

Had this statement come earlier in the political cycle, there is no way the chancellor would be announcing tax cuts. The toughest spending cuts are all pushed back to after the election.

Indeed, faced with tough choices, such as uprating benefits in line with the usual September inflation figure or the more recent lower level, Hunt opted for liberality over retrenchment.

Tory MPs remain deeply troubled by the fact that the tax burden will still reach its highest levels since the second world war. The probability must be that well before next spring, it will be clear that this giveaway will not do the job politically and the pressure will be on to find more tax cuts.

So while the election narrative is set, the image of fiscal rectitude may be hard to maintain. And the grisly truth remains that the underlying story is of tax rises, painful spending cuts or a combination of both after the election, regardless of the outcome.

This then was the electoral equivalent of a man walking into a bar and shouting “the drinks are on her” – or perhaps more honestly, “the drinks are on you”. You’ll soon forget the drink but you’ll remember the hangover.

robert.shrimmsley@ft.com

While the election narrative is set, the image of fiscal rectitude may be hard to maintain

remains stubbornly low and is predicted to fall against previous forecasts (not that these have proved overly reliable).

Worst of all from the Conservative perspective, real disposable household income per person is projected to be 3.5 per cent lower in 2024-25 than it was before the pandemic. The Office for Budget Responsibility describes this as the “largest reduction in real living

Lucky Hunt has not solved UK’s growth puzzle

ECONOMICS

Martin Wolf



Jeremy Hunt has been chancellor for a little over a year. He is not at fault for the overall record of the Conservatives in government: after all, he is the seventh chancellor in the past 13 years. He has, however, been lucky. It is good to be a lucky chancellor. But his successors are likely to be rather less so.

True, the “cost of living crisis” is the other side of the source of his luck, which is unexpectedly high inflation. The government has, as a result, obtained unexpectedly large amounts of wriggle room. This has allowed Hunt to tell a story about “tax cuts”, when the reality remains one of large long-term tax increases. This time, the main “cuts” were in national insurance. In next year’s Budget, presumably, they will be in income tax.

The central point made by the Office for Budget Responsibility in its evaluation of Hunt’s fiscal windfall, is that it is “mainly due to the Chancellor’s decision to leave departmental spending broadly unchanged that higher inflation and other forecast changes reduce borrowing by £27bn in 2027-28 compared to our March forecast”. It said the “Chancellor spends this windfall on cuts in national insurance contributions, permanent upfront tax write-offs for business investment and a package of welfare reforms, which together provide a

modest boost to output of 0.3 per cent in five years”. Moreover, Hunt meets his target of getting debt to fall as a share of GDP in five years’ time by an “enhanced margin” of £13bn, though even this is mainly because another year is added to the forecast. That enhanced margin is presumably to be used in the Budget.

We can think of this in a more revealing way. The government has presided over an economy with weak growth. But it is subject to fierce pressures for higher public spending. Assume, then, that inflation had remained at 2 per cent a year. In order to get room to “cut” taxes, the government would have had to cut spending in nominal terms. To say the least, that would have been hard to do. In such a persistently low inflation world, it would also have been impossible for “fiscal drag” – in other words, concealed tax increases – to raise the tax burden as it has. That would have needed explicit rises in tax rates or reductions in tax thresholds. Inflation can be beneficial to governments, since it lets them exploit nominal rigidities in the system. An alternative way of saying the same thing is that it lets them cheat.

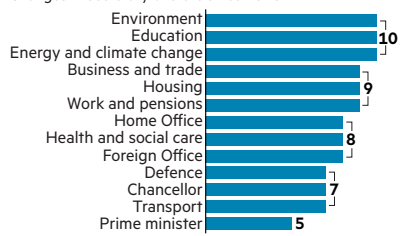
According to the OBR, the ratio of tax revenue to GDP will be 37.4 per cent in 2027-28. Without the tax measures introduced this week, it would have been 38.1 per cent. This difference of 0.7 per cent of GDP reflects Hunt’s “giveaways”, mainly his tax cuts. But the 37.4 per cent forecast is still higher than the 37.0 per cent in the OBR’s restatement of last March’s forecast. It must also be contrasted with the 35.1 per cent in 2019-20, when this parliament was elected. This has been a tax-raising parliament on a grand scale. (See charts.)

Moreover, the OBR forecast, based on



The past 13 years have seen a rapid change in ministers, including the chancellor

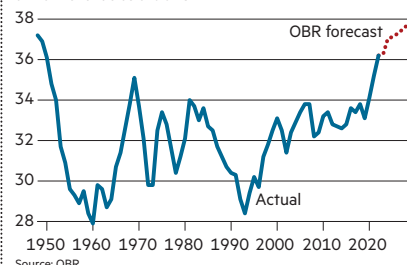
Changes in secretary of state since 2010



Some departmental names and responsibilities have changed over the period. Measures the number of changes, not people who have held a role. Source: FT research

The tax burden is at levels not seen since the 1940s

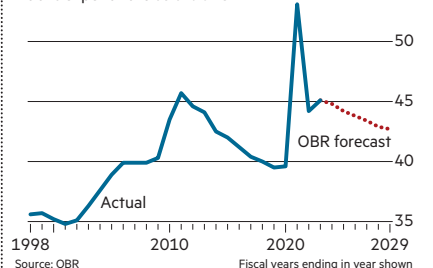
UK tax revenue as a % of GDP



Source: OBR

The government has promised a new period of spending austerity

Public expenditure as a % of GDP



Source: OBR

stated policies, is that the share of public spending in GDP will decline from 45.1 per cent in the 2022-23 financial year to 42.9 per cent in 2027-28. That would be smaller than the squeeze in the 2010s. But it would still be sizeable. Public services are labour-intensive. It has always proved hard to raise productivity sharply in such activities. Moreover, public sector wages and social benefits will also tend to rise in line with incomes in the wider economy. Given an ageing

The biggest problem facing the government is poor performance of the economy in the long run

population and the need to spend more on defence, planned reductions in spending as a share of GDP will be hard indeed to sustain. Pretending to deliver what will not be delivered is just another way of cheating.

Will “cuts” at least bring big political dividends? It seems unlikely, given the inflation and consequent squeeze on real spending and hidden tax increases that have created room for them. The biggest problem the government faces, however, is the poor performance of the economy in the long run.

The chancellor boasted that “since 2010, we have presided over faster growth than many of our major competitors including Spain, Italy, France, Germany or Japan”.

That is doubly misleading. First,

aggregate GDP is not what matters; what does is GDP per head. Second, what matters most is the absolute rise in living standards, not performance relative to other poorly performing countries (such as crisis-hit members of the eurozone). According to the IMF, real GDP per head will rise by 10 per cent in the UK between 2010 and 2023 – an annual rate of 0.7 per cent. On this more relevant measure, Germany, Spain and Japan did better than the UK and France only slightly worse.

The chancellor also stated that the “110 measures I take today help close that gap by boosting business investment by £20bn a year. They unlock investment with supply side reforms that back British business in the following areas.” Some of these changes, such as the

expensing of business investment, support for innovation and reforms to pensions, have much to recommend them.

Yet the OBR, probably rightly, is largely unmoved. It remarks that “we now expect the economy to grow more slowly over the forecast period, leaving the level of real GDP only ½ a per cent higher in the medium term than in our March forecast”. In other words, the UK is expected to remain on a relatively weak growth trajectory. This is not that surprising: it is hard to link such measures to improved growth. Even a £20bn increase in business investment would leave its level low by the standards of similar countries. The challenge of accelerating growth remains, alas, unsolved.

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Would Aussie rules boost Britain’s pensions?

PERSONAL FINANCE

Claer Barrett



There was no wobble board to accompany the chancellor’s pension reforms in the Autumn Statement, but he’s taken his cues from Australia. The idea of a “pot for life” was at the heart of Jeremy Hunt’s strategy – intended to drive better outcomes for savers – and it’s one that readers Down Under will be familiar with.

A call for evidence will explore giving UK workers the legal right to ask their employer to pay their pensions contributions into a scheme of their choosing, rather than one their employer picks for them. I am very supportive of this probe. The problem – as I’ve written

before – is that too many British workers are totally disengaged from their workplace pensions, most of which are defined contribution (DC) schemes.

The performance of ‘default funds’ that giant UK pension providers shoo horn the vast majority of our money into varies widely. In Australia, the different superannuation providers shout about the returns they’ve been able to achieve for their investors. Talking about how well your “Super” is doing is a topic of national conversation (plus, this term has more positive overtones than “pension” which makes one think of pensioners, adding to the deception that saving for such a faraway event needn’t be a priority).

In the UK, by contrast, very few savers make an active choice about where their money is invested – indeed, a worryingly high number do not even realise their money is being invested, according to recent research from Boring Money, the consumer finance website. Even if we were enraged about the performance

of our funds, employees who are actively saving into a workplace scheme cannot vote with their feet and change providers unless they change jobs, or forgo the company contribution. In the decade since auto enrolment came in, many workers have ended up with a ragbag of pensions from different jobs. Even if you are motivated to consolidate, it’s a fiddly process requiring a level of engagement from customers and company pension providers that simply isn’t there.

I am deeply engaged with my company pension, because I have worked hard to save a lot of money into it. As someone who has recently locked horns with her own corporate pensions provider over an administrative snafu, I would jump at the chance to have my own and the FT’s pension contributions paid into a Sipp (self-invested private pension) instead. This would give me access to a greater range of investment choices, as well as greater ease of executing them. Investment platforms tend to

have much whizzier app-based technology than the giant pension providers. However, Hunt is right to consult on these measures carefully.

While the theory of having a pot for life is brilliant, in practice, most of the cost of running giant company pension schemes is picked up by employers; fees

A ‘pot for life’ could reduce the admin burden for younger workers with multiple schemes

are capped and the overall cost of investing is negligible. The fees charged by some of the consolidator apps whose adverts appear on the Tube are much higher by comparison – they have to cover the marketing costs, after all.

This worries former pensions minister Sir Steve Webb. “If we allow people to divert their pensions contributions else-

where, we all know who will do so – the top earners,” he says. Indeed, there is likely to be hot competition as platforms compete to get those with the biggest pots to shift to them. Webb is concerned about what happens to the large majority who are left behind. “Suddenly, the bulk purchasing ability of the employer is undermined and the scheme becomes less viable for the provider because all the top earners have left,” he says.

Handled badly, this could lead to fees rising as investment choices and customer service levels slip. But greater choice will force competition in a stagnant market and keep the big company pension providers on their toes. So too will the consultation’s promise to “shift employer incentives away from low fees towards long-term pension investment performance”. The average worker is expected to end up with 11 separate pensions over the course of their working life, and this fragmentation helps explain why an estimated £27bn worth of pensions have been lost. A pot for life

would reduce the admin burden for younger workers with a drawerful of paperwork from multiple schemes.

Separately, those starting their investment journeys have been cheered by news that the government will permit fractional shares to be held within tax-free stocks and share Isa accounts. This is a victory for common sense, and will boost investor engagement. In the 1980s, Margaret Thatcher inspired a generation of private investors with the “Tell Sid” campaign as millions snapped up shares in privatised British companies like BT and British Gas.

Forty years later, the chancellor may struggle to “Tell Sid to get investing again” by offloading the government’s stake in NatWest. Yet enabling younger investors to buy small amounts of expensive US brands like Apple, Amazon and Netflix, which form the backdrop to their everyday lives, will be a fitting modern-day equivalent.

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INTERNATIONAL

Germany

Berlin cancels budget vote as crisis worsens

Bundestag move comes after €60bn climate fund measure deemed illegal

SAM JONES — BERLIN

Germany's government has indefinitely suspended a vote on the country's budget for 2024, as the constitutional crisis over fiscal policy in the eurozone's largest economy worsens.

MPs representing the three coalition parties of Chancellor Olaf Scholz said a vote today to approve next year's budget had been cancelled after the country's highest court declared last week that government plans to move €60bn

to a climate fund broke fiscal rules. "The [court] has presented us with major challenges," the MPs, who sit on the Bundestag budget committee, said in a joint statement. "We want to respond to this with care and draw up a budget that takes into account all the arguments in the judgment."

In a ruling that has implications for billions of euros of other spending commitments, the constitutional court said the government's plans failed to comply with the country's debt brake, a measure set up to limit deficits to 0.35 per cent of gross domestic product.

Citing pressure from the opposition Christian Democrats (CDU), the MPs said the budget crisis would now need to

be fully debated by parliamentarians. The vote, originally set for last Thursday, was suspended for a week.

With the Bundestag set to close on December 15, the government could struggle to push through a vote this year — even if it secures an emergency sitting of the parliament.

If a budget is not agreed, automatic restrictions will kick in on spending across all federal government departments on January 1 and will last until a budget is finalised.

Last Wednesday, Karlsruhe-based judges eviscerated plans for the government to transfer €60bn of funds earmarked for the pandemic to its Climate and Transformation Fund (KTF). The

KTF is a centrepiece project of the Scholz coalition and essential for government plans to decarbonise the German economy.

After initially insisting spending plans were otherwise on track, the government's assurance began to crumble this week. On Monday, vice-chancellor Robert Habeck, of the Green party, warned that a €200bn fund set up to shield consumers and businesses from rising energy costs could also be ruled unconstitutional.

The next day, the finance ministry of Christian Lindner, of the liberal Free Democrats, wrote to all government departments ordering an immediate freeze on new, uncommitted spending.

The CDU said the government had brought the crisis on itself by agreeing "off-balance sheet" funding outside of normal budgetary planning rules. It has also accused the coalition of using its majority in the Bundestag to rush measures through without proper agreement.

"The *Zeitenwende* . . . has just become a reality for you," CDU leader Friedrich Merz told the government last week, referring to the geopolitical "turning point" often quoted by Scholz as the justification for large, transformative amounts of new spending, including billions of euros of aid to Ukraine.

"Everything is no longer possible," said Merz.

Eurozone

ECB warns of early stress among banks after rise in loan defaults

MARTIN ARNOLD — FRANKFURT

The balance sheets of eurozone banks are showing "early signs of stress" after a rise in loan defaults and late repayments from historic lows, the European Central Bank has warned.

Officials urged lenders to increase provisions to cover rising loan losses and predicted their profits would be hit by a drop in lending volumes and increased funding costs. The ECB has raised interest rates by an unprecedented 4.5 percentage points in the past year.

"A longer period of high interest rates is likely to lead to higher provisions, which in turn will be a drag on profitability further down the line," the central bank said at its twice-yearly financial stability review.

The ECB said the banking system was "well placed" to cope with a deterioration in asset quality due to its "strong capital and liquidity" levels and surging profitability, which recently hit its highest level for more than a decade.

The system remained resilient during turmoil in the sector earlier this year, when several US and Swiss lenders, including Silicon Valley Bank and Credit Suisse, collapsed or had to be rescued.

ECB vice-president Luis de Guindos said that while "risks to financial stability may appear less acute, they remain elevated", pointing to the impact of weaker growth, tighter financing conditions, rising loan defaults and a downturn in property markets.

He added an escalation of the Middle East conflict "could trigger a sharp increase in risk aversion in financial markets, unravelling the prevailing vulnerabilities", by disrupting energy markets, undermining confidence, slowing growth and pushing up inflation.

The ECB outlined three main "headwinds" for banks' profitability: increased funding costs as they pass on higher rates to depositors; an increase in loan defaults as the economy weakens and debt service costs rise; and "a substantial drop in lending volumes".

"Default rates on corporate and retail exposures have started to increase and the share of loans which are less than 90 days past due but still performing has also picked up and stands above the historically low levels seen in 2022," it said.

It warned this trend was likely to "translate" into a rise in non-performing loans, which usually followed an increase in payment arrears with a lag of a few quarters. The level of NPLs in the eurozone bank sector has fallen steadily to almost 2 per cent of total loans, down from a peak of 7.5 per cent at the height of the region's debt crisis a decade ago.

The recent downturn in EU property markets has led to a rise in NPLs in both loans to commercial property companies and on residential mortgages, albeit from low levels, the ECB said. After a long period of decline, there were net inflows of about €2.5bn among commercial real estate loans and €1bn for consumer loans in the second quarter.

But it warned: "Countries with predominantly variable rates would be likely to see a more pronounced deterioration in asset quality if the labour market were to weaken notably, adding to the squeeze on households due to rising mortgage debt service costs and a higher cost of living."

Environment. Green legislation

EU packaging law lays waste to industry revolt

Parliament votes to eradicate single-use materials by 2030 in effort to reduce refuse

ALICE HANCOCK — BRUSSELS

EU lawmakers have backed divisive plans to make all packaging in the EU recyclable by 2030 despite intense lobbying from businesses ranging from paper manufacturers to Camembert makers.

In a vote yesterday, MEPs in Strasbourg approved a law that could also ban all "ultralight" plastic bags and harmful chemicals in packaging.

Brussels' proposal reflects the complexity of reducing the annual amount of rubbish generated by packaging in the bloc from more than 80m tonnes. It will affect hundreds of companies, including takeaway chains, medical appliance manufacturers, fruit growers and beer distributors.

Frédérique Ries, a liberal Belgian MEP who led negotiations on the law, hailed parliament's vote as "a strong message in favour of a complete overhaul" of packaging and waste management in the EU.

Other single-use items that could be banned include hotel mini toiletries, plastic stickers on fruit and small sachets for sugar in cafés.

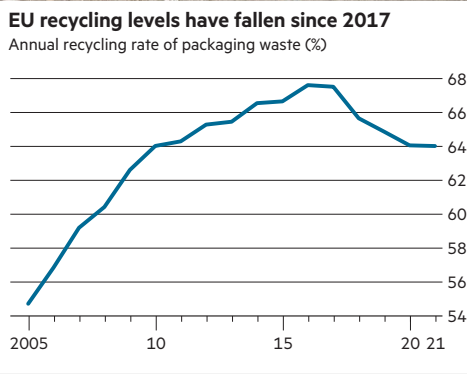
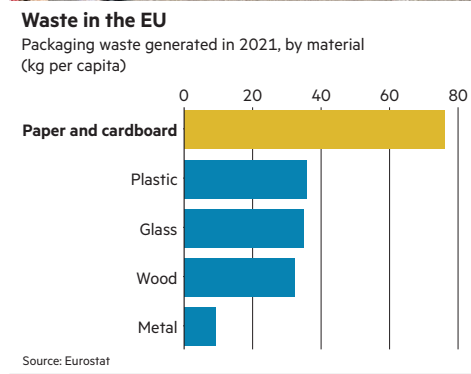
Ahead of the vote, one EU diplomat said the legislation would prompt the most lobbying "ever", adding: "Everything is packaged so every industry has an interest."

Finland, home to large paper packaging companies, and Italy, which has a highly integrated recycling system, have been most opposed to targets for reusable containers.

But even countries with an ambitious green agenda were seeking exemptions, the diplomat said. Denmark wanted allowances for its beer industry, while France was seeking an exemption for packaging of luxury goods.

Waste, particularly from plastic, has become a highly contested issue as countries try to tackle worsening environmental damage. Negotiations over a global treaty to cut plastic waste stalled on Monday after opposition from large petrochemical producers.

The EU's packaging law set targets for the provision of reusable containers across different sectors and for cutting unnecessary packaging intended to



Excess waste: the EU produces 80m tonnes of packaging rubbish each year
Frederic Petry/Hans Lucas

"increase the perceived volume of the product, including double walls, false bottoms and unnecessary layers", the proposal said.

There are targets for levels of recycled content in packaging and a requirement that all packaging can be recyclable by 2030, a cornerstone of the bloc's effort to create a circular economy.

Pascal Canfin, a liberal French lawmaker who chairs the parliament's environment committee, said EU consumers produced more than 180kg of packaging waste a year per person, adding: "We need to reduce this if we want to be serious about resources."

But the obligations have riled industries across the EU, in some cases pitting them against each other.

Europen, which represents the wider packaging industry, said an EU-wide approach to packaging was long overdue. But it said too many allowances were being given for "governments to set their own sustainability and waste standards, introducing new national barriers, undermining the sustainability goals and stifling investment in the infrastructure needed for the circular economy".

Plastics makers have complained about a proposed ban on shrink wrap used in distributing consumer goods but Plastics Europe, the trade body, acknowledged the rules could be a "catalyst to transform plastic packaging".

Yet paper and cardboard producers such as Huhtamäki and Smurfit Kappa

'Everything is packaged so every industry has an interest'

EU diplomat

Environment

MEPs reject proposal to halve use of pesticides in agriculture

ALICE HANCOCK — BRUSSELS

A proposal to halve pesticide use in the EU has been rejected after a backlash from rightwing politicians.

The proposal, voted down by a big margin in the European parliament yesterday, was part of the bloc's Green Deal law, which aims to cut greenhouse gas emissions by 55 per cent by 2030 and improve biodiversity and ecosystems.

The rejection, an unusual occurrence, means the European Commission must consider withdrawing the proposal. Votes were 299 against, 207 for, with 121 abstentions.

Conservative lawmakers hailed the vote as a victory for farmers. Since the triumph of an upstart farmers' movement in Dutch local elections in March, politicians have targeted agriculture as a crucial constituency ahead of EU-wide elections next year.

Environmentalists and their allies were appalled by the vote. Sarah Wiener, an Austrian MEP who led negotiations on the law, called it a "very dark

day for the environment and farmers" and said the right, the far right and Europhobes would not compromise.

Jutta Paulus, a German Green, said: "The massive use of pesticides endangers biodiversity and thus our drinking water, clean air and fertile soils."

The commission did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

Opponents of the proposal were jubilant. "Let farmers farm," said Alexander Bernhuber, a centre-right Austrian MEP. "We all want fewer plant protection products used on farmland. But reducing them must not jeopardise food production in Europe."

More than 1mn EU citizens this year petitioned for a complete phase-out of pesticides but the farm lobby said the cut would imperil food production across the bloc.

Pesticide use varies among member states. Several eastern European countries led by Poland demanded exemptions shortly after the law was proposed on the grounds they already tended to use lower levels of chemical pesticides.

Ukraine war

Switzerland authorises export of surplus tanks to Germany

SAM JONES — BERLIN

Switzerland has agreed to export 25 decommissioned Leopard 2 tanks back to Germany after months of diplomatic wrangling over whether such a step would challenge its commitment to neutrality.

Receiving the tanks will enable the German military to backfill a shortage in its own reserves created by its commitment to send heavy armour to Ukraine.

The Swiss export authorisation is conditional on Berlin not sending the tanks on to Kyiv, a legal formulation that broke an impasse that infuriated many of Switzerland's neighbours and led to an increasingly public war of words.

"Germany has given assurances that the tanks sold will remain in Germany or with Nato or EU partners in order to close their own gaps," the Swiss Federal Council, the country's executive arm of government, said yesterday.

Switzerland's military operates 134 modernised Leopard 2 tanks and has a further 96 mothballed Leopard 2 vehi-

cles in storage. It also has 96 used Leopard 1 tanks in warehouses in Italy.

As Kyiv's allies struggle to put together the numbers needed by Ukraine, the idle Swiss-owned tanks have become a sore point.

As of mid-November, Germany has been able to send just 30 Leopard 2s to Kyiv. All of Switzerland's unused Leopards were made by Rheinmetall in Germany. The Leopard 1 tanks were sold to Italy and then to Swiss state-owned arms company Ruag in 2016.

In June, Bern blocked a proposal by European powers to buy some of the Leopard 1 tanks from Ruag, refurbish them and send them on to Ukraine, citing its laws restricting arms sales and strict interpretation of neutrality.

Germany said it had "campaignied" hard for the deal, but declined to comment further on what would happen to the tanks after Rheinmetall refurbished them. Last year, German parliamentarians called for a freeze on weapons purchases from Switzerland, and excoriated the country as a "shirker".

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Environment

MEPs reject proposal to halve use of pesticides in agriculture

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INTERNATIONAL

Israel prepares campaign pause to free hostages but war on Hamas continues

Agreement allows for increased aid into Gaza but its co-ordination and distribution remain key obstacles

NERI ZILBER — TEL AVIV
ANDREW ENGLAND — LONDON

After 45 days of war, Israel and Hamas agreed a hostage deal and a pause in hostilities, marking the most significant diplomatic breakthrough of the conflict.

The agreement was finalised early yesterday after weeks of complex negotiations brokered by Qatar, with input from the US and Egypt. It is expected to take force today.

What has been agreed?

The deal involves the release of at least 50 women and children held hostage in Gaza in return for a four-day halt to hostilities; the release from prison in Israel of 150 Palestinian women and children; and significant quantities of humanitarian aid, including fuel, for the territory.

Israeli hostages are to be released in batches of 10 to 12 over successive days. A similar schedule will lead to the release of the Palestinian prisoners once the first Israelis return home.

A senior US administration official said three Americans were expected to be released in the first phase of the deal, including a three-year-old girl.

A plan to extend the pause in fighting has been discussed, on condition of the release of another 10 Israeli hostages in return for each day of non-belligerence.

But almost 200 Israeli and foreign nationals will remain in captivity in Gaza despite the deal. Four women — two Israelis and two US citizens — were released last month by Hamas, and one Israeli soldier was rescued. The Israeli military alleges that at least two Israelis have been killed in captivity.

How does the deal affect Israel's military campaign?

When it launched its ground invasion of Gaza, Israel made clear it intended to bring the hostages home safely in addition to destroying Hamas as a military and governing force in the enclave.

Military pressure was crucial to compelling Hamas to negotiate even a partial hostage deal, said officials.

"The ground manoeuvre also creates better conditions for bringing back the hostages. It hurts Hamas, it creates pressure, and we will continue this," said Herzl Halevi, Israel's military chief, on Tuesday after meeting troops in Gaza.

The pause in fighting will allow Hamas to regroup after six weeks of Israeli air and ground bombardment. But Israeli officials have said they would resume their campaign once the truce was over, and shift the focus to southern Gaza, where Hamas leaders are suspected to be hiding in tunnels.

"A comprehensive military achievement will not be possible without addressing the south," said an Israeli official last week.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was adamant on Tuesday, telling his government ahead of the final vote that authorised the hostage deal: "I want to make clear. We're at war. And we'll continue in the war."

Will the aid to Gaza be sufficient?

A humanitarian disaster is unfolding in Gaza, claim international aid groups, as Israel has laid siege to the strip of 2.3mn people and mounted a bombardment.

Much of the territory has been reduced to rubble, while supplies of food, water, medicine and fuel have been severely restricted. Under US pres-



Tel Aviv: families of hostages and their supporters demonstrate on Monday outside the Unicef headquarters to demand child hostages held in Gaza be freed. Below, portraits of Israeli hostages adorn a wall in the city

Alexi J. Rosenfeld/Getty
Ahmad Charabi/AP/GETTY



sure, Israel has in recent weeks allowed an increase in humanitarian convoys, including fuel, to enter Gaza, but they remain far below prewar levels. The need is dire, with more than 1mn Gazans displaced from the north to shelters, schools and tent cities in the territory's south, doubling the population there.

Under the deal, Israel will allow hundreds of aid trucks of humanitarian and medical supplies and fuel to enter Gaza daily, according to Hamas.

But analysts have noted that even if the international community delivers enough aid, the key obstacle remains its co-ordination and distribution inside Gaza because of scarce fuel supplies.

How do Israelis view the deal?

The Israeli public overwhelmingly supports a deal to release hostages, according to polls. The families of captives

have in recent weeks joined ever larger marches in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem demanding the government "pay any price" for the safe return of the captives. Posters with the faces of the hostages dot store fronts and highways nationwide, declaring "Bring Them Home".

But far-right ministers in Netanyahu's coalition voted against the deal late on Tuesday night, saying it was a "bad" deal that did not ensure the return of all the hostages and decreased the chances of destroying Hamas, according to Israeli media.

How will Hamas present the deal?

Hamas confirmed that about 150 Palestinian women and children would be released as part of the deal, which the militant group is expected to portray as a significant achievement.

Yahya Sinwar, Hamas's leader in Gaza, is believed by Israeli and western intelligence services to be handling the hostage talks. He was himself released in a prisoner exchange deal with Israel in 2011, and vowed to fellow Palestinian inmates he would secure their release.

In his only public comments since the war started, Sinwar said last month that Hamas was "ready to conduct an immediate prisoner exchange deal" with Israel, under which all the hostages would be released in exchange for all Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails, said to be at least 6,000 before October 7.

What were the most difficult parts of the hostage deal?

The talks were facilitated by the US and Qatar, which hosts Hamas's political office and has been liaising with the

'I want to make clear. We're at war. And we'll continue in the war'

Benjamin Netanyahu

Islamist group. Disagreements over details and logistics stalled the deal for weeks. Hamas initially sought a 10-day pause in Israeli bombardment, then five, before settling on a four-day pause with the possibility of an extension.

There were also disputes over the sequence, including whether Israel could use drones to monitor the hostage exchange, the number of Palestinian prisoners to be released and where they would go.

The profound lack of trust between the two sides was the biggest hurdle and could still undermine the deal's implementation, said analysts. Israeli officials said a ceasefire deal during the 2014 Gaza conflict was violated by Hamas and used to capture a dead Israeli soldier. Talks for his return and that of another dead soldier remain in the air.

What of the remaining hostages?

The release of women and children by both sides was a lower bar than a full exchange. The release of foreign nationals who were working may be possible. But securing the freedom of the remaining Israeli nationals, including active soldiers, will be hugely complicated.

Far-right Israeli ministers are loath to release all Palestinians from Israeli prisons. Security analysts said that if Hamas released all its hostages, the Israeli military would also be less restrained in attacking its underground tunnels.

"This is the best thing that can be done now... this is a first step," Udi Goren, whose cousin Tal Haim was kidnapped from the Nir Yitzhak kibbutz, told Israel's Kan Radio on Tuesday.

Opinion see Letters page

Political future

Italy presses Netanyahu to consider aftermath of conflict

AMY KAZMIN — ROME

Italy's foreign minister has urged Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to use the four-day pause in hostilities in Gaza to consider the region's political future, once the active phase of the conflict is over.

Antonio Tajani told the Financial Times the Israeli government needed to talk to its closest allies on the next steps, saying: "Israel must dismantle the military and terror structures, but it must already think about the aftermath. Who will rule Gaza? Who will take care of 2mn Palestinian citizens? How can Israel resume its political engagement with the Arab countries of the region?"

He added that Italy was working with friendly Arab countries, starting with Egypt, to find "a possible political and diplomatic exit route from this military phase".

Tajani proposed that a "UN administration", backed by international peacekeepers, could run Gaza for several years after the war ended, while giving time to work towards a long-term political solution to the decades-old conflict.

"Hamas wants all the Arab countries against Israel," he said. "We need to achieve a solution for the Palestinians to have all the Arab countries against Hamas. The final goal is two peoples, two states but we need to pave the way for reaching this agreement. We are ready to do what we need to do for peace. Our goal is peace but for this we need time. First, we need to stop the war."

He also urged Israel to respect international law, better differentiate between the Hamas militant group and Palestinian civilians and better safeguard civilian lives, which he said would be in Israel's long-term security interests.

"We need to be very serious when we talk about the civilian population," he said. "The message to Israel is please, it's crucial to respect international law. But, at the same time, the message to the others is that it is a crime also to use the hospitals [for militant activities]."

Israel has accused Hamas of using tunnels beneath Gaza's al-Shifa hospital for its operations and says it has unearthed some of these tunnels during the latest war. Hamas denies the claim.

The minister said Israel needed to consider the international perception of its offensive against Hamas and the methods chosen in fulfilling what he said were legitimate security goals.

"I am a friend of Israel — I believe in Israel. After the Holocaust, it is the right of the Jewish people to have a state free and sure," he said. "But if you want to also have public opinion with Israel, [you] need to have a proportionate reaction. This is important for Israel."

"The Palestinians aren't criminals... Hamas is using the Palestinians. We need to attack only Hamas."

Tajani said he believed there were "too many extremists also in Israel", specifically settlers in the occupied West Bank, where violence has escalated. Eight Palestinians were killed by Israeli settlers in the West Bank between the Hamas attack and November 18, according to the UN's humanitarian agency, in what the European Commission has called "settler terrorism".

Almost 200 people were killed in the West Bank by Israeli forces between October 7 and November 18.

US. Diplomacy

Biden's 'excruciating' effort to broker agreement on captives bears fruit

President helps arrange deal after weeks of negotiations involving Qatar and Egypt

JAMES POLITI — WASHINGTON

US President Joe Biden was leaving a White House event on the climate crisis last week when he turned to answer a question about the state of talks to free hostages being held in Gaza.

"I have been talking with the people involved every single day," Biden said. His message to the families? "Hang in there, we are coming."

This week, Biden was able to keep his word — at least partially — after helping to broker an agreement between Israel and Hamas to stop the war for four days to allow the release of some hostages.

Under the deal, Hamas will release 50 women and children in batches. In exchange, Israel will release 150 Palestinians in prison and allow humanitarian aid to pour into the stricken enclave. While the agreement has a brief dura-

tion and limited scope and could fall apart in its implementation, it represents an important accomplishment for Biden, who has faced pressure at home and abroad to mediate the conflict after nearly six weeks of devastating fighting.

Biden, pictured, spent a large amount of diplomatic and political capital to broker the deal, which one senior US administration official described as an "extremely excruciating" process.

If the agreement holds, it will mark a turning point in Washington's push to stabilise and contain the war. If it fails, it will risk fuelling more criticism in the US and internationally of Biden's approach to the conflict.

"He can't limit it to this one hostage deal," said David Gergen, founding director of the Center for Public Leadership at Harvard University's Kennedy School and an adviser to Republican and Democratic presidents for five decades. "It's going to take multiple steps by President Biden to straighten things out."

In the account of one senior administration official, the president began efforts to free the hostages after a video

call from the Oval Office on October 13 with family members of US citizens who had been kidnapped during the Hamas raid on Israel six days earlier.

"It was one of the most gut-wrenching things I think I've ever experienced in that office," the official said.

Within the White House, the negotiations were led by Jake Sullivan and Brett McGurk of the National Security Council, along with Bill Burns, the CIA director, and Antony Blinken, the secretary of state. Aside from top Israeli officials, their main counterparts were senior Egyptian and Qatari officials who were in contact with Hamas.

On Tuesday, Biden thanked the leaders of Qatar and Egypt for their "critical leadership and partnership" in reaching the agreement. "Today's deal should bring home

additional American hostages, and I will not stop until they are all released," he added.

Biden was personally involved "as extremely difficult talks and proposals were traded back and forth", the senior US administration official said.

The main sticking points spanned "corridors, to surveillance, to timeframes, and total numbers" as well as the list of hostages and their "identifying information".

Although Hamas had said it was willing to release 50 hostages in the first phase of the deal, it produced precise details for only 10, which the US deemed to be insufficient.

On November 12, Biden called the Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad al-Thani, to make it "very clear that where we were was not enough", according to the senior Biden administration official. In response, he

received assurances from the ruler of the Gulf state that "he was going to do everything he possibly could to get this done".

A breakthrough came shortly after from Hamas, which produced the necessary information for the release of the first 50 women and children. By November 14, the day of Biden's public pledge to family members of US hostages, Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu agreed to the deal in general terms during a call with the US president, reversing his weeks-long resistance to pausing military operations.

While Biden was in San Francisco last week for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit, communication with Hamas went dark and the deal seemed in jeopardy. But talks resumed on November 17 and the final details were hammered out early this week.

The senior US administration official said the White House now hoped the deal could be extended to include the release of additional hostages — and a longer pause in hostilities.

"We do anticipate it'll be more than



INTERNATIONAL

COP28

Drive against coal power plants stepped up

Climate summit urged by 15 countries to end finance for polluting generation

ATTRACTA MOONEY
CLIMATE CORRESPONDENT

The UK, Canada, Germany and 12 other countries are stepping up a push to halt new coal-fired power stations and clamp down on polluting existing plants, after failure to make progress in the two years since a UN pact on coal was first signed.

The ministers of 15 nations are behind a letter seen by the Financial Times that urges the upcoming COP28 UN climate summit in Dubai to deliver an agree-

ment that will end public and private finance for new coal power projects.

Almost 200 countries agreed for the first time at COP26 in Glasgow in 2021 to phase down coal power where emissions are not captured.

But coal power has barely declined since then, according to the International Energy Agency, mainly as energy demands grow in China, India and south-east Asia, while it has ebbed in the richer US and Europe.

The letter addressed to the COP28 presidency, led by the UAE's Sultan al-Jaber, says coal power generation remains the largest source of carbon dioxide emissions and "needs to be phased out first and fastest".

The signatory countries have mostly

already benefited from coal power to varying degrees. The UK has scaled down its use for electricity since the 1990s to a few per cent and Canada uses less than 10 per cent, while Germany relies on coal for a third of generation.

While the UK recently approved its first new coal mine in 30 years, the production is focused on coking coal used in steel production.

Canadian environment minister Steven Guilbeault, co-chair of the Powering Past Coal Alliance of governments, businesses and other groups behind the letter, said: "The time for half-measures and gradual change has passed. The time to act is now."

The letter states: "We must significantly accelerate action on coal. It is

now critical that we immediately stop approvals and construction of new coal power plants and radically accelerate the coal-to-clean transition."

The letter comes ahead of what is expected to be a fierce debate at COP28 about the reliance of emerging economies on fossil fuels.

While it is not a signatory to the letter, a senior state department official said the US maintained there should be an immediate halt to the permitting of new, unabated coal developments.

US climate envoy John Kerry has been strident, telling the FT in a recent interview he felt "increasing anger" about the scale of coal power expansion that would make it "impossible to achieve 1.5 degrees", in a reference to the global

temperature rise since pre-industrial times.

The G7 earlier this year committed "to accelerate the phaseout of unabated fossil fuels so as to achieve net zero in energy systems by 2050", despite resistance from Japan.

But a focus on coal at COP28 is likely to provoke many developing countries, which are often more reliant on coal for power and have less access to finance to make their energy systems greener.

The letter said no country should have to "compromise between sustainable development and the fight against climate change".

The COP28 leadership said it was aware of the "strong views" and was "seeking to build consensus".

South America

Argentina's pilots pledge to see off privatisation of state airline

CIARA NUGENT — BUENOS AIRES

Aviation union leaders in Argentina have said they will resist Javier Milei's plans to privatise the state airline in an early sign of battles the incoming president can expect with the powerful labour movement.

Milei said after his victory in a presidential run-off vote on Sunday that he aimed to hand shares in Aerolíneas Argentinas to its workers and reduce the state funding on which it relies.

"If he wants to take Aerolíneas, he will have to kill us," Pablo Biró, leader of the airline pilots, said yesterday. "And when I say kill, I mean literally: he will have to take dead bodies and I'll sign up first."

The hard-left Unidad Piquetera social movement has announced plans to lead a march in Buenos Aires today to oppose Milei's austerity plans, while its leaders will meet to co-ordinate a "battle plan" for the coming months.

Milei's victory by 11 percentage points heralds a sharp shift in political direction for Argentina following four years of unorthodox economic policy under the left-leaning Peronist movement.

Argentina is suffering its deepest economic crisis in two decades, with annual inflation topping 142 per cent in October.

On Tuesday, Edgardo Llano, head of an aviation workers' union, said Milei would be "signing the death certificate" of the carrier nationalised in 2008, "because this company doesn't work without the contributions of the state".

Milei has said he intends to privatise "anything that can be in private hands", including YPF, the state energy company, and has pledged big and rapid cuts to government spending to eliminate a chronic fiscal deficit.

The hard-right economist may struggle to carry out his agenda, given that his La Libertad Avanza party holds less than 15 per cent of seats in the lower house and less than 10 per cent of the Senate. Transferring shares in the state airline to private hands would require a simple majority, while privatising YPF would require a two-thirds majority.

Labour organisations are influential in Argentina. Some are closely aligned with the incumbent Peronists, whose presidential candidate, Sergio Massa, lost to Milei on Sunday.

Peronist unions and social movements have indicated they will wait until after Milei's December 10 inauguration to begin any demonstrations. Several union leaders, including Biró, have said they are waiting for Milei to release details on his plans before formulating a response.

The labour movement is large and diverse. Rodolfo Aguiar, leader of a public sector workers union, expected a "big section of the union movement to quickly come to an agreement" to support Milei to protect their power.

Shila Vilker, director of Trespuntotero, a pollster, said a "season of protests" was still likely once Milei's targets for austerity became clear. "We may have relatively calm streets this week but the language being used heralds the conflict that is on its way," she said.

Milei reiterated in his victory speech a pledge to crack down on protests "outside of the law", alluding to road-blocking tactics that are frequent and a bugbear of many Milei voters.

Argentina. Election aftermath

Milei finds an unlikely ally in former leader

Conservative Macri drops by to discuss the nation's future with his libertarian successor

CIARA NUGENT — BUENOS AIRES

Less than 24 hours after Javier Milei, the hard-right libertarian outsider, swept to Argentina's presidency on a promise of radical economic change and a break with the traditional political elite, a critical member of that establishment arrived on his doorstep.

Mauricio Macri, Argentina's conservative former president who gave Milei a valuable endorsement in October, dropped by on Monday night for an unexpected visit at the hotel in downtown Buenos Aires that became Milei's campaign bunker. "What are we going to talk about if not the future of the country?" he told reporters in the lobby.

Macri, who ruled from 2015 to 2019 and took out Argentina's hated loan programme with the IMF after a failed attempt at economic reform, has one of the lowest approval ratings in Argentine politics.

From a wealthy family, and having spent two decades in politics, he is part of the establishment Milei has spent his career railing against. In an interview four years ago, Milei called Macri "evil" and a "second-rate populist".

But the former leader's endorsement, which followed the first-round elimination of Patricia Bullrich, the presidential candidate for Macri's centre-right Juntos por el Cambio (JxC) coalition, helped win over crucial moderate voters for Milei, an eccentric former television personality who has expressed support for legalising the sale of human organs and traded insults with Pope Francis.

Argentines are watching ahead of the December 10 inauguration to see how much their budding alliance shapes Milei's government.

Milei has yet to announce his economy minister but several of the names reported by local media to be in contention are officials from Macri's government, including Federico Sturzenegger, former central bank chief, and Luis Caputo, former finance minister, though others not from Macri's party are also being considered.

Further cabinet posts and junior roles will be filled in the coming weeks. Milei's small, two-year-old La Libertad Avanza party is made up mostly of political nov-



Table turned: Javier Milei, left, in talks with Mauricio Macri and Patricia Bullrich in Buenos Aires on Sunday

Reuters

ices, and his team has said that "talent" from JxC will be welcome.

While hardcore supporters of Macri's party may dislike Macri, the discussions with his party have assuaged some concern among voters and investors about the president-elect, a self-described "anarcho-capitalist" with no executive experience who has proposed a radical plan to eliminate the central bank and replace the peso with the US dollar.

But one JxC member said there was no formal agreement between Macri and Milei. "It's very fluid," he said. "What is happening is individual appointments of people who have worked with Macri and who support Milei's ideas. Milei doesn't want to cede space to any one political party."

Macri, he said, "isn't going to accept a job with Milei but I see him trying to build a new political alternative where he will remain a protagonist. . . . These are not the actions of someone who wants to retire."

Macri and Milei have met only a handful of times. Macri is the son of a multimillionaire tycoon and made his way to Argentina's top political post via the

presidency of Boca Juniors football club and the mayoralty of Buenos Aires. Milei grew up in a lower middle class neighbourhood and swept to popularity on a social media-powered anti-establishment campaign.

But there is common ground. Analysts said both speak the language of the private sector and Macri has abandoned consultant-approved speeches since he left the presidency, more freely expressing his frustration about the economy.

"Javier admires him. He trusts him, and there is maybe chemistry between them, so he will listen to his [advice]," said one LLA insider. "But Javier will be the president."

Macri views Milei's presidency as a second chance at his failed attempt to fix Argentina's economy, said Juan Cruz Díaz, managing director of Cefeidas Group, a consultancy.

Many economists say the JxC government, made up of Macri's rightwing PRO and centre and centre-left parties, moved too slowly to cut Argentina's chronic fiscal deficit, relying instead on hefty borrowing to finance spending. The strategy imploded during a

'[Milei] admires [Macri]. He trusts him, and there is maybe chemistry between them. . . . But Javier will be the president'

2018 markets crisis, prompting Macri to take out the biggest loan in IMF history, a \$57bn package that went off the rails.

The Peronists, a left-leaning populist movement that has dominated Argentine politics, won a decisive victory in 2019 elections. "Macri sees Milei's win as a vindication of his ideas, because he feels he was prevented from going fast enough by other forces in his coalition," Díaz said. "He has always felt like people underestimated him and his choices, so it's a personal vindication, too."

Macri's and Bullrich's decision to endorse Milei has triggered the disintegration of JxC. Elisa Carrió, leader of the centrist member party Coalición Cívica ARI, has declared it "broken".

Lucas Romero, director of Buenos Aires-based pollster Synopsis, said the relationship may prove tumultuous. "From the first 48 hours after the election, it's not clear to me that Milei understands what happened in the same way that Macri does," he said, citing disjointed communications from Milei's office. "If Milei thinks that the 56 per cent of the vote he won belongs only to him, he is misreading the result."

Military threat

North Korea claims launch of first spy satellite

CHRISTIAN DAVIES — SEOUL

North Korea has claimed to have successfully launched a military spy satellite into orbit for the first time, two months after Russian President Vladimir Putin pledged to support leader Kim Jong Un's space ambitions.

The Malligyong-1 reconnaissance satellite reached orbit following a rocket launch from the west of the country on Tuesday night, North Korean state media reported yesterday.

The Korean Central News Agency said the space agency would "launch multiple additional reconnaissance satellites in the near future" as it seeks to improve its ability to identify and strike targets in South Korea and Japan.

Kim, who presided over the launch, "congratulated all the cadres, scientists and technicians" who had "made a great contribution to enhancing [the country's] war deterrent," the KCNA added.

The US, South Korea and Japan said they could not independently verify if the launch had been successful.

North Korea told Japan on Tuesday it was to launch as early as yesterday.

US National Security Council spokeswoman Adrienne Watson condemned the launch as a "brazen violation of multiple UN Security Council resolutions", adding that it "raises tensions and risks destabilising the security situation in the region and beyond".

An operational spy satellite would strengthen North Korea's ability to con-

'N Korea is clearly showing it has no will to abide by the [agreement] to reduce tension on the peninsula'

duct a pre-emptive strike and monitor potential incoming threats from the US and South Korea. But analysts have raised questions about the sophistication of a North Korean spy satellite.

Pyongyang claims its space ambitions are a legitimate response to US-led "space militarisation" to attack North Korea and secure "world supremacy".

Hours after the announcement of the launch, South Korea said it was partially suspending a 2018 inter-Korean mili-

tary agreement that established air, land and sea buffer zones.

"North Korea is clearly demonstrating that it has no will to abide by the [military agreement] designed to reduce military tension on the Korean peninsula and to build trust," said South Korean Prime Minister Han Duck-soo.

Seoul's partial suspension of the agreement means it can resume reconnaissance and surveillance of North Korea closer to the demilitarised zone that separates the countries. South Korea is planning to launch its own military spy satellite by the end of this month.

Pyongyang's announcement followed two failed attempts this year, in May and August. But Seoul said this month it had detected signs that North Korea's space programme was receiving technical help from Moscow, after Kim met Putin at the Vostochny Cosmodrome in Russia's Far East in September.

US secretary of state Antony Blinken said this month that Moscow was offering backing for North Korea's military programme in return for shells and rockets to support its war in Ukraine.

China

DouYu founder held over gambling suspicions

RYAN MCMORROW — SAN FRANCISCO
QIANER LIU — HONG KONG

Chinese police have arrested the founder of Tencent-backed game-streaming site DouYu on suspicion of operating a casino, in a rare case of holding a tech entrepreneur criminally responsible for activity on their company's media platform.

Police in the small southwestern city of Duijiangyan yesterday confirmed they had arrested a 39-year-old man with the surname Chen, a day after DouYu said its chief executive and chair Chen Shaojie had been arrested by police on November 16.

The Financial Times previously reported that Chen had been taken away by the Chinese authorities in October as police probed pornography and gambling on DouYu's platform. Gambling is illegal on the Chinese mainland.

Since founding DouYu in 2014, Chen has built the company into one of China's leading game-streaming and esports brands. He has faced challenges more recently, including a failed plan by main backer Tencent to merge the

group with rival Huya, and a tough crackdown by Beijing on livestreaming sites.

Chen's troubles increased after China's powerful internet watchdog in May dispatched a team of officials to the company's offices for a month of "intensive rectification and supervision" of "porn and vulgar content" discovered on the platform.

The arrest of another well-known Chinese executive is a setback to the ruling Communist party's attempts to reassure entrepreneurs and reinvestigate the



Popular: DouYu is one of China's leading game-streaming brands

private sector. Chen's disappearance has already put many in the tech and entertainment industries on edge.

His arrest in Duijiangyan comes after authorities in the city last year arrested and then convicted a livestreaming group called Shanshanjiu Outdoor for running a gambling ring on DouYu.

According to the Duijiangyan court, users participated in Shanshanjiu's lotteries by paying for virtual gifts, with lotto winners receiving cash prizes. The court said the group roped in more than 4m participants who put up Rmb120m (\$17m) over the course of 4,267 lottery draws.

In 2020, Chinese state media reported on another group called Changsha Countryside Death Squadron, which took in Rmb177m from running gambling operations on DouYu. DouYu had small stakes in both Shanshanjiu and Changsha Countryside, according to data provider Qichacha.

The company said the enforcement actions against Chen may have a "material adverse impact on the company's reputation, business and results of operations".

Call for action Staff at a Deutsche Bank customer service unit are rebelling over pay levels close to the minimum wage → PAGE 15

Companies & Markets

Altman makes comeback as OpenAI chief after turmoil

- Dramatic reinstatement ends exile
- Board shake-up follows staff unrest

GEORGE HAMMOND AND CAMILLA HODGSON — SAN FRANCISCO
MADHUMITA MURGIA — MUMBAI

OpenAI's Sam Altman will return to run the company he co-founded just days after being fired by the board, in a dramatic reversal of leadership changes at the artificial intelligence start-up.

Under an "agreement in principle", Altman will serve under the supervision of a new board of directors, consisting initially of former Salesforce chief executive Bret Taylor as chair; former US Treasury secretary Larry Summers; and Adam D'Angelo, an existing OpenAI board member and chief executive of question-and-answer platform Quora.

Greg Brockman, the OpenAI co-founder and president who quit after

'I love OpenAI, and everything I've done [has been to keep] this team and its mission together'

Altman was ousted last Friday, will also return.

Altman's reinstatement provides a resolution to a crisis that pitted almost all of the company's employees and investors against the four-person board.

"I love OpenAI, and everything I've done over the past few days has been in service of keeping this team and its mission together," Altman wrote of his return on the social media site X.

The board that sacked Altman included D'Angelo, another co-founder Ilya Sutskever, tech entrepreneur Tasha McCauley and Helen Toner from the Center for Security and Emerging Technology at Georgetown University.

Under pressure from the company's staff, Sutskever flipped on Monday to supporting Altman's reinstatement. While D'Angelo remains, the other three

members are not on the new board, said OpenAI.

D'Angelo, Toner and McCauley had negotiated as a block and backed an outcome that saw only one of them remain, said one person involved in the talks, adding there would be an independent investigation into what had happened.

As part of the deal to bring Altman back, he had agreed he would not return to the board, said the person. OpenAI did not respond to a request for comment on the terms of his reinstatement.

With "support" from the new board, Altman said, he looked forward to "returning to OpenAI, and building on our strong partnership with Microsoft".

Microsoft chief executive Satya Nadella, who had offered to hire Altman and Brockman at the weekend, said he was "encouraged by the changes to the OpenAI board" and believed the decision was the "first essential step on a path to more stable, well-informed, and effective governance". Microsoft owns a significant minority stake in OpenAI.

Altman and Brockman had "key" roles to play alongside the company's leadership team, Nadella added.

Emmett Shear, co-founder of video-streaming service Twitch, who was appointed by the board as interim chief executive on Sunday, said he was "deeply pleased" with an outcome "that maximised safety alongside doing right by all stakeholders involved".

Josh Kushner, founder of Thrive Capital, a major venture capital investor in OpenAI that had pushed for Altman's return, said: "We believe this is the best outcome for the company, its employees, those who build on their technologies and the world at large."

OpenAI said in a statement: "We are collaborating to figure out the details. Thank you so much for your patience."

Toner posted on X: "And now, we all get some sleep."

Heavy metal Burden of high input costs leads Thyssenkrupp to €2.1bn steel arm writedown



Red hot: Thyssenkrupp aims to decarbonise its energy-intensive steelmaking process — Ina Fassbender/AFP/Getty Images

PATRICIA NILSSON — FRANKFURT

Thyssenkrupp has written down the value of its steel business by €2.1bn, pushing Germany's largest steelmaker into the red as it warns of low demand and prices amid the gloomy economic climate.

The Essen-based company, which includes a submarine division and a bearings business, yesterday posted a net loss of €2bn for 2023, blaming high prices for gas and other raw materials for the hit to its energy-intensive steel business.

Spot prices for steel had fallen this year, Thyssenkrupp said, lowering sales by its steel division 6 per cent to €12.4bn, despite shipments remaining flat compared with the previous year.

The company's share price jumped more than 6 per cent yesterday, as investors hoped that the lower value of its steel business would boost the

chances for it to be spun off. Thyssenkrupp also confirmed that it was still "talking" to Czech energy group EPH, owned by Daniel Křetínský, regarding a "potential joint venture" involving the steel unit.

Thyssenkrupp is trying to decarbonise and transition to "green steel" made using hydrogen and electricity rather than gas — an effort that the company says will eventually cut carbon emissions by 3.5m tonnes a year.

While the company confirmed yesterday also that €2bn of support that German authorities have pledged towards its transition was secured, questions remained over decarbonisation projects by other industrial companies after a German court last week struck down a €60bn off-budget climate fund.

Once a leading German conglomerate, Thyssenkrupp has been rapidly shrinking over the years amid

underperformance of several of its divisions and a disastrous investment in Brazil in 2005, which cost the company €8bn.

The company in 2019 sold its lucrative lifts and escalators division to private equity groups for €17bn, and has since closed or sold several smaller units, including mining and carbon components divisions.

Miguel López, chief executive, joined the company in the summer, after Martina Merz, his predecessor, was pushed out by the board in April, partially due to slow progress in the company's efforts to spin out its steel business.

A high-profile attempt to merge Thyssenkrupp's steel business with Indian-owned Tata Steel was blocked by Brussels in 2019, and a subsequent bid for the unit by British tycoon Sanjeev Gupta's Liberty Steel fell apart in February 2021 after running into financing problems.

Australian bank ANZ to cut bonuses if office shunned

NIC FILDES — SYDNEY

One of Australia's largest banks has warned its staff that they could be paid lower bonuses unless they spend half of their work hours in the office.

ANZ said in a note sent to more than 40,000 employees this week that in-person office attendance could be a factor in performance and pay reviews for the year ending in June 2024.

"We expect on average that our people globally spend a minimum of 50 per cent of their scheduled work time in the workplace," said the internal email seen by the Financial Times and sent to workers in Australia, New Zealand, India and the Philippines.

The bank said office attendance would contribute to "maintaining the great culture we're known for at ANZ".

The bank follows other Australian companies, including Origin Energy, the country's largest energy provider, that have in recent months linked discretionary pay to office attendance, as they work to get employees back in the workplace in the post-pandemic era.

Earlier this year, the leaders of some companies, including ANZ and rival Commonwealth Bank, requested that staff come to the office at least 50 per cent of the time.

Yet many workers have ignored the plea because the businesses have been unable to enforce it, according to John Quiggin, an economist at the University of Queensland.

The warning over performance and discretionary pay appears to be a more direct attempt to force more people back into office but still looked to be a "fairly performative measure," he said.

Quiggin said as a result of high inflation, employees were resistant to absorbing the higher cost of commuting into the office, putting pressure on companies with attendance rules to raise wages. "How much more are employers willing to pay to get people back into the office?" he said.

ANZ said staff could seek an exemption to the attendance rule for two months in "exceptional circumstances". Beyond that, they would require formal approval from senior leaders.

"This is a significant announcement that is going to disrupt the lives of thousands of ANZ colleagues and put future performance outcomes at risk," said the Finance Sector Union, which represents finance employees in Australia.

Tiger Global departure page 17

Open skies model for aviation is colliding with climate change

INSIDE BUSINESS

TRANSPORT

Peggy Hollinger



Management at Amsterdam's Schiphol airport should have been over the moon last week at news that the Dutch government was suspending plans for a substantial cut to flights from next summer on environmental grounds.

The scheme was one of the most aggressive reductions to growth faced by any airport in normal times; the government was proposing an 8 per cent cut in capacity to bring the world's third-busiest airport into line with laws on noise and air pollution.

But instead of celebrating with airlines, which had spent the past year challenging the plan in court, Ruud Sondag, Schiphol's interim chief executive, worried that the victory would be short-lived. At the weekend, just days before the national election, he warned that some parties were looking for far more drastic cuts. And, as local residents get "angrier and angrier... things could end up much worse for Schiphol and [we could] end up with far fewer flights", he said.

Sondag is right to be worried, and not just because of the ire of local residents. Dutch efforts to push ahead with the plan over the past year in the face of legal challenges have become a proxy for the debate over whether global aviation should continue to enjoy unfettered growth, even as its chances of achieving net zero emissions by 2050 recede. It may even herald a succession of trade rows as international aviation agreements collide with Europe's environmental ambitions and national laws.

The Netherlands' plan was ill-advised from the start, seeking to fast-forward established procedures on noise reduction by introducing an "experimental law" alongside the usual EU oversight. To be fair, the government was under pressure from regulators, as for many years Schiphol violated rules on noise and nitrogen levels. But in trying to accelerate the procedures the Dutch opened the door to retaliation, from the US in particular.

Washington wasted no time in threatening to curtail Dutch carrier KLM's access to US airports after it emerged that JetBlue, the American low-cost airline, would be squeezed out of Schiphol from April along with 23 other international carriers.

It is conceivable US retaliation could even have extended to airlines beyond the Netherlands. It argued the Dutch had violated the collective EU-US Open Skies agreement by reducing capacity before exploring all options to reduce noise, as international aviation practice requires.

Washington was not alone. Canada and others complained, too. No surprise that EU officials, fresh from a meeting with their US counterparts on Monday, warned the Dutch government they were minded to launch infringement procedures. Within 24 hours, the plan to cut capacity in April was shelved.

This is not the first time a US intervention has prompted a change to environmental measures in Europe. More than a decade ago, the EU suspended plans to require all airlines flying into and out of the bloc to use its emissions trading scheme after Washington banned US airlines from participating.

But these incidents are not likely to be the last. In Europe the public and political mood on aviation seems to be hardening as the deadline for net zero promises approaches. It is clear that without a radical breakthrough in technology, an exponential rise in the production of sustainable aviation fuel, or strong action from governments, the sector will fall short of its promise. Climate Action Tracker, an independent scientific project, even suggests that given predictions for passenger growth, emissions from international aviation could double between 2019 and 2050 without concerted action.

As a result, some politicians are increasingly inclined to discourage unnecessary flying. The Netherlands tripled its air passenger tax from this year to almost €30 per flight. Denmark is proposing a green tax on all flights. France, where a recent survey suggested a majority of 18-24 year olds favour limiting flights to four a lifetime, has been particularly assertive. The transport minister earlier this year proposed a hefty fuel tax on private jets. More recently he has proposed a new tax on flights to raise funds for expanding the rail service. And France, Belgium and the Netherlands are reported to be supporting proposals for a minimum fare on flights.

"This is why the Netherlands is so important," says Keith Glatz, senior vice-president at Airlines for America, a lobby group. "It sets a precedent across Europe and across the world."

peggy.hollinger@ft.com

In Europe the public and political mood on aviation seems to be hardening as the deadline for net zero promises approaches

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COMPANIES & MARKETS

Mining

Rio settles \$28mn Benga suit

Miner and former chief to pay SEC penalties over failed Mozambique project

TOM WILSON

Rio Tinto has agreed to pay a \$28mn penalty to the US Securities and Exchange Commission to settle a suit over a failed \$3.7bn coal deal in Mozambique more than a decade ago.

The settlement ends a series of legal disputes over whether Rio Tinto intentionally misled investors about the disastrous investment that cost Tom Albanese his job as chief executive.

In 2017, the UK Financial Conduct Authority fined Rio £27.4mn over the deal, then the largest penalty the regulator had levied for a breach of listing rules. Last year, Rio settled a similar claim with Australian regulators.

"With this settlement, all investigations of Rio Tinto regarding this matter

have been finalised," the company said yesterday.

Rio acquired the Benga project in north-western Mozambique in April 2011 and planned to send the coal by barge down the Zambezi to an Indian Ocean port but ran into problems.

By November of that year, Rio had concluded its assumptions about moving the coal were unrealistic and, in December, the Mozambique government rejected its application to send the coal by river on environmental grounds.

The SEC alleged Rio executives hid the extent of the problems from the board and investors and allowed the audit committee to review an estimate of the project's value in late 2021 that had "no basis in reality".

A Rio employee discovered the alleged deception in December 2012, triggering an internal review that led to Albanese's exit and a \$3bn writedown on the venture, later sold for \$50mn.

Under the terms of the settlement,

neither Rio nor Albanese have admitted to or denied the SEC's allegations. Albanese would pay a \$50,000 penalty as part of the deal, the company said.

Albanese, who has always dismissed the claims, told a mining conference in South Africa in 2018 that the SEC's case did not have "any merit", adding:

'With this settlement, all investigations of Rio Tinto regarding this matter have been finalised'

"Those of you who have worked on big projects in Africa or anywhere else [know] they take some time to go through evaluations. And what I would say is that Rio Tinto has strong systems in place for these type of projects and reviews." Albanese could not be reached for comment.

The Mozambique deal was part of a

broader push by Rio into Africa during a decade-long commodities boom fuelled by rising demand in China. At around the same time, the UK-listed miner was locked in a battle for control of the Simandou iron ore project in Guinea, west Africa.

In March, the company agreed to pay a \$15mn penalty to the SEC to settle charges that payments to a French investment banker to help retain its rights over the Guinean project had violated the US Foreign Corrupt Practices Act. The banker, who was paid \$10.5mn by Rio, was alleged to have made an "improper payment" of at least \$822,000 to a Guinean government official, the SEC claimed.

Rio neither admitted nor denied the SEC's allegations, but it has persevered with the project. In August, it signed agreements for the development of a 600km railway to serve the mine, which will be the biggest mining project in the world once completed.

Industrials. Electric vehicles

Northvolt aims to bypass China with battery advance

Swedish group's energy storage tech negates need for metals such as lithium and nickel

RICHARD MILNE — STOCKHOLM

Northvolt has made a breakthrough in a new battery technology used for energy storage that the Swedish industrial start-up claims could minimise dependence on China for the green transition.

The Swedish group, backed by Volkswagen, BlackRock and Goldman Sachs, has developed a sodium-ion battery that has no lithium, cobalt or nickel — critical metals that manufacturers have been rushing to obtain, leading to volatility in prices.

Peter Carlsson, Northvolt's chief executive and co-founder, said the new technology could be worth tens of billions of dollars as it opens up regions such as the Middle East, Africa and India for battery-powered energy storage for the Swedish group.

He estimated that in 10 years' time the order book for energy storage could be "as big or potentially bigger than the current portfolio" of batteries for electric vehicles, for which Northvolt has received orders of \$55bn.

"We are not that dependent on a number of these strategic supply chains that China has created in a very efficient way," he added.

Northvolt is Europe's current biggest hope to compete against the dominant Chinese, South Korean and Japanese battery players. It has started manufacturing lithium-ion batteries for cars and trucks in a factory just below the Arctic Circle in Sweden, and has plans to have three more plants in Canada, Germany and Sweden.

Sodium-ion batteries are seen as a cheaper and safer alternative to the lithium-based batteries widely used for energy storage because they work better at both very high and low temperatures. However, the amount of energy they can produce relative to their size has long lagged behind lithium batteries, making sodium cells currently impractical for most electric vehicles where space is at a premium.

Northvolt said on Tuesday it had now validated a sodium-ion battery at the critical level of 160 watt hours per kilogramme, an energy density close to that of the type of lithium batteries typically used in energy storage. Lithium batteries used in electric cars have an energy density of up to about 250-300Wh per kg while those typically deployed in energy storage have approximately 180Wh per kg.

Outside experts said that Northvolt



Northvolt says sodium-ion batteries will be far cheaper than lithium ones

had gone further than many Chinese competitors such as CATL, the world's largest battery maker, which used oxides containing metals such as nickel, cobalt or manganese in their sodium-ion batteries. The use of the metals makes them more expensive and less safe because they could catch fire at lower temperatures.

Northvolt's sodium-ion batteries instead use Prussian blue, a pigment first used in the 18th century to make blue paint and whose potential for batteries was first spotted by Nobel chemistry prize winner John Goodenough.

It is hoping to provide the first samples to customers next year, and could reach full-scale production by the end of the decade. It would need new factories alongside the four factories it has currently planned to produce lithium-ion batteries for vehicles.

"It is quite key to be the first ex-China player to have a sodium-ion product validated for energy storage," said Iola Hughes, research manager at battery consultancy Rho Motion.

She added that the potential success of sodium-ion batteries would depend on the price of lithium batteries, which have fallen recently, and on how quickly manufacturers such as Northvolt could scale the new technology.

'It is quite key to be the first ex-China player to have a sodium-ion product for energy storage'

"Investors are less enthusiastic than last year and some of the future development of the sodium-ion supply chain may be delayed or even cancelled," she said of the Chinese groups producing sodium-ion batteries.

"The low lithium price has made the cost-benefit for sodium ion less evident," she added.

The Swedish group believes the price of lithium is an unreliable benchmark owing to the constant price fluctuation.

Carlsson said he thought sodium-ion batteries would be about a quarter cheaper than the lithium batteries typically used in energy storage, which are themselves cheaper than those used in electric cars.

He added that replacing graphite with hard carbon would also reduce the carbon footprint of the new sodium-ion battery while it would be able to withstand up to three times the heat exposure of lithium batteries.

"The combination of thermal capability, cost and the sustainability aspect makes us very bullish about the possibility of the technology. . . This is a really large opportunity for areas like the Middle East, Africa and India," Northvolt's chief executive went on to point out.

Northvolt has invited bankers to pitch for roles on a stock market listing that could value it at about \$20bn as early as next year.

Carlsson said Northvolt was making sure it was ready to become a public company but that it was also ensuring it had sufficient financing should market conditions not improve.

"We are making sure that we are not dependent on an IPO window opening up or not," he added.

People familiar with Northvolt's fundraising have said the company is in the process of preparing debt financing of more than \$5bn for its current Swedish factory.

Automobiles

Toyota ad banned over 'no regard' for environment



The Japanese carmaker said its depiction of large numbers of vehicles together was 'clearly fantastical' after its run-in with the UK watchdog

Clip featuring pick-up trucks driving through river falls foul of regulator

PETER CAMPBELL

A Toyota advert showing a large number of pick-up trucks driving across a river has been banned by the UK's advertising regulator on environmental grounds because it shows the vehicles driving off-road.

The Advertising Standards Agency ruled that the clip showed "driving regardless of its purpose, across off-road environments and natural ecosystems, which had no regard for the environmental impact of such driving".

The 30-second advert shows a group of Hilux vehicles driving in a herd-like formation across a plain, then through a river bed and finally on to a road.

The ruling marks the latest clash between carmakers — which are keen to market rugged SUV and off-road vehicles that are highly profitable — and a growing chorus of critics who say such vehicles produce more pollution, damage roads and increase both congestion and pedestrian injuries.

Toyota argued that the advert showed the capabilities of the vehicle, which is aimed at industries with a "genuine need for off-road . . . specialised workers, such as farmers, forestry workers and park rangers".

It also said that large numbers of vehicles together were "clearly fantastical".

It added that "Toyota believed no reasonable viewer would have understood the ad as encouraging UK consumers to drive irresponsibly in the UK countryside and cause environmental harm".

The advert was made by The&Partnership ad agency and the complaint

was brought by a campaign group called Adfree Cities, which claims that "advertising impacts us in many ways, consciously and unconsciously, damaging our environment and wellbeing".

The group had complained to the ASA on the grounds that the clip "condones behaviour that was harmful to the environment".

In its ruling, the ASA said the ad showed the vehicles driving "with dust and scree visibly disturbed". It said the advert "had not been prepared with a sense of responsibility to society".

It added: "We told Toyota (GB) to ensure their future marketing communications contained nothing that was likely to encourage irresponsible behaviour towards the environment."

Scenes of remote or rugged driving are commonplace in adverts for off-road vehicles, irking some environmen-

tal groups. Jeep in the US was criticised for a 2018 advert that showed a Wrangler vehicle crossing a man-made waterway. Trout Unlimited, a fish conservation group, complained that the advert "glorified" the destruction of a potential "spawning ground" by "tearing up the gravel where they lay eggs".

A Jaguar Land Rover ad showing a mud-splattered Land Rover Defender in a forest was originally going to be banned by the ASA, but a draft ruling was overturned by the agency's ruling board.

JLR previously showed the Land Rover Discovery Sport crossing a river in a UK advert, which was not banned.

However, ASA rulings are precedent-setting, meaning that future commercials showing river crossings or other off-road driving that could be viewed as destructive may fall foul of the agency's guidelines.

Banks

Diamond's Atlas sued over Zambian deal

ALISTAIR GRAY

Bob Diamond's Atlas Mara has been accused of failing to pay what it owed to acquire a Zambian bank in a lawsuit against the former Barclays chief executive's lender that opened yesterday in London's High Court.

Atlas was sued by businessman Rajan Mahtani, the founder of Finance Bank Zambia, who alleges that the pan-Africa banking group co-founded by Diamond breached the terms of a deal to purchase it in 2015.

Barrister George Spalton KC, acting for Mahtani, said that FBZ had been offered \$215mn but "in fact ended up receiving less than a quarter of that sum". Mahtani is being advised on the case by Omnia Strategy, the law firm established by Cherie Blair.

The consideration for FBZ, which according to Spalton had total assets of \$310mn and ran dozens of branches by 2015, was partly deferred, said Spalton.

Only about \$60mn was paid upfront in cash and the remainder was contingent upon various conditions, including the successful raising of funds following the acquisition.

Spalton said in written arguments that while foreign exchange fluctuations partly explained the lower-than-expected consideration, Diamond's group also made "it as hard as possible" for FBZ "to meet thresholds at which they would be paid".

Atlas had sought to "prevent, obstruct, and delay" the raising of funds, for instance, and had been "eager from the outset" to prevent the seller from receiving the consideration in full, said Spalton.

Barrister Anna Boase KC, leading the defence for Atlas, alleged in written arguments that Mahtani's "pattern of behaviour" showed he made "unreasonable demands, threats, and continual attempts to reopen and renegotiate the terms of deals which he has done".

Mahtani had sought to present various parts of the sale agreement as having "somehow been guaranteed to him, rather than as sums which were explicitly dependent on the fulfilment of conditions", she argued.

Boase said Atlas denied the claims in their entirety apart from "certain admissions relating to a modest number of shares held in escrow, and much of this claim has recently been abandoned".

Diamond, one of the best known figures on Wall Street and the City of London, launched Atlas in 2013 after his departure from Barclays.

The 72-year-old planned to create an African banking heavyweight and established operations in several sub-Saharan countries through various acquisitions.

But the group has been reviewing its future and undertaken divestitures, with its listing on the London Stock Exchange cancelled in 2021.

Energy

Italy's Enel plans to cut renewable investments

SILVIA SCIORILLI BORRELLI — MILAN

Italian energy company Enel is planning to cut renewable investments, spend more on grids and focus on fiscal discipline, under the new management's first three-year plan.

The state-controlled utility had become one of the world's largest renewable energy producers under previous chief Francesco Starace, who clashed with Italy's right-wing government over strategy and debt and was replaced by Flavio Cattaneo earlier this year.

The change at the top followed a bitter battle that pitted Italy's government against a group of international investors who feared the company would renege on its renewables strategy. The Italian state is Enel's largest shareholder, owning a 23 per cent stake through the finance ministry.

"We will adopt a more selective approach towards investments in order to maximise profitability while mini-

mising risks," Cattaneo said in a statement yesterday.

Enel now plans to invest a total of €35.8bn between 2024 and 2026, with nearly €19bn — partly funded by EU grants — on grids. Its investments in renewables, particularly onshore wind, solar and battery storage, will fall from €17bn to €12.1bn.

The group said it planned to add 13 gigawatts to its renewable energy capacity by the end of the three-year period



A drilling well at Enel's geothermal power plant site in Larderello, Italy

by focusing on partnerships with companies outside Italy and the Iberian peninsula.

Before the plan was announced, analysts were expecting a greater focus on Italy and a more cautious approach towards renewables, which would mean more limited overseas investments.

Italy will now account for 49 per cent of investments, up slightly from the previous 48 per cent. However, total investments will drop from €37bn to €35.8bn.

"Financial discipline will be the cornerstone of our strategy, boosting cash generation and [efficiency]," Cattaneo said.

The group forecast earnings to rise from €21.5bn this year to €23.6bn or more by the end of 2026, with net debt to fall to about 2.3 times earnings before interest, tax, depreciation and amortisation over the same period. It expects to cut debt by about €11.5bn by the end of 2024, less than previous forecasts. See [Lex](#)

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Investors wary of airlines despite record profit

High fuel prices and economic risks weigh on industry and keep share prices languishing below pre-pandemic levels

FT REPORTERS

Airlines are struggling to convince investors to back the travel recovery despite reporting booming profits and splurging tens of billions on new planes.

The MSCI index tracking global airlines is trading about 40 per cent below pre-pandemic levels. It has fallen more than 20 per cent since the start of July, even as many industry groups including IAG, which owns British Airways, easyJet and Singapore Airlines have reported record earnings.

Carriers have also ordered more than 2,800 planes so far this year in a multi-billion-dollar bet the industry is set for a period of strong growth.

Yet high fuel prices have combined with economic fears and concerns about consumer spending to unnerve investors, who have long seen airlines as a cyclical sector vulnerable to external shocks, from volcanic ash clouds and pandemics to economic downturns.

One investment banker said the industry was considered “uninvestable” by many investors after the pandemic.

Some airlines are still in vogue. Shares in Asian carriers including Singapore Airlines have performed well as the region is still enjoying a post-pandemic surge in travel after opening up slowly.

US airlines with less exposure to the slowing domestic market outperformed their peers, while Ryanair, the budget carrier, has been picked out as a long-term winner in Europe after using the pandemic disruption to its advantage to embark on a period of rapid growth.

However, shares in Air France-KLM hit a record low on the same day the company announced a record profit in the third quarter.

“Investors are fully looking through the results with an eye on macro risks into the northern hemisphere winter,” said Alex Irving, a Bernstein analyst.

The investor scepticism in Europe comes despite airlines reporting strong demand for travel into the winter, although data released this month showed a hit to bookings globally following the outbreak of war in the Middle East.

“There is always this question ‘summer is good but how about winter?’” said Jozsef Varadi, chief executive of Wizz Air, the budget carrier. “Winter is good, too.”

This year’s profits have been built on an increase in air fares, as high demand for flying has collided with a shortage of aircraft.

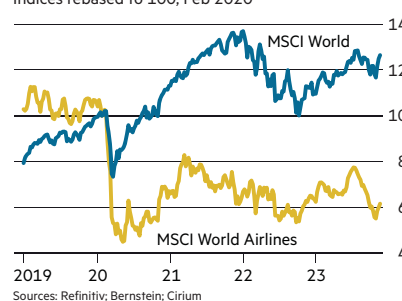
But some cracks have appeared in the US market, where several leading airlines have announced profit warnings off the back of rising costs including labour and fuel.

With investor scepticism running high, the latest round of airline earnings “needed to be flawless”, said Conor Cunningham, analyst at Melius Research. “They were largely mixed, resulting in



Airlines have struggled to recoup their share price losses from the pandemic

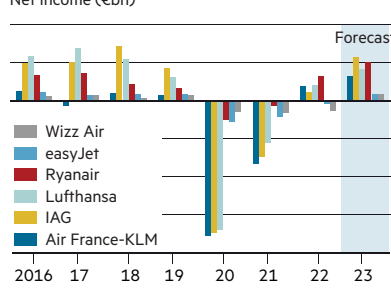
Indices rebased to 100, Feb 2020



Sources: Refinitiv, Bernstein, Citium

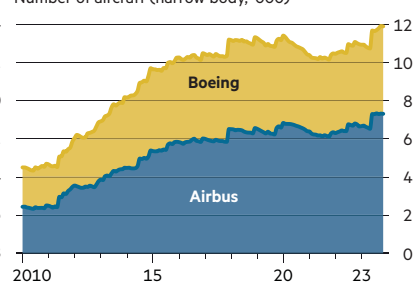
European airlines build on their post-pandemic profits

Net income (€bn)



Order backlogs for single-aisle jets are at record highs

Number of aircraft (narrow body, '000)



Ups and downs: high demand for flying this year has coincided with a shortage of aircraft

FT montage/LightRocket

Getty Images

consistent selling pressure,” he said.

There have also been signs that airlines are putting on too many flights in the domestic market just as demand has begun to slow, putting pressure on yields as carriers inevitably have to reduce fares to fill planes.

“You’ve got fuel, capacity and demand all headed in the wrong direction, we’re kind of the canary in the coal mine,” Barry Biffle, chief executive of domestic-focused Frontier Airlines, said at an industry event last month.

Goh Choon Phong, Singapore Airlines chief executive, said while he expected “robust” demand for the rest of the financial year to March, there had been recent signs that airfares have “softened” in his market, too.

Banks

Deutsche’s lower-paid workers rebel

OLAF STORBECK — FRANKFURT

Monika Reichel has stopped telling people that she works for Deutsche Bank. “It just creates a totally wrong impression as everyone immediately thinks that I must be earning a lot.”

In fact Reichel, who asked the Financial Times not to publish her real name, is one of 530 Deutsche Bank staff whose pay starts at little more than Germany’s minimum wage.

At a bank that paid €2.1bn in bonuses last year, has 572 employees making more than €1m a year, and in October announced it would free additional capital of about €3bn by 2025, official hourly rates at DB Direkt — a wholly owned subsidiary that operates Deutsche Bank call centres — start at €12.05. That is only five cents more than required by law.

Reichel and her colleagues are gunning for change. Workers are calling for a 45 per cent increase in entry-level pay to €17.50 an hour. After Deutsche rebuffed that demand in an earlier round of formal pay talks and failed to present a counter-offer, staff walked out for 24 hours last week. “We are not just disappointed, we are really angry and ready for a fight,” said a second employee who did not wish to be named.

Salaries at Germany’s biggest bank close to the minimum wage were “an embarrassment and a disgrace”, said Roman Eberle, an official at the country’s second-largest union, Verdi, who is leading the wage negotiations.

He points to retailers Aldi and Lidl as well as online giant Amazon, which pay at least €14 per hour to their lowest-skilled workers. Next year, the national minimum wage will rise to €12.41. The

bank and the union were to meet for a second round of wage talks yesterday. Without a serious pay offer from Deutsche, workers are prepared for further extended walkouts, Eberle said.

Low pay at DB Direkt has already caused problems for the bank, people with direct knowledge told the FT. “Since early 2022, more than 100 staff took on jobs in other Deutsche Bank units that pay much better,” one of the people said, adding the bank struggled to find enough recruits to replace them.

This has led to deteriorating quality of service, the people said. Only 40 per cent of calls are handled within the target time, far short of the 75 per cent aim. Deutsche declined to comment on last year’s churn or its quality targets but told the FT that this year, only 1.4 per cent of DB Direkt’s workforce had left for other roles.

The bank added that the pay for its call centre staff was “in line with fair market remuneration”, and workers receive a guaranteed Christmas bonus



Deutsche Bank call centre staff start on hourly rates as low as €12.05

on top of their hourly pay. However, the bonus was only introduced after a 13-week walkout by DB Direkt staff in 2021, and at 0.6 times monthly pay, it is lower than at many peers.

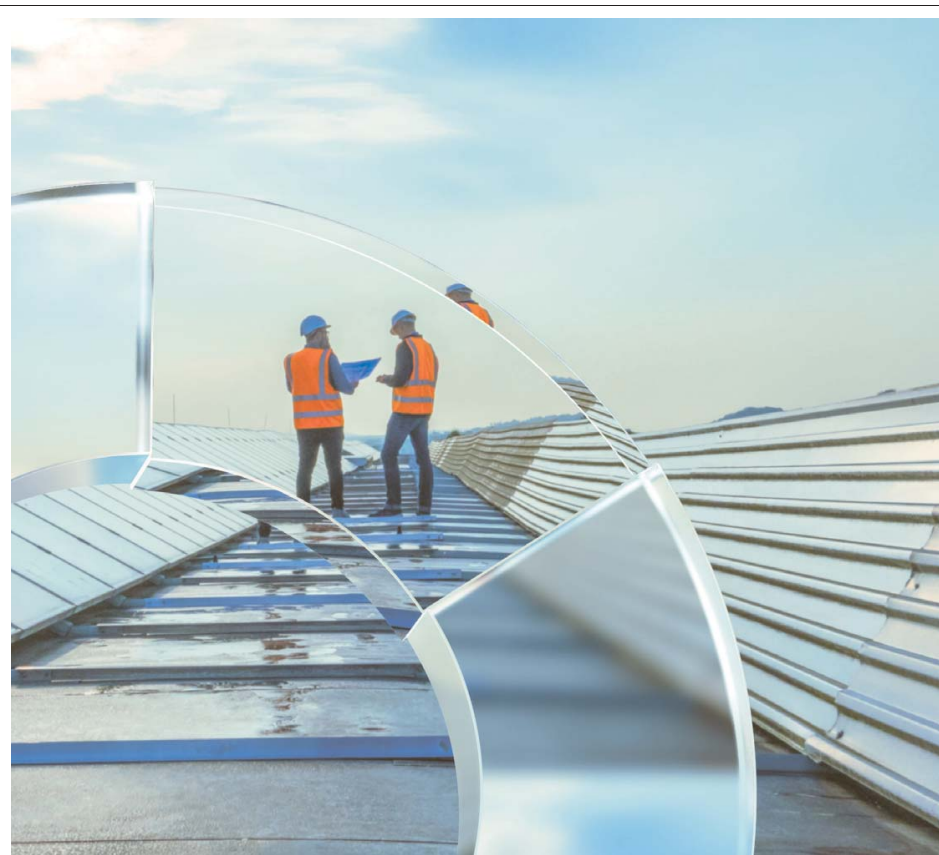
People familiar with DB Direkt’s pay distribution argue that no employees are paid the lowest rate of €12.05, instead starting on €12.65. The bulk of employees make between €14.40 and €15.46 an hour — Reichel’s pay bracket.

But, according to Verdi, entry-level wages in a similar division at Postbank start a little above €13 an hour, while rival Commerzbank pays at least €14. ING’s German online-only bank pays entry-level call centre staff €16.76 plus guaranteed bonuses, according to the bank. On top of that, ING’s call centre staff receive 1.75 times their monthly salary as a guaranteed bonus each year.

“Our managers regularly tell us that we are one of the most important faces to our clients but, when it comes to pay, we are treated like a commodity,” said a DB Direkt employee.

The rise in inflation over the past 18 months has hit low-income employees particularly hard. “Without my partner’s salary, I could not make ends meet,” said Reichel, adding that some of her colleagues struggle by the end of the month to pay for the petrol required to drive to work. DB Direkt staff received their last pay rise of 3.5 per cent in 2021.

When DB Direkt workers walked out two years ago, it was a rancorous dispute over the introduction of a perk — the Christmas bonus — that had long been taken for granted by all other Deutsche Bank employees in Germany. “It’s not our goal to have another conflict that bitter but, if the bank leaves us no other option, we are ready for it,” said Eberle.



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ASSET MANAGEMENT

UK COMPANIES

Crucial thing is missing from investment bonanza

Helen Thomas



Is it too much to hope that the UK's haphazard approach to industrial policymaking has passed its low point? It is hard to see how the chopping and changing between a hodgepodge of plans (and the lack of them) could become much worse.

Think-tank IPPR reckons the UK has had 11 industrial strategies or growth plans since 2010. If anything, that seems generous — the 2017 industrial strategy, the last serious attempt at an overarching framework of priorities for the economy, was canned in 2021.

The proliferation of often lightweight "strategies" across government since then has been baffling — not least because of the lack of any obvious

joined-up thinking or co-ordinating force behind them.

This isn't a new problem. Lack of consistency and co-ordination in industrial policy is part of the UK economic fabric, right alongside the tendency to invest less than competitor nations.

The resistance to "picking winners", the outdated idea that industrial strategy must mean anointing individual companies to be champions worthy of government largesse, has resulted in failing to pick anything at all. That looks increasingly out of step with the focus (let alone the money) of the US Inflation Reduction Act and the EU's Green Deal.

As Jeremy Hunt, the sixth chancellor since 2016, gave his Autumn Statement, there were signs of change. For a start, it was an attempt to bolster a longstanding industrial strategy for the first time in decades, and its lacklustre record on investment.

Making permanent the tax break allowing businesses to deduct 100 per cent of plant and machinery costs upfront from their taxable profits aligns policy with the long-term planning of

companies and catapults the UK towards the head of the pack in terms of OECD capital allowances, where it has previously trailed.

The next step is to be specific about where government wants to see investment and create regulation that encourages it. Hunt had already tilted back towards the notion of industrial policy, highlighting five "key growth sectors". Three of these — life sciences, advanced manufacturing and creative industries — have been lifted from the 2017 strategy, which was dismissed as a "pudding without a theme" by his predecessor.

Such echoes are a good thing. The point of decent industrial strategy is that groups as diverse as today's Conservative leaders and the Tory cabinet of five years ago should agree it is, broadly, pointing in the right direction. Better still if the next government and those of the future agree — something that seems possible given Labour's inclination towards full expensing and green-focused investment.

The government has started to home in on its five areas. The £4.5bn five-year manufacturing package announced last week to some extent just dusted off and expanded ideas from 2017, such as the Made Smarter programme to encourage small manufacturers to invest in digital techniques and the grants for advanced medicines manufacturing.

Lack of consistency and co-ordination in industrial policy is part of the UK economic fabric

True, this is just money on a promise, with funds only from 2025. But the UK won't be able to compete with bigger rivals in throwing subsidies around regardless. What's missing is a sense of clever policy being trained upon selected areas where the country can really compete.

The government still isn't above

chucking money at companies to stop bad stuff happening — see Tata's Somerset gigafactory or subsidies for the steel sector. Better long-term plans and quick deployment are needed elsewhere.

Indeed, the chancellor said international investors felt "longer-term strategy" was the "biggest thing" needed in advanced manufacturing and green energy, pledging to publish those plans "today". Hours later they were nowhere to be found. The creation of an overarching body as part of those plans — such as the Industrial Strategy Council axed in 2021 — could help credibility by evaluating progress. The legacy of the churn of recent years is that businesses, quite reasonably, doubt the staying power of what is said today.

Whatever Hunt and his colleagues prefer to call it, industrial strategy is back — certainly globally and increasingly in the UK. The question is whether the UK can manage to do it properly.

helen.thomas@ft.com

Travel & leisure

Activists press Entain to restore revenue growth

Investor discontent grows over Ladbrokes and Coral owner's flagging shares

OLIVER BARNES AND HARRIET AGNEW
LONDON
ORTENCA ALIAJ — NEW YORK

Entain faces growing investor unrest after two more US activist hedge funds voiced concern over the gambling group's languishing share price and the ability of chief executive Jette Nygaard-Andersen to revive the FTSE 100 company's performance.

New York-based funds Sachem Head Capital Management and Dendur Capital have built positions in the owner of Ladbrokes and Coral brands, according to five people familiar with the situa-

The group is 'committed to constructively addressing any questions or concerns' that shareholders have

tion. They join Eminence Capital, a Wall Street activist that also owns a stake and went public with its grievances in June.

The activists are concerned about flagging sales in Entain's core markets, including the UK, where regulators have cracked down on the online betting industry, as well as a series of management mishaps and costly deals, the people said. The highest-profile of these was an equity raise this summer that helped fund the takeover of a Polish gaming company but hurt Entain's share price.

After 25 straight quarters of double-digit growth in online revenues, Entain in September warned it expected a "low single-digit per cent" fall in pro forma online gaming revenues this year.

Its share price has tumbled this year by more than a third to a three-year low.

The activist investors have met regularly with Entain's top executives in

recent months. Nygaard-Andersen has become a lightning rod for criticism. A former non-executive director at Entain, with little experience in the gambling sector, she was drafted into the top job in January 2021, after her predecessor quit during a takeover bid.

One person familiar with the activists' thinking said Entain had suffered from "a lot of self-inflicted wounds". Shareholders had "lost faith" in Nygaard-Andersen and would seek her removal in the coming months, they added.

Entain this month pledged to install four new non-executive directors to its board to fill gaps following departures. The activists want Eminence's founder, Ricky Sandler, appointed to the board, according to people familiar with their thinking.

Entain said it was "committed to constructively addressing any questions or concerns" of shareholders, adding that it recently laid out "a clear plan" to expand the business organically, improve margins and win market share in the booming US betting market.

A person close to Entain pointed to the re-election of Nygaard-Andersen with more than 99 per cent of investor support at its annual meeting in April.

Sachem Head, Dendur and Eminence all declined to comment.

Under Nygaard-Andersen, Entain has made 11 bolt-on acquisitions of gaming companies. In June, Eminence criticised Entain's decision to raise £600mn of equity to help bankroll the £750mn takeover of Polish betting operator STS.

The share price slump has pushed Entain's market capitalisation to £5.2bn, well below the value of 2021 takeover offers the group received from Las Vegas-based MGM International and Boston-based DraftKings.

Eminence owns between 4 and 5 per cent of the stock, according to a person close to the firm. Sachem Head and Dendur bought stakes following the flurry of takeover approaches in 2021.



DIY reversal B&Q owner hit by weaker French sales

The owner of B&Q and Screwfix has sounded the alarm on profits for the second time in just over two months, blaming sluggish sales and warmer weather in France.

Kingfisher expects pre-tax profits to be £30mn lower than its previous guidance at £560mn this financial year owing to "a weak retail market [in France], as well as a delayed start to insulation, plumbing and heating sales" as a result of "unusually warm autumn weather", chief executive Thierry Garnier said.

The company, which also owns French brands Castorama and Brico Dépôt, said it would deliver £470mn of free cash flow, compared with previous guidance of more than £500mn. Shares fell nearly 7 per cent yesterday.

"Reflecting the weakness of the French market, and notwithstanding

our proactive cost actions, we have lowered our group profit guidance for the full year," Garnier said.

The latest profit warning comes after Kingfisher cut its annual profit forecast from £634mn to £590mn in September, due to tougher trading in France and Poland.

Like-for-like group sales dropped 3.9 per cent to £3.2bn in the three months to October 31, dragged down by its French performance, where sales were down 8.6 per cent to £1bn during the period. In

contrast, the UK market recorded a 1.1 per cent rise in sales to £1.5bn.

Kingfisher, which is in the middle of a turnaround, said current trading was mirroring the same trends in the past three months, reversing the pandemic DIY boom.

Laura Onita and Donato Paolo Mancini

Philippe Huguen/AFP/Getty Images

Media

RedBird move for Telegraph faces probe

DANIEL THOMAS AND STEPHEN MORRIS

Culture minister Lucy Frazer is poised to order a probe on public interest grounds of the proposed takeover of Telegraph Media Group by Abu Dhabi-backed RedBird IMI, in a move that could hold up the sale.

Frazer said she had concerns over the potential for influence over the Telegraph editorial operations, pointing to the ownership of IMI by a member of the UAE government.

RedBird IMI is a joint venture between US-based Redbird Capital and International Media Investments, the investment vehicle backed by Sheikh Mansour bin Zayed Al Nahyan of Abu Dhabi, who owns Manchester City football club.

She cited "public interest considerations" related to the "intended loan repayment by the Barclay family and the planned acquisition of Telegraph Media Group by RedBird IMI".

RedBird IMI, she said, had "links to media organisations that have been criticised for partisan views and ... there

may be an impact on the plurality of views of newspapers in the UK". IMI owns broadcasting groups with a presence in the UK such as Sky News Arabia.

She said these concerns "warrant further investigation", and was "minded" to issue an intervention notice on the basis of public interest grounds specified in the Enterprise Act.

Frazer's concerns were made in a letter to Lloyds Banking Group, RedBird and the Barclay family

Frazer's concerns were made in a letter yesterday to Lloyds Banking Group, the Barclay family — who previously controlled the Telegraph until their £1.1bn debt owed to Lloyds propelled the newspaper group into receivership — and RedBird.

The culture secretary has been lobbied by Conservative MPs over the proposed deal given their concerns over the risk to national interests of a company

backed by Abu Dhabi money owning a UK newspaper that has long backed centre-right causes.

A decision to vet the deal through a public interest intervention notice (PIIN) will lead to an investigation by Ofcom and the Competition and Markets Authority, the regulators. While Frazer said she had not taken a final decision, the move now makes a formal probe highly likely, according to those familiar with the process.

Lloyds, the Barclay family and Redbird IMI, which has pledged to protect the editorial independence of the newspaper group, have until today to respond to the letter.

Redbird IMI is now planning to offer further assurances on the independence of the newspaper group, potentially including a separate structure and other strengthened governance measures, said a person familiar with talks.

Lloyds executives have warned privately that a PIIN at this late stage would be disruptive for the lender and its shareholders, a person familiar with the talks said. Lloyds declined to comment.

Property

Grainger backs delay to 'no-fault' eviction ban

JOSHUA OLIVER

The UK's largest listed landlord has supported the government's move to delay the end of "no-fault" evictions until court reforms are made, urging the government to "get the balance right" to encourage investment in much-needed rental homes.

The timeline for making good on a 2019 Tory party commitment to end so-called no-fault evictions, which allow landlords to push out their tenants for no reason, has emerged as a key point of contention as the renters reform bill moves through parliament.

Helen Gordon, chief executive of FTSE 250 landlord Grainger, said she supported the bill "to give people security" in their homes. But she argued that improvements needed to be made to speed up the court processes before phasing out "no-fault" evictions or "the court systems will be completely jammed up".

Landlords and some Tory MPs argue that relying on slow court processes will make it too difficult to evict problem

tenants. Eighty-seven members of parliament earn an income from residential property, including 68 Conservatives.

The debate over protections for tenants comes as the UK faces a record surge in rents, driven by rising mortgage costs pushing small landlords out of the market and too few large corporate rental providers taking their place.

Grainger said the government's move to end 'no-fault' evictions must 'get the balance right'



Tenant groups and the Labour party have pushed for an immediate ban on no-fault evictions. Shadow housing secretary Angela Rayner said the decision to wait for protracted court reforms amounted to "kick[ing] the no-fault evictions ban into the long grass".

Major landlords have posted bumper earnings as rents have risen. Grainger, which owns 10,000 rental homes, yes-

Pharmaceuticals

AstraZeneca fights lawsuit claiming its Covid-19 jab was 'defective'

HANNAH KUCHLER

AstraZeneca is contesting accusations that its Covid-19 jab was "defective" after the drugmaker was sued for damages by a vaccine recipient who claimed to have suffered from a severe side effect.

The Anglo-Swedish drugmaker, which developed the vaccine with the University of Oxford, has filed its defence in a case brought by Jamie Scott, who claimed he suffered a rare but severe type of blood clot because he took the vaccine.

The lawsuit will be closely watched, in case other vaccine recipients could file more suits. If found liable, any damages would be covered by a UK government vaccine damage payment scheme.

AstraZeneca said the defendant's case that the vaccine was defective was "confused" and "wrong in law".

In the defence filing, the drugmaker said that the benefit/risk profile of the vaccine was and remained positive, and pointed out that the shot was approved by the UK medicines regulator.

Concerns about the rare blood clotting side effect emerged as the vaccine was rolled out in 2021. AstraZeneca updated the label to warn recipients of the concern on April 7 and April 15.

In the filing, AstraZeneca said there was a "reasonable possibility" that the vaccine was capable in "very rare cases" of triggering the side effect, but it was not known how this happens.

Scott received the vaccine on April 23 after the warnings. Then, 10 days after

In the defence filing, AstraZeneca said that the benefit/risk profile of the vaccine remained positive

his vaccination, he suffered from a headache, vomiting and impaired speech.

In their original filing, his lawyers said he had "been left with very serious injuries including speech difficulties, reduced cognition, memory and processing". He has had to have multiple surgeries and taken extensive medication, it said.

The company pointed out that because Scott was aged 44 at the time of receiving the vaccine, he was in the age category where the vaccine continued to be recommended in the UK, even after updated guidance advised the under-30s, and people between 30 and 39 who were not at high risk of Covid-19, to take other vaccines if possible.

Scott's lawyers had also questioned how effective the AstraZeneca vaccine was at preventing Covid-19, citing an absolute risk reduction of 1.2 per cent. Absolute risk of getting coronavirus changes depending on the levels of the virus circulating at the time.

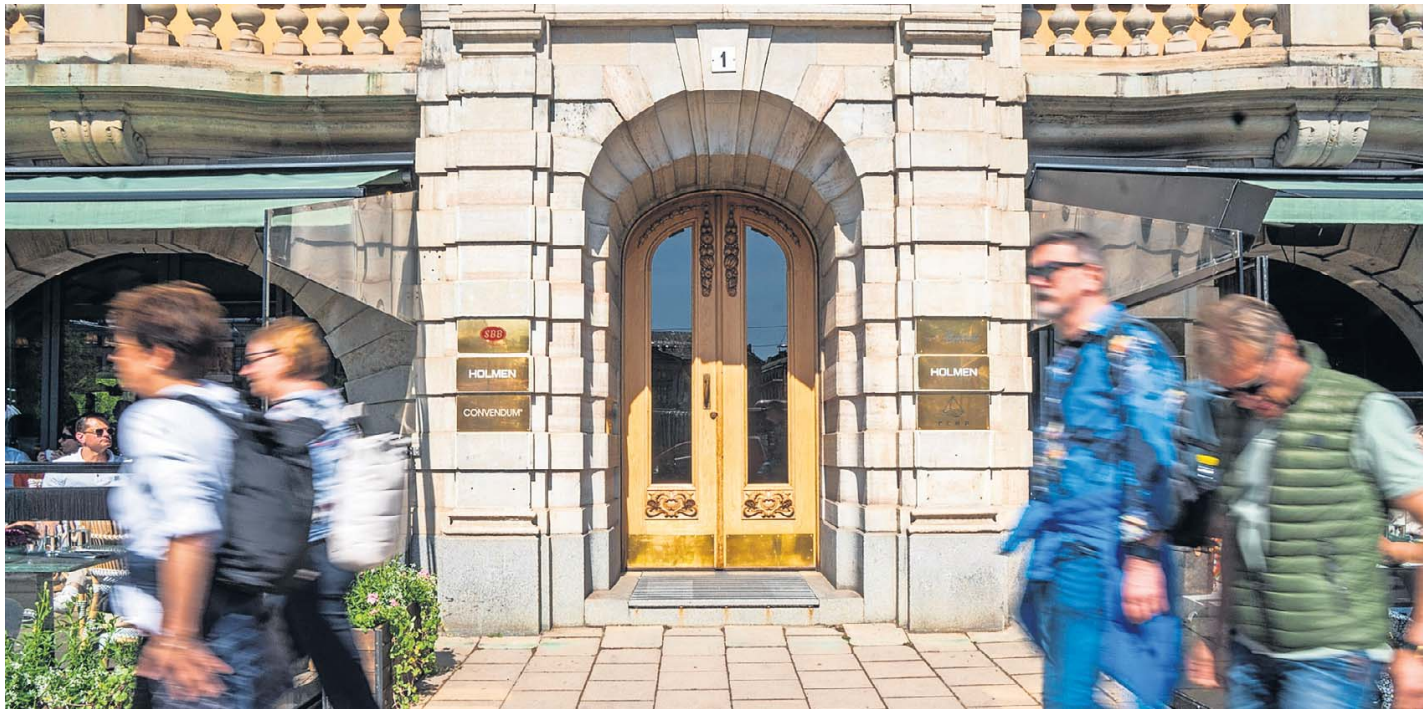
AstraZeneca, in line with the norms of clinical trials, reported a relative risk, which compares the number of people who received the vaccine who got Covid-19, to the number of Covid-19 cases in the placebo group. This led to a published efficacy rate of about 70 per cent.

In its filing, AstraZeneca said: "Absolute risk reduction data are difficult to interpret, potentially confusing and (taken in isolation) not a good indicator of efficacy."

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Equities. Low-quality stocks

Hedge fund short sellers hit by \$43bn of losses amid rally



Managers caught by 'painful' rebound as investors bet on quicker interest rate cuts

GEORGE STEER

Hedge funds betting on a decline in US and European stock markets have suffered an estimated \$43bn of losses in a sharp rally over recent days.

Short sellers, many of whom had built up bets against companies exposed to higher borrowing costs over the past year or so, have been caught out by a "painful" rebound in "low-quality" stocks this month, said Barclays' head of European equity strategy Emmanuel Cau.

That has come as the market has grown more confident that the US Federal Reserve's cycle of rate rises is finally over.

The rally, which has left Wall Street's S&P 500 index on track for its strongest month since July last year, was sparked by Fed chair Jay Powell's recent perceived reluctance to tighten monetary policy any further when he left rates on hold at the start of the month.

Weaker than expected US consumer price inflation data released on Tuesday last week then gave stocks a further boost with the S&P 500 and the tech-heavy Nasdaq Composite indices both enjoying their best days since April.

Analysts said the upswing triggered a brutal "short squeeze" in which some hedge funds repurchased stocks to cover their negative bets, which helped push share prices even higher.

"It's been a very tricky market this year but this short squeeze is really killing year-end performance for a lot of funds," said Cau. "No one was able to monetise the rally in garbage stocks."

The past month's "easing of financial conditions may have caused some dead cats to bounce", said Barry Norris, chief investment officer at Argonaut Capital, referring to the rebound in lower quality stocks.

Funds suffered \$43.2bn of losses on short bets in the US and Europe from Tuesday to Friday inclusive last week, according to calculations by data group S3 Partners, which do not take account of gains that funds may have made in other stocks they own.

Bets against technology, healthcare and consumer discretionary stocks were among the most costly for hedge funds, S3's data shows.

A 14 per cent rise in the week to Monday in the share price of cruise line Carnival Corp, for instance, cost hedge fund short sellers a total of \$240mn.

Indices tracking heavily shorted stocks have rebounded sharply from recent lows as market sentiment has rapidly improved.

Goldman Sachs' Very Important Short Position Index — a gauge that tracks the 50 constituents of the S&P 500 with the highest total dollar value of short interest outstanding — is on track

for its best month since October last year.

Barclays' most shorted stocks in Europe basket has climbed 9.9 per cent over the past three weeks, leaving it on track for its biggest monthly gain in at least 10 years, Bloomberg data showed.

Heavily shorted Swedish real estate group Samhallsbyggnadsbolaget (SBB) is among the groups to have hurt hedge funds in recent days.

While its shares have collapsed by around three-quarters this year, yielding big gains for short sellers, it rebounded by a third in the week to Monday.

That hit funds including Samlyn Capital, Balyasny and Arrowstreet Capital, according to regulatory disclosures and analysis by data group Breakout Point.

Meanwhile, Castellum, whose shares are shorted by Two Creeks Capital Arrowstreet and Fosse Capital, has jumped 16 per cent this month.

Last Tuesday, when the US inflation data was published, was a "squeeze day," said Brian Heavey, an equity trader at JPMorgan, who wrote in a note that macro hedge funds had been "massively short" consumer goods groups

Rebounding: Stockholm-based real estate company SBB is one of the heavily shorted groups to have hurt hedge funds recently

Jonas Ekblom/Bloomberg

due to their vulnerability to higher rates.

As a result, the sector has registered "massive gains" during November's index-wide rally, Heavey added.

Other rate-sensitive sectors reacted just as strongly. Shares in US green energy companies Fuelcell Energy and Sunrun — which have tumbled this year and remain heavily shorted — on Tuesday surged by around a fifth.

The rapid reversal in markets has proved particularly tough for trend following hedge funds known as commodity trading advisers, or CTAs, which use algorithms and strict risk management metrics to exploit market patterns in global futures markets.

Many have suffered as markets have changed direction and begun to price in extra rate cuts next year.

"You get inflation kind of collapsing . . . and all those shorts in these companies that are really susceptible to higher rates get this booming relief rally," said Charlie McElligott, a cross asset strategist at Nomura.

CTAs are down 3.7 per cent on average this month, according to data group HFR, leaving them down 2.6 per cent this year.

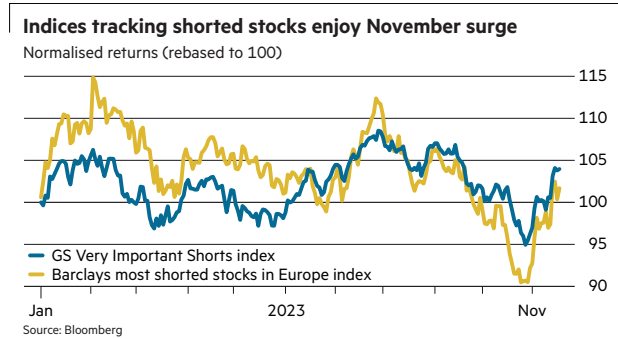
A model portfolio run by Société Générale, which aims to replicate the positions typically taken by computer-driven trend followers, is showing losses in all asset classes this month.

However, Barclays' models suggest that, even now, CTAs remain net short both equities and bonds.

"So [interest] rates down and equities up remains a pain trade," said Cau.

"I'm surprised that people weren't as dynamic in reversing some of their 'higher for longer' trade," McElligott said. Hedge funds have missed out on November's stock market gains in "brutal fashion", he added.

It's been a very tricky market this year but this short squeeze is really killing year-end performance for a lot of funds'



Asset management

Tiger Global's private equity unit boss steps down to avoid leaving Palm Beach

ANTOINE GARA — NEW YORK
GEORGE HAMMOND — SAN FRANCISCO

Scott Shleifer, the head of Tiger Global's \$30bn-plus private equity business, will step down from his role at the hedge fund at the end of the year.

The move will be a significant change for Tiger, a \$58bn-in-assets hedge fund founded by Chase Coleman, a protégé of Julian Robertson, in 2001. Shleifer was one of Tiger's first hires and spotted enormous opportunities from ascendant technology companies, particularly in China, where he was an early backer of ecommerce groups such as JD.com and Ctrip.com.

Shleifer moved to a multimillion-dollar estate in Palm Beach, Florida, during the pandemic and has since worked mostly from his home.

Tiger has decided that having all of its investment team working from its New York headquarters was a "better operating model for our firm", it said in a letter to investors announcing the move. Shleifer decided to step back when faced with the decision to move back to New York or stay in Florida, it said. "Scott's decision to make this move after two

decades of successful partnership is based largely on geography," the letter said. "Tiger Global is operating in-person out of our New York offices, whereas Scott and his family have made their home in Florida and want to stay there."

Shleifer will remain as a senior adviser to Tiger, while his role will be replaced with an investment committee chaired by Coleman and consisting of Shleifer and partners Evan Feinberg, Eric Lane and Griffin Schroeder.

The change of guard in Tiger's private



Scott Shleifer decided not to move to New York but will remain an adviser

equity business comes at a fraught time for the hedge fund, which saw its assets under management soar to about \$90bn as public and private technology valuations surged during the pandemic.

On Shleifer's watch, the private equity unit earned large windfalls from early bets on Chinese ecommerce groups JD.com and Meituan, and ride-hailing app Didi Chuxing. More recently he took Silicon Valley by storm by overseeing Tiger's investments in private technology start-ups, including FTX and OpenAI, as it earned a reputation for quickly making large investments and not seeking board representation.

But a sudden rise in interest rates beginning in 2022 left Tiger badly exposed to plunging valuations and holding a bloated portfolio of private investments with limited paths to exit. Its main fund lost half its value in 2022, before recovering strongly along with this year's rally in tech valuations.

"[Scott] is one of the true pioneers of the crossover investing model [which mixes public and private stakes] and his passion, drive and commitment have led to many highly profitable investments for the firm," Coleman said.

Fixed income

Investors pour cash into US corporate debt in wager Fed rates have peaked

HARRIET CLARFELT

Investors are pouring cash into US corporate bond funds at the fastest pace in more than three years, signalling a growing appetite for risky assets as markets call the peak in interest rates.

More than \$16bn has flooded into corporate bond funds in the month to November 20, data from flow tracker EPFR shows, already a larger net inflow than any full month since July 2020.

The trend has been concentrated mainly in "junk" debt, with \$11.4bn flowing into funds investing in these low-grade, high-yield bonds this month. Another \$5bn has poured into investment grade funds, which hold better quality corporate debt.

The substantial inflows underscore how cooling inflation has fuelled predictions that the US Federal Reserve has finished its cycle of interest rate rises. The clamour for lower-rated bonds also reflects growing confidence that relief from high borrowing costs will allow highly indebted companies to navigate a slowing economy without a surge in defaults.

"We have seen a very big change in

sentiment across markets," said Will Smith, director of US high-yield credit at AllianceBernstein.

The Fed has turned the screws aggressively on monetary policy since March last year, taking borrowing costs from near zero to a target range of 5.25 per cent to 5.5 per cent in a bid to curb inflation. That has translated into a greater interest burden for corporate America

'We have seen a very big change in sentiment across markets'

Will Smith, AllianceBernstein

— sparking concerns about a wave of defaults as riskier businesses struggle to service their debt.

However, the Fed has held rates steady since July. And closely watched labour market data for October showed a substantial slowdown in hirings, with just 150,000 new US jobs created.

Last week, data showed that US inflation had slipped more than expected to 3.2 per cent — the first decline since June. In response, traders have slashed

Commodities

Oil price slips after Opec+ postpones meeting

DAVID SHEPPARD AND
STEPHANIE STACEY

Oil prices fell sharply yesterday after the Opec+ oil cartel announced that it would postpone its planned meeting to next week, which traders took as a sign the group is struggling to agree on further supply cuts.

Opec+ said the production meeting, originally scheduled for this Sunday, would be moved to Thursday next week, without giving a reason for the change. The move is unusual as it will coincide with the start of the UN COP climate talks, which the UAE, an Opec member, is hosting.

The sudden change of schedule comes at a challenging time for the group as oil prices were already well down on their highs for the year, despite a series of production cuts led by Saudi Arabia over the past 12 months.

Prices were already slipping ahead of the announcement but the sell-off accelerated following Opec's statement.

Brent, the international crude oil benchmark, fell nearly 5 per cent before rebounding to trade 2.3 per cent lower at \$78.62 a barrel while West Texas Intermediate, the US benchmark, fell 2.6 per cent to \$75.71 a barrel.

"This postponement indicates difficulties within the Opec+ group to reach an agreement to cut production," said

'Every member country acknowledges the need to reduce output to support prices. The question is how'

Jorge León at Rystad. "Every member country acknowledges the need to reduce output to support prices into 2024. The question is how to share the burden of this."

The Financial Times reported on Friday that the group was considering a further production cut of up to 1mn barrels a day to help steady the market, in addition to Saudi Arabia extending its existing voluntary cuts until at least the end of the first quarter.

The cut under discussion, while primarily motivated by falling prices, was also designed as a show of influence from the group at a time when many of its Middle Eastern members are angry over the Israel-Gaza war.

Two analysts noted that delaying the meeting until Thursday meant a four-day ceasefire agreed between Israel and militant group Hamas will have expired by the time of the meeting.

Announcing production cuts when hostilities resume would potentially have more impact — if designed to at least partially send a message of Arab unity and a rebuke to the White House, which has firmly backed Israel.

People close to Opec+ also suggested that there are tensions in the group over members exceeding production targets, despite agreeing to tighter curbs in June.

African members Angola and Nigeria have been hesitant to cut production while Saudi Arabia has a history of threatening to raise output to try to enforce compliance among members.

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COMPANIES & MARKETS

Falling inflation might not weigh on gold's rally

Rebecca Patterson

Markets Insight

The latest US inflation data has reinforced market expectations that a Goldilocks-style soft landing will emerge in the year ahead with the US Federal Reserve able to ease monetary policy despite a relatively strong labour market.

In such a scenario, it would be reasonable if investors favoured stocks and even bonds over gold. Historically, zero-yielding gold has tended to perform better in the “tails” of the economic-cycle bell curve, either into a recessionary environment with low and falling interest rates and elevated uncertainty or an environment of economic overheating with high and rising inflation.

Looking at the year ahead, however, there are at least three factors that could help gold keep its lustre, even if hopes of a soft landing are realised. Central banks suggest they intend to add more gold to their reserves and China's central bank in particular has room to do so.

In addition, the ongoing property deleveraging in China, weighing down on its economy and domestic assets, may keep Chinese households looking to gold as a preferred store of wealth.

Finally, investors broadly may want to increase gold allocations as a hedge against an unusually busy political calendar that could exacerbate an already unsettled geopolitical backdrop.

On central banks and gold, it is important to remember that reserve assets are chosen mainly for liquidity and stability, rather than returns. That is a key reason why central banks own so many US government bonds. Recent years have elevated another priority for central banks, however — diversification to protect against geopolitical shocks.

Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014

and then the 2022 war in Ukraine resulted in an increasing number of western sanctions on Russian assets, including its central bank reserves.

This triggered a renewed focus on reserve diversification, especially by Russia and countries doing business with it. They wanted to shift reserves away from US dollar-denominated assets as well as from assets of US allies that might implement similar sanctions.

Gold benefited. It provided a relatively liquid, stable asset that could be used outside global payment systems (notably Swift) and historically had performed well in periods of heightened

Precious metal may play a larger role as a hedge against macroeconomic and geopolitical risk

uncertainty. In 2022, central banks purchased a record 1,136 tonnes of gold, according to the World Gold Council, with another 800 tonnes bought in the first three quarters of 2023.

Gold buying was led by emerging economies, notably China and Turkey.

China has been the largest buyer of gold for central bank reserves this year by far with purchases of 181 tonnes in the nine months to September 30, taking total holdings to 2,192 tonnes.

But it has ample room to increase gold holdings if it wants to further diversify. Gold represents about 4 per cent of its total reserves, near the low end of allocations by larger central banks.

For comparison, Russia's gold reserves are just under a quarter of the country's total while Turkey's gold rep-

resents 26 per cent of total reserves. The US and Germany have about two-thirds of total foreign reserves in gold.

A survey by the World Gold Council released in May found that two-thirds of emerging economy central banks and 39 per cent of developed economy central banks expected to increase gold holdings over the next five years — to 16 per cent or greater as a share of total reserves. That would be a multiple of China's current allocation.

In addition to the Chinese central bank, the country's households, historically the world's largest gold consumers, may be motivated to buy more.

China's closed capital account and less developed financial markets limit ways to manage wealth. Historically, households have looked to housing, local equity markets and bank deposits.

If the government is unable to sustainably stabilise property prices, the broader economy and equity market are likely to keep struggling. Against that backdrop, it seems reasonable that household savings may migrate more into gold in an effort to preserve wealth.

Gold may play a larger role in 2024 as investors broadly hedge against macroeconomic and geopolitical risk. The year ahead brings elections in dozens of countries; more than half of the global population will be deciding on leaders.

Outcomes have the potential to set off stark policy shifts in critical countries, including the US, Taiwan and Mexico. These votes also may exacerbate geopolitical uncertainty with the potential to weigh on growth expectations and drag soft-landing hopes towards a more gold-friendly economic tail.

Rebecca Patterson is a former chief investment strategist at Bridgewater Associates

The day in the markets

What you need to know

- US stocks close in on 2023 high ahead of Thanksgiving break
- Equities rally in recent weeks on hopes Fed has finished lifting interest rates
- Dollar strengthens amid continued resilience in American labour market

US stocks rose on the last day of trading before Thanksgiving with Wall Street's benchmark S&P 500 on course to close near its highest level so far in 2023.

The S&P 500 was up 0.4 per cent in early afternoon trading in New York, at 4,557.82 as the index extended a rally on rising hopes that the US Federal Reserve has finished its aggressive rate-hiking campaign. The index's highest close so far this year came on July 31 at 4,588.96.

The best-performing shares in the S&P 500 were in the travel sector, which gained as oil prices slumped yesterday. The tech-heavy Nasdaq Composite was up 0.6 per cent.

The dollar strengthened after new applications for state unemployment aid, a proxy for lay-offs, declined more than forecast in a sign of continued resilience in the US labour market.

The currency climbed 0.5 per cent against a basket of six peers, rebounding from a steep decline that followed last week's softer than expected inflation data, which bolstered hopes the Fed has finished its aggressive campaign to raise interest rates.

The dollar's rally also comes after minutes from the Fed's latest policy meeting, released on Tuesday, revealed a consensus for monetary policy to “remain at a restrictive stance for some time”.

Today is the last full trading session for

Wall Street's benchmark nears its highest level in 2023

S&P 500 index



US markets until Monday with the main exchanges closed for Thanksgiving with only a half-day of trading tomorrow.

Oil prices slumped after the Opec+ group of major oil producers announced it would push back its upcoming meeting.

The group did not offer any reason for the delay but traders interpreted it as a sign the cartel is struggling to agree on further production cuts.

Brent crude, the global benchmark for oil, fell 3.4 per cent to \$78.66 per barrel while the US marker West Texas Intermediate slid 2.3 per cent to \$75.12.

European equities climbed higher,

pushed up by a strong performance in rate-sensitive real estate shares as energy stocks declined.

The region-wide Stoxx Europe 600 rose 0.3 per cent, Paris's CAC 40 added 0.5 per cent but London's energy-heavy FTSE 100 dropped 0.2 per cent.

Argentine equities extended their rally for a second day after the presidential election of radical libertarian Javier Milei.

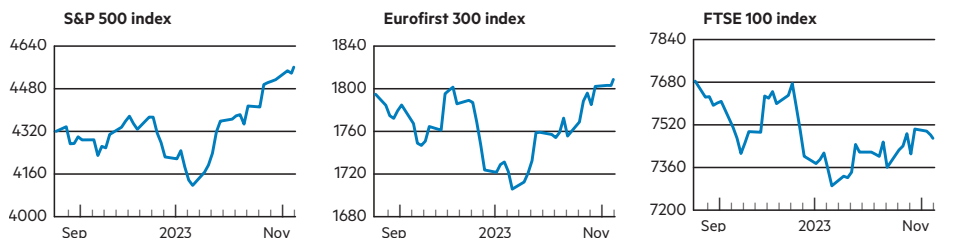
The local S&P Merval stock index was up more than 9 per cent in early afternoon trading in Buenos Aires, building on Tuesday's rise of 22.8 per cent. **Stephanie Stacey**

Markets update

	US	Eurozone	Japan	UK	China	Brazil
Stocks	S&P 500	Eurofirst 300	Nikkei 225	FTSE100	Shanghai Comp	Bovespa
Level	4560.90	1808.69	33451.83	7469.51	3043.61	126477.44
% change on day	0.50	0.30	0.29	-0.17	-0.79	0.68
Currency	\$ index (DXY)	\$ per €	Yen per \$	\$ per £	Rmb per \$	Real per \$
Level	103.607	1.087	149.685	1.246	7.147	4.894
% change on day	0.041	-0.549	1.279	-0.638	0.185	0.065
Govt. bonds	10-year Treasury	10-year Bund	10-year JGB	10-year gilt	10-year bond	10-year bond
Yield	4.422	2.560	0.726	4.323	2.683	10.756
Basis point change on day	2.230	-0.400	3.200	5.200	1.200	0.400
World index, Commods	FTSE All-World	Oil - Brent	Oil - WTI	Gold	Silver	Metals (LMEX)
Level	455.67	79.49	74.90	2006.60	23.53	3701.50
% change on day	0.15	-3.59	-3.69	1.93	0.62	0.21

Yesterday's close apart from: Currencies = 16:00 GMT; S&P, Bovespa, All World, Oil = 17:00 GMT; Gold, Silver = London pm fix. Bond data supplied by Tullett Prebon.

Main equity markets



Biggest movers

%	US			Eurozone			UK		
	Company	%	Company	%	Company	%	Company	%	
Ups	Carnival	4.26	Thyssenkrupp	7.73	Sage	13.32			
	American Airlines	4.16	Hugo Boss	3.78	Entain	5.92			
	United Airlines Holdings	4.15	Cap Gemini	3.07	Jd Sports Fashion	3.98			
	Norwegian Cruise Line Holdings Ltd	3.80	Kerry Grp	2.20	Bt	3.73			
	Ebay	3.59	Luffthansa	2.18	Halma	2.17			
Downs	Autodesk	-4.41	Bayer	-3.43	Kingfisher	-6.98			
	Deere &	-4.17	Casino Guichard	-2.91	Rolls-royce Holdings	-2.26			
	Tesla	-3.41	Merck	-1.99	Bp	-2.18			
	Nvidia	-3.20	Galp Energia	-1.60	Shell	-2.16			
	Eog Resources	-1.78	Eni	-1.41	Glencore	-1.76			

Prices taken at 17:00 GMT. Based on the constituents of the FTSE Eurofirst 300 Eurozone. All data provided by Morningstar unless otherwise noted.

Wall Street

Near the bottom of the S&P 500 index was tractor manufacturer **Deere & Company**, which forecast net income of \$7.75bn to \$8.25bn for its fiscal 2024 year — well below the \$9.3bn Wall Street was expecting.

John May, chief executive, said “our end markets will fluctuate” against a backdrop of high interest rates, which was weighing on discretionary equipment purchases.

Weaker than expected forecasts were also behind a slide in **Guess**, the fashion brand, which forecast earnings of \$2.67 to \$2.74 a share for its fiscal 2024 year, missing the \$2.78 analysts had projected.

Carlos Alberini, chief executive, said the group was “navigating . . . an uncertain shopping environment in many parts of the world impacted by geopolitical issues and lower consumer confidence”.

Emeren, a solar project developer, was among the session's biggest fallers after trimming its full-year revenue forecast to \$110mn-\$113mn, down from \$154mn-\$174mn stated in August.

A clinical setback weighed on biopharma group **Entrada Therapeutics**, which revealed that the US Food and Drug Administration had not lifted a clinical hold on its experimental therapy for treating Duchenne muscular dystrophy, a type of muscle degenerative disease. **Ray Douglas**

Europe

French caterer **Elior** jumped after finishing its fiscal 2023 year “stronger than expected”, said Leo Carrington, an analyst at Citi, who flagged fourth-quarter sales 10 per cent ahead of the consensus estimate.

This helped Elior achieve earnings before interest, tax and amortisation of €59mn in 2023, much better than the €48mn loss last year.

“Reassuringly”, added Carrington, the contracts that caused the group to issue a profit warning in 2023 had “mostly been resolved”.

Takeover target **Adevinta** rallied after a consortium led by private equity firms Permira and Blackstone offered Nkr115 per share for the online advertising company.

That was 8.5 per cent above Tuesday's closing price and more than 30 per cent higher than Adevinta's Nkr85.75 price before speculation around the bid was confirmed on September 21.

Hugo Boss climbed on the back of upgrades by Deutsche Bank and Bank of America, which lifted the fashion group's rating from “hold” to “buy”.

The rationale behind the moves was similar for both brokers with BofA noting that Boss — down around 20 per cent since hitting a multiyear peak in July — was continuing to perform well thanks to “idiosyncratic tailwinds”. **Ray Douglas**

London

Heading the FTSE 100 index was **Sage**, the accounting software group, which hit a record high on posting full-year results “reassuringly” in line market estimates alongside a “sweetened” £350mn share buyback, said Jefferies' Charles Brennan.

The analyst raised his price target for Sage following the update, highlighting a 12 per cent rise in underlying recurring revenue for its fiscal year, underpinned by 25 per cent growth in cloud business.

Entain joined Sage at the top of the blue-chip benchmark after the Financial Times reported the gambling group's board was facing growing unrest from two more US activist investors.

At the tail-end of the FTSE 100 was home improvement chain **Kingfisher**, which forecast a pre-tax profit of £560mn for the full year, down from an earlier estimate of £590mn.

Thierry Garnier, chief executive, said the group's performance in France had been hit by customers' delays in doing insulation, plumbing and heating work due to “unusually warm autumn weather”.

But “blaming the weather never goes down well with the market”, said Russ Mould, investment director at AJ Bell.

Johnson Matthey, the catalytic converters supplier, topped the FTSE 250 mid-cap index after lifting its full-year guidance for underlying operating performance. **Ray Douglas**

FT FINANCIAL TIMES

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MARKET DATA

WORLD MARKETS AT A GLANCE

FT.COM/MARKETSDATA

Change during previous day's trading (%)



Stock Market movements over last 30 days, with the FTSE All-World in the same currency as a comparison

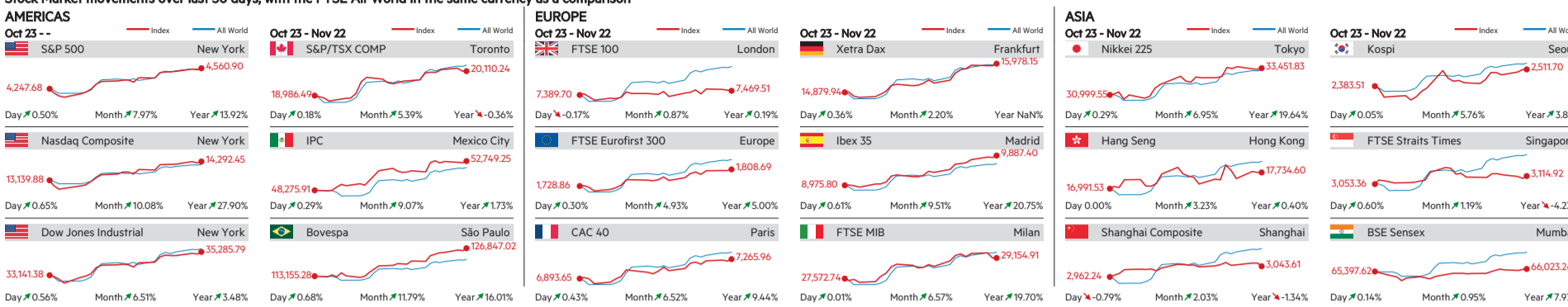


Table listing stock market indices by country with columns for Country, Index, Latest, and Previous values.

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(c) Closed, (u) Unavailable, f Correction, * Subject to official confirmation. For more index details please see www.ft.com/worldindices. A fuller version of this table is available on the ft.com research data archive.

STOCK MARKET: BIGGEST MOVERS

Table of stock market movers categorized by region (Americas, Europe, Tokyo, UK Market) with columns for stock name, price, and change.

CURRENCIES

Table of currency exchange rates for various regions including Dollar, Euro, Pound, and others.

Rates are derived from WM Reuters Spot Rates and Morningstar's latest rates as at end of production. Some values are rounded. Currency redenominated by 100. The exchange rates printed in this table are also available at www.ft.com/marketsdata.

FTSE ACTUARIES SHARE INDICES

Table of FTSE Actuaries Share Indices with columns for currency, closing price, and daily change.

FT 30 INDEX

Table of FT 30 Index with columns for closing price, daily change, and other metrics.

FTSE SECTORS: LEADERS & LAGGARDS

Table of FTSE sectors showing leaders and laggards with columns for sector, closing price, and change.

FTSE 100 SUMMARY

Table of FTSE 100 Summary with columns for closing price, daily change, and other metrics.

UK STOCK MARKET TRADING DATA

Table of UK Stock Market Trading Data with columns for order book turnover, total bids, and other metrics.

All data provided by Morningstar unless otherwise noted. All elements listed are indicative and believed accurate as at the time of publication. No offer is made by Morningstar or the FT. FT does not warrant or guarantee that the information is reliable or complete. The FT does not accept responsibility and will not be liable for any loss arising from the reliance on or use of the listed information.

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UK RIGHTS OFFERS table with columns for issue, amount, and latest news.

UK COMPANY RESULTS table with columns for company, turnover, and EPS.

UK CENT RECENT EQUITY ISSUES table with columns for issue, amount, and sector.

Figures in £m. Earnings shown basic. Figures in light text for corresponding period year earlier.

FTSE Global Equity Series, launched in 2003, contains the FTSE Global Small Cap Indices and broader FTSE Global All Cap Index...

© Pricing price, *Indication, †When issued, ‡Annual report/prospectus available at www.ft.com/ft

MARKET DATA

FT500: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table listing FT500 companies with columns for Stock, Price, Day, Chg, High, Low, Yld, P/E, MCap, and S2 Week. Includes sub-sections for Australia (AS), Brazil (BS), Canada (CS), China (HS), France (F), Germany (G), Hong Kong (HK), India (I), Italy (IL), Japan (J), Korea (K), Mexico (M), Netherlands (N), Norway (N), Saudi Arabia (SA), Singapore (S), South Korea (SK), Spain (S), Sweden (S), Switzerland (SR), Taiwan (T), Thailand (TH), United Arab Emirates (UAE), United Kingdom (UK), and USA (US).

FT 500: TOP 20

Table showing the top 20 FT 500 companies with columns for Close price, Prev price, Day change, Week change, and Month change.

FT 500: BOTTOM 20

Table showing the bottom 20 FT 500 companies with columns for Close price, Prev price, Day change, Week change, and Month change.

INTEREST RATES: OFFICIAL

Table of official interest rates for various countries and currencies, including US, UK, Japan, and Switzerland.

INTEREST RATES: MARKET

Table of market interest rates for various countries and currencies, including US, UK, Japan, and Switzerland.

COMMODITIES

Table of commodity prices for various goods such as Crude Oil, Gasoline, Wheat, and Metals.

BOND INDICES

Table of bond indices for various countries and currencies, including US, UK, Japan, and Switzerland.

CREDIT INDICES

Table of credit indices for various countries and currencies, including US, UK, Japan, and Switzerland.

MARKET COX

Table of market COX indices for various countries and currencies, including US, UK, Japan, and Switzerland.

BONDS: INDEX-LINKED

Table of index-linked bonds for various countries and currencies, including US, UK, Japan, and Switzerland.

BONDS: TEN YEAR GOV

Table of ten-year government bonds for various countries and currencies, including US, UK, Japan, and Switzerland.

BONDS: HIGH YIELD & EMERGING MARKET

Table of high yield and emerging market bonds for various countries and currencies, including US, UK, Japan, and Switzerland.

BONDS: GLOBAL INVESTMENT GRADE

Table of global investment grade bonds for various countries and currencies, including US, UK, Japan, and Switzerland.

VOLATILITY INDICES

Table of volatility indices for various countries and currencies, including US, UK, Japan, and Switzerland.

GILTS: UK CASH MARKET

Table of UK cash market gilts for various countries and currencies, including US, UK, Japan, and Switzerland.

BONDS: BENCHMARK GOVERNMENT

Table of benchmark government bonds for various countries and currencies, including US, UK, Japan, and Switzerland.

GILTS: UK FTSE ACTUARIES INDICES

Table of UK FTSE actuaries indices for various countries and currencies, including US, UK, Japan, and Switzerland.

Yield Indices

Table of yield indices for various countries and currencies, including US, UK, Japan, and Switzerland.

Real Yield

Table of real yield indices for various countries and currencies, including US, UK, Japan, and Switzerland.

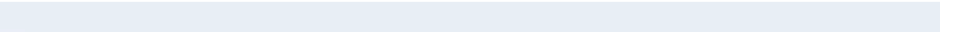
United States

Table of United States market data for various countries and currencies, including US, UK, Japan, and Switzerland.

United Kingdom

Table of United Kingdom market data for various countries and currencies, including US, UK, Japan, and Switzerland.

Data provided by Morningstar | www.morningstar.co.uk



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FINANCIAL TIMES SHARE SERVICE

Main Market

Table with columns: Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, Yield, P/E, and Vol. Includes Aerospace & Defence, Automobiles & Parts, Banks, Chemicals, Construction & Materials, Electronic & Electrical Equipment, Financial General, and AIM.

Table with columns: Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, Yield, P/E, and Vol. Includes Aerospace & Defence, Chemicals, Construction & Materials, Electronic & Electrical Equipment, Financial General, and AIM.

Table with columns: Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, Yield, P/E, and Vol. Includes Aerospace & Defence, Chemicals, Construction & Materials, Electronic & Electrical Equipment, Financial General, and AIM.

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Table with columns: Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, Yield, P/E, and Vol. Includes Aerospace & Defence, Chemicals, Construction & Materials, Electronic & Electrical Equipment, Financial General, and AIM.

AIM

Table with columns: Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, Yield, P/E, and Vol. Includes Aerospace & Defence, Chemicals, Construction & Materials, Electronic & Electrical Equipment, Financial General, and AIM.

Table with columns: Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, Yield, P/E, and Vol. Includes Aerospace & Defence, Chemicals, Construction & Materials, Electronic & Electrical Equipment, Financial General, and AIM.

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Table with columns: Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, Yield, P/E, and Vol. Includes Aerospace & Defence, Chemicals, Construction & Materials, Electronic & Electrical Equipment, Financial General, and AIM.

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Table with columns: Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, Yield, P/E, and Vol. Includes Aerospace & Defence, Chemicals, Construction & Materials, Electronic & Electrical Equipment, Financial General, and AIM.

Investment Companies

Table with columns: Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, Yield, NAV, or P/B, and Vol. Includes Conventional (Ex Private Equity), AIM, and Investment Companies.

Table with columns: Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, Yield, NAV, or P/B, and Vol. Includes Conventional (Ex Private Equity), AIM, and Investment Companies.

Table with columns: Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, Yield, NAV, or P/B, and Vol. Includes Conventional (Ex Private Equity), AIM, and Investment Companies.

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MANAGED FUNDS SERVICE

SUMMARY FT.COM/FUNDS

Summary table with columns: Winners - US Fund Diversified Emerging Mkts, Losers - US Fund Diversified Emerging Mkts, Morningstar Star Ratings, Global Broad Category Group - Fixed Income. Includes Fund Name, Return, and Rating.

Advertisement for TROY ASSET MANAGEMENT. Includes performance chart for Nov 2020 - Nov 2023, a bar chart of weightings as of 30/09/2023, and a table of top 10 holdings as of 30/09/2023.

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Table listing various funds with columns: Fund, Bid, Offer, +/-, Yield, 1Yr, 3Yr. Includes LGT Wealth Management (CI) Limited, Ashmore, and CG Asset Management Limited.

Advertisement for LGT Wealth Management (CI) Limited, featuring a table of fund performance and bid/offer prices.

Advertisement for Ashmore, featuring a large logo and a table of fund performance.

Advertisement for CG Asset Management Limited, featuring a table of fund performance.

Advertisement for Edentree Investment Management Ltd, featuring a logo and a table of fund performance.

Advertisement for Findlay Park Funds Plc, featuring a logo and a table of fund performance.

Advertisement for Janus Henderson Investors, featuring a logo and a table of fund performance.

Advertisement for Algebris Investments, featuring a logo and a table of fund performance.

Advertisement for Blue Whale Growth Fund, featuring a logo and a table of fund performance.

Advertisement for Chartered Asset Management Pte Ltd, featuring a table of fund performance.

Advertisement for Euronova Asset Management UK LLP, featuring a table of fund performance.

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Advertisement for Janus Henderson Investors, featuring a table of fund performance.

Advertisement for The Antares European Fund Limited, featuring a table of fund performance.

Advertisement for Blue Whale Investment Funds ICAV, featuring a table of fund performance.

Advertisement for Consistent Unit Tst Mgt Co Ltd, featuring a table of fund performance.

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Advertisement for Fundsmith Equity Fund, featuring a logo and a table of fund performance.

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Advertisement for Lothbury Property Trust, featuring a table of fund performance.

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Advertisement for Guinness Global Investors, featuring a logo and a table of fund performance.

Advertisement for Lothbury Property Trust, featuring a table of fund performance.



MANAGED FUNDS SERVICE

Fund	Bid	Offer	+/-	Yield	1Yr	3Yr
Oasis Crescent Global Medium Equity Fund USD A (Dist)	\$ 13.63	-	-0.01	0.82	2.63	0.92
Oasis Crescent Global Property Fund USD A (Dist)	\$ 7.69	-	-0.07	2.07	2.06	0.26
Oasis Crescent Global Short Term Income Fund USD A (Dist)	\$ 0.94	-	0.00	2.82	3.28	0.19
Oasis Crescent Variable Fund GBP A (Dist)	£ 9.57	-	-0.04	0.71	-0.72	1.17

Marwyn Asset Management Limited (CYM)
Regulated
Marwyn Value Investors £ 329.72 - -6.14 0.00 - -7.17

Mcnroy & Wood Portfolios Limited (UK)
Easter Alderston, Haddington, EH41 3SF 01620 825867
Authorised Inv Funds
Balanced Fund Personal Class Units 5921.10 - -6.10 1.40 1.26 3.30
Income Fund Personal Class Units 2832.10 - -2.40 2.40 0.50 4.47
Emerging Markets Fund Personal Class Units 2074.10 - -14.40 1.48 -7.87 -1.79
Smaller Companies Fund Personal Class Units 5791.00 - -30.50 1.30 -2.65 -3.05



PLATINUM
CAPITAL MANAGEMENT

Milltrust International Managed Investments ICAV (IRL)
mim@milltrust.com, +44(0)20 8123 6316 www.milltrust.com
Regulated
British Innovation Fund £ 121.92 - -2.89 0.00 - -
MAI - Buy & Lease (Australia) AS 103.45 - -0.50 0.00 -16.53 1.41
MAI - Buy & Lease (New Zealand) NZ 91.20 - -6.06 0.00 -7.20 -2.67
Milltrust Global Emerging Markets Fund - Class A £ 90.41 - -1.03 0.00 0.15 -6.06

Milltrust International Managed Investments SPAC
em@milltrust.com, +44(0)20 8123 8316, www.milltrust.com
Regulated
Milltrust Alaska Brazil Fund SP A \$ 105.92 - -2.05 0.00 38.00 14.79
Milltrust Laurium Africa Fund SP A \$ 95.93 - -1.67 0.00 -4.47 2.04
Milltrust Marcellus India Fund SP \$ 136.42 - -1.03 0.00 7.27 7.31
Milltrust Singstar ASEAN Fund SF Founders \$ 124.11 - -0.35 0.00 -2.19 -4.08
Milltrust SPARK Korea Equity Fund SP A \$ 119.43 - -0.71 0.00 20.34 -7.04
Milltrust Xingjai China Fund SP A \$ 88.19 - -0.47 0.00 -3.57 -14.33
The Climate Impact Asia Fund SP A \$ 71.38 - -0.08 0.00 -3.56 -
The Climate Impact Asia Fund (Class B) \$ 70.47 - -0.08 0.00 -4.05 -

Ministry of Justice Common Investment Funds (UK)
Property & Other UK Unit Trusts
The Equity Index Tracker Fd Inc 1886.00 - -1.00 2.60 3.60 5.51
Distribution Units

Mirabaud Asset Management (LUX)
www.mirabaud.com, marketing@mirabaud-am.com
Please find more details on our website: www.mirabaud-am.com
Regulated
Mir. - Gls Strat. Bd I USD \$ 118.19 - -0.12 0.00 4.23 -0.63
Mir. - DiscCur D Cap GBP £ 158.41 - -0.84 0.00 -2.59 -1.17
Mir. - UKEq HA Cap I GBP £ 131.46 - -1.47 0.00 -3.41 -2.58



Oasis Crescent Global Investment Funds (UK) ICVC (UK)
Regulated
Oasis Crescent Global Equity Fund USD A (Dist) \$ 35.00 - -0.02 - 3.31 1.97
Oasis Crescent Global Income Fund USD A (Dist) \$ 9.91 - -0.01 3.73 3.60 -0.78
Oasis Crescent Global Low Equity Fund USD D (Dist) \$ 12.19 - -0.01 1.36 2.24 0.20

Purisma Investment Fds (UK) (1200F)
2nd floor, 20-22 Bedford Row, London, WC1R 4EB
Order Desk and Enquiries: 0345 922 0044
Authorised Inv Funds
Authorised Corporate Director - Waystone Management (UK) Limited
Global Total Fd PCG A 435.39 - -1.90 0.16 18.02 8.73
Global Total Fd PCG B 428.93 - -1.88 0.00 17.72 8.46
Global Total Fd PCG INT 420.01 - -1.84 0.00 17.43 8.19

Purisma Investment Fds (CI) Ltd (JER)
Regulated
PCG B € 335.35 - -1.90 0.00 21.16 6.30
PCG C € 325.59 - -0.98 0.00 20.90 6.08



Ram Active Investments SA
www.ram-ai.com
Other International Funds
RAM Systematic Emerg Markets Eq € 230.36 230.36 0.28 - 13.66 4.67
RAM Systematic European Eq € 519.44 519.44 -2.64 - 2.41 4.37
RAM Systematic Global Sustainable Income Eq € 154.85 154.85 -0.47 0.00 5.54 7.11
RAM Systematic Long/Short European Eq € 151.13 151.13 0.86 - -0.43 5.19

Royal London
80 Fenchurch Street, London EC3M 4BY
Authorised Inv Funds
Royal London Sustainable Diversifd A Inc £ 2.39 - -0.01 - 5.89 0.44
Royal London Sustainable World A Inc 360.60 - -0.60 0.70 7.83 2.42
Royal London Corporate Bond Mth Income 74.55 - -0.06 4.91 4.32 -3.76
Royal London European Growth Trust 210.80 - -0.30 1.77 9.44 6.79
Royal London Sustainable Leaders A Inc 776.80 - -7.70 1.50 4.76 4.70
Royal London UK Growth Trust 616.30 - -3.20 2.39 3.27 5.34
Royal London US Income With Growth Trust 200.60 - -0.10 5.09 0.51 5.83
Royal London US Growth Trust 424.60 - -1.50 0.00 16.39 13.23
Additional Funds Available
Please see www.royallondon.com for details

Ruffer LLP (1000F)
2nd floor, 20-22 Bedford Row, London, WC1R 4EB
Order Desk and Enquiries: 0345 601 9610
Authorised Inv Funds
Authorised Corporate Director - Waystone Management (UK) Limited
LF Ruffer Diversifed Rtm C Acc 99.01 - -0.27 1.76 -6.59 -
LF Ruffer Diversifed Rtm C Inc 96.52 - -0.27 1.79 -5.92 -
LF Ruffer Equity & General C Acc 566.34 - -1.52 1.36 0.59 6.08
LF Ruffer Equity & General C Inc 504.79 - -1.35 1.38 0.59 6.09
LF Ruffer Gold C Acc 244.00 - -3.71 0.42 8.71 -5.42
LF Ruffer Gold C Inc 147.06 - -2.24 - 8.72 -5.41
LF Ruffer Total Return C Acc 530.71 - -1.38 2.46 -6.96 2.50
LF Ruffer Total Return C Inc 323.24 - -0.84 2.50 -6.95 2.51

Rubrics Global UCITS Funds Plc (IRL)
www.rubricsam.com
Regulated
Rubric Emerging Markets Fied Income UCITS Fund \$ 140.00 - -0.08 0.00 6.87 -0.03
Rubrics Global Credit UCITS Fund \$ 17.02 - -0.01 0.00 3.43 -1.19
Rubrics Global Fied Income UCITS Fund \$ 169.99 - -0.09 0.00 1.00 -2.22

Scottish Friendly Asset Managers Ltd (UK)
Scottish Friendly Hse, 16 Blythwood Sq, Glasgow G2 4HJ 0141 275 5000
Authorised Inv Funds
Managed Growth £ 351.70 - -0.80 0.00 3.65 5.82
UK Growth £ 394.50 - -0.10 0.00 -1.84 4.91

Slater Investments

Slater Investments Ltd (UK)
www.slaterinvestments.com, Tel: 0207 220 9460
FCA Recognised
Slater Growth A Acc 585.08 585.08 0.98 0.00 -9.47 -2.66
Slater Income A Inc 132.33 132.33 -0.28 5.22 -0.06 7.46
Slater Recovery A Acc 301.57 301.57 0.75 0.00 -9.66 0.69
Slater Artorius 257.33 257.33 2.66 0.61 -12.78 -0.58

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GLOBAL BEST IDEAS
EQUITY FUND

Stonehage Fleming Investment Management Ltd (IRL)
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Regulated
SF Global Best Ideas Eq B USD ACC \$ 254.39 - -0.66 0.00 18.37 2.93
SF Global Best Ideas Eq D GBP INC £ 307.84 - -0.23 0.00 11.27 4.94



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Other International Funds
Superfund Green Gold \$ 860.68 - -11.45 0.00 -27.41 -13.46
Superfund Green Silver \$ 733.02 - -9.56 0.00 -26.80 -15.78
Regulated
Superfund Green US \$ 638.96 - -1.51 0.00 -33.62 -12.86

Thesis Unit Trust Management Limited (UK)
Exchange Building, St Johns Street, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 1UF
Authorised Funds
TM New Court Fund A 2011 Inc £ 19.32 - 0.00 0.00 6.98 3.14
TM New Court Fund - A 2014 Acc £ 19.49 - 0.00 - 6.97 3.15
TM New Court Equity Growth Fund - Inc £ 21.25 - 0.00 0.00 8.70 3.78

TOSCAFUND

Toscalfund Asset Management LLP (UK)
www.toscalfund.com
Authorised Funds
Aptus Global Financials B Acc £ 5.48 - -0.05 3.90 14.88 14.49
Aptus Global Financials B Inc £ 3.40 - -0.03 4.02 14.87 15.89

Toscalfund Asset Management LLP
www.toscalfund.com
Tosca A USD \$ 436.74 - -3.82 0.00 7.57 12.50
Tosca Mid Cap GBP £ 120.64 - -6.43 0.00 -28.78 -4.42
Tosca Opportunity B USD \$ 252.81 - -15.03 0.00 -29.95 -19.96
Pegasus Fund Ltd A-1 GBP £ 28.24 - -0.30 0.00 -30.48 -8.29

TROY
ASSET MANAGEMENT

Troy Asset Mgt (1200)
2nd floor, 20-22 Bedford Row, London, WC1R 4EB
Order Desk and Enquiries: 0345 608 0950
Authorised Inv Funds
Authorised Corporate Director - Waystone Management (UK) Limited
Trojan Investment Funds
Trojan Ethical Global Inc O Acc 103.48 - -0.45 2.66 1.19 -
Trojan Ethical Global Inc O Inc 98.32 - -0.43 2.70 1.19 -
Trojan Ethical O Acc 129.09 - -0.17 0.07 3.56 2.89
Trojan Ethical O Inc 128.99 - -0.17 0.08 3.78 2.96
Trojan Ethical Income O Acc 139.27 - -1.26 2.76 3.58 1.07
Trojan Ethical Income O Inc 113.61 - -1.02 2.82 3.58 1.07
Trojan Fund O Acc 383.41 - -0.51 0.26 0.90 2.84
Trojan Fund O Inc 309.55 - -0.41 0.26 0.90 2.84
Trojan Global Equity O Acc 529.41 - -2.82 0.00 17.82 7.35
Trojan Global Equity O Inc 436.81 - -2.32 0.00 17.82 7.35
Trojan Global Income O Acc 154.13 - -0.70 3.13 -1.78 4.97
Trojan Global Income O Inc 124.87 - -0.57 3.19 -1.79 4.97
Trojan Income O Acc 336.13 - -3.37 2.97 0.51 0.48
Trojan Income O Inc 162.50 - -1.62 3.04 0.50 0.47

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Prices are in pence unless otherwise indicated. The change, if shown, is the change on the previously quoted figure (not all funds update prices daily). Those designated \$ with no prefix refer to US dollars. Yield percentage figures (in Tuesday to Saturday papers) allow for buying expenses. Prices of certain older insurance linked plans might be subject to capital gains tax on sales.

Guide to pricing of Authorised Investment Funds: (compiled with the assistance of the IMA, The Investment Association, Camomile Court 23 Camomile Street, London EC3A 7LL. Tel: +44 (0)20 7831 0888.)

OEIC: Open-Ended Investment Company. Similar to a unit trust but using a company rather than a trust structure.

Different share classes are issued to reflect a different currency, charging structure or type of holder.

Selling price: Also called bid price. The price at which units in a unit trust are sold by investors.

Buying price: Also called offer price. The price at which units in a unit trust are bought by investors. Includes manager's initial charge.

Single price: Based on a mid-market valuation of the underlying investments. The buying and selling price for shares of an OEIC and units of a single priced unit trust are the same.

Treatment of manager's periodic capital charge: The letter C denotes that the trust deducts all or part of the manager's/operator's periodic charge from capital, contact the manager/operator for full details of the effect of this course of action.

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ARTS

Bewitching take on Roald Dahl

THEATRE

Sarah Hemming



This is not a fairy tale," booms a disembodied voice at the start of the National Theatre's Christmas show. "Oh yes, it is." Roald Dahl's *The Witches* features a plucky kid, sinister strangers, sudden loss and a giant battle of good versus evil. Like many fairy tales it deals with deep fears — death, abandonment, betrayal. And in this terrific new musical, directed by Lyndsey Turner, it's an absolute cracker of a show.

In this world, witches don't bother with broomsticks or mess about with cauldrons and cats. Instead, these grisly supernatural villains deploy deep cover, disguised as nice ladies in Marks and Spencer cardigans — the sort everyone ignores — so they can spellbind children at the rate of one a week. They hold their annual convention in Bournemouth in a prissy pink hotel run by the strung-out Mr Stringer (gorgeous pop-up sets from Lizzie Clachan).

It's here that little orphan Luke and his eccentric Norwegian granny run into them. Gran was also scarred in childhood and has unfinished business with the Grand High Witch. So when they learn of Her Grandness's new scheme to improve efficiency by turning minors into mice, it's showtime.

Lucy Kirkwood's excellent script and lyrics bristle with wit, shaking up Dahl's trademark mix of the mischievous and the macabre. It's genuinely scary in places, with allusions to fascism: these witches dream of cleansing the country.

It's also very funny and packed with peachy parts. "Pull yourself together or

go back to the civil service," barks the hyperventilating Stringer (a joyous comic performance from Daniel Rigby) at a hapless member of staff. Katherine Kingsley's Grand High Witch channels Garbo and takes preening selfies; Sally Ann Triplett's brilliant Gran is a cigar-smoking, tough old boot in boots, with a heart of gold and a fabulous voice.

Dave Malloy's music and Stephen Mear's choreography are a constant delight: there's a peppery opening number from the witches, a chorus number for chefs' hats and a glorious showstopper for posh little hotel guest Bruno, delivered with sensational sizzle by Cian Eagle-Service on opening night. Bertie Caplan brings a sweet sincerity to Luke that, together with Triplett's gruff love, holds the show together, even during occasional narrative dips. Altogether bewitching.

To January 27, nationaltheatre.org.uk

In this world, witches don't bother with broomsticks or mess about with cauldrons

More seasonal sass in *Two Strangers* (*Carry a Cake Across New York*), which aptly, given its title, insists on having its cake and eating it. On one hand, this musical from Jim Barne and Kit Buchan echoes every romcom in cinema history; on the other, it sends itself up for doing so. The result is a sweetly irresistible, tongue-in-cheek piece.

So we have Dougal (Sam Tutty), a 25-year-old Englishman of more than usual gaucheness, who arrives in New York for the Christmas wedding of his super-rich, long-estranged father. He is met at the airport by Robin (Dujonna Gift), the 27-year-old sister of the bride and a taciturn, chronically unimpressed New Yorker. She does not appreciate Dougal's gushing enthusiasm for the



Katherine Kingsley's Grand High Witch channels Garbo and takes preening selfies — Marc Brenner

The Witches
National Theatre, London
★★★★★

Two Strangers (Carry a Cake Across New York)
Kiln Theatre, London
★★★★★

The Mongol Khan
Coliseum, London
★★★★★

Big Apple, even less his insistence on calling her "Auntie Robin".

But Dougal is the man for whom the term "dogged" was invented. Despite Robin's best efforts, he tags along as she collects the stupendously expensive wedding cake for her prickly sister and, before long, her tough exterior is cracking. Both are lonely misfits, both have demons, both have a reckless streak. Besides, it's a festive romcom, so the two are almost obliged to max out Daddy's credit card on a cocktail-fuelled sight-seeing spree.

For every knowingly saccharine plot-twist, Barne and Buchan have a salty antidote in the shape of a witty song. There's a great duet about Tinder, "On the App", and an even better one about self-loathing called "The Hangover Duet". They also resist the obvious ending, opting instead for something more subtle.

Tutty and Gift make a great double act, as they clamber about Soutra

Gilmour's suitcase-themed set in Tim Jackson's production. Tutty is very droll as the gawky Dougal, but also finds something poignant in his determination to be upbeat; Gift deftly unpacks a bruised heart and guilty conscience. Both have voices that could melt snow.

To January 20, kilntheatre.com

At the other end of the scale comes *The Mongol Khan*. This epic piece of Mongolian theatre takes possession of the London Coliseum like a thunderstorm. With whirling dancers in rich costumes, a rumbling score and more than 70 performers, Hero Baatar's mighty production even spills on to the street outside. Audience members on opening night arrived to be greeted by two Mongolian warriors on horseback.

The scale and sweep of the show are impressive. The drama less so. At the heart of all this activity is a classic tale of betrayal and revenge. We reach back to the Hunnu Empire — before Genghis Khan — and the tale of fictional leader



Sam Tutty as Dougal and Dujonna Gift as Robin — Marc Brenner

Archug Khan, who has been gifted two baby sons within hours of one another: one to the queen, Tsetser, the other to his consort, Gerel.

The puzzling thing is that he hasn't touched the queen for decades. It takes him a long time to work out what might have happened — which makes you wonder about his suitability to lead. Meanwhile, his adviser Egereg (Bold-Erdene Sugar) — the actual father of the queen's child — plots to ensure it is his son who becomes heir to the throne.

Needless to say, no good comes of this. As Egereg's son grows up, he shows worrying signs of being an unfit leader. The story (written by Lkhagvasuren Bavuu and translated, for the surtitles, by John Man and Timberlake Wertenbaker) rolls slowly forward towards the restoration of order.

It's all delivered with panache. Bold Ochirjantsan's costumes, inspired by ancient nomadic custom, are stunning. Baatar sculpts the space using Andrew Ellis's lighting design and precise ensemble movement. The tireless dancers and acrobats are rarely off the stage, amplifying characters' emotions and responding like a Greek chorus to key moments.

But their constant presence soon feels like overkill. And that's the main problem: there's just too much of everything. Uranchimeg Urtnasan and Dulguun Odkhuu are touching as the two tormented mothers, and Erdenebileg Ganbold has great dignity and presence as Archug — but they are swamped by the endless effects and declamatory style. Moments of pathos are overstretched and rare instances of quiet make you realise how much you've missed intimacy and subtlety. As spectacle it's hard to beat. But this is one of those occasions when less might have been more.

To December 2, themongolkhan.com

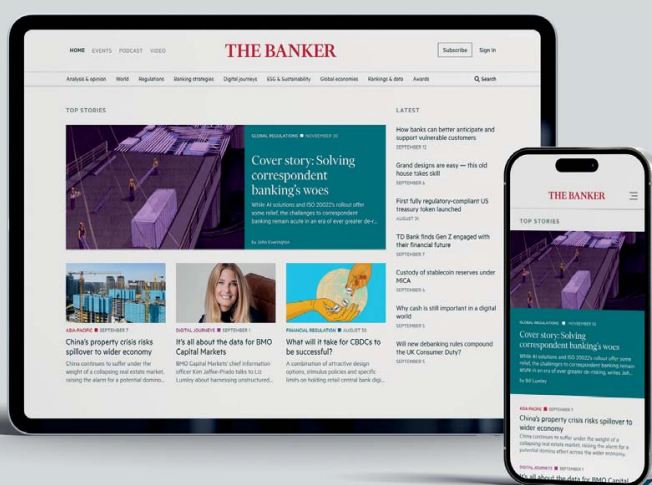
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The tireless dancers and acrobats are rarely off the stage in 'The Mongol Khan' — Katja Ogrin

Lover, mother, mythical child-murderer

OPERA

Médée
Berlin Staatsoper
★★★★★

Shirley Apthorp

Médée awaits her deportation; the people want the immigrant out. For director Peter Sellars, Marc-Antoine Charpentier's 1693 opera is the perfect vehicle for a reflection on contemporary injustices. People in cages; forced repatriation. We see it often enough on the news.

Star architect Frank Gehry has built the sets: two treelike structures of diaphanous mesh and three steel-wool clouds. He is not the first architect to make opera sets. Daniel Libeskind, Jean Nouvel and Zaha Hadid have all tried their hands at stage design. The problem tends to be that architects create objects in space, rather than dramaturgical tools. They build a thing, but it serves no actual purpose in the opera. Sets do not have to be literal, but they work better when they're a part of how the story is told. Here, they are edged around or ignored, like a pile of packing crates in the middle of a room.

Médée is an archetype, the woman-witch, the vengeful spurned lover, the mother and child-murderer. Charpentier tells a story in the poised and formal gestures of French court music, but with Italianate fluidity and sweetness. The violent denouement should be all the more shocking for this.

Sellars depends on an emotional buy-in from the viewers to his spiritually elevated narrative about love, or its absence, and society. If the boos which

greeted him on Sunday's opening night were any guide, the Berlin audience did not all buy in. But the cast did. And the singers are Sellars' biggest assets. In the title role, Magdalena Kožená is a force of nature, navigating the score's endless accompanied recitatives and bursts of lyricism with passionate conviction.

Reinoud Van Mechelen's Jason carries himself with easy arrogance and sings with sky-blue purity in upper registers that seem to have no limits. Gyula Orendt's Oronte is arrestingly honey-tongued and seductive, while Luca Tittoto's Créon underpins everything with his velvety, authoritative bass. Carolyn Sampson brings both polish and fragility to the part of Créuse, and the smaller roles are beautifully cast.

The Freiburger Barockorchester makes a formidable protagonist in

the pit, and Simon Rattle conducts with evident relish and a fine sense of dramatic gesture. The orchestra's range of expressive colour is thrilling, and the instrumental soloists play at a dizzyingly high level. This is both a rarity and a musical treat, so why do the three and a quarter hours take so very long to pass?

Sellars does Sellars, and there's nothing innately wrong with his burning desire to use opera as a vehicle for narratives that might make us into better people. But it works better with operas where the drama brings its own momentum. *Médée* needs a director who will give it structure and create forward motion. Still, if sheer beauty is your thing, you'll find plenty here.

To December 2, staatsoper-berlin.de



Architect Frank Gehry designed mesh trees and steel-wool clouds for the singers to dodge in 'Médée' — Ruth Waz

FT BIG READ. LEGAL SERVICES

Judge David R Jones made Houston the insolvency capital of the US before an undisclosed relationship forced his resignation and prompted calls for reform of the system.

By *Sujeet Indap*

The fall of America's bankruptcy king

There is simply no ambiguity in my mind," said Judge David R Jones as he ruled last May in the bankruptcy case of Serta Simmons

Bedding, a mattress company.

"I appreciate that perhaps a different court reached a different conclusion but, again, I sit in with these matters every single day."

Jones was then the chief judge for the Southern District of Texas (SDTX) federal bankruptcy court and based in Houston. His decision cleared the way for a slim majority group of creditors to take control of the company and leave another group's holdings close to worthless. Serta Simmons achieved its aim: a quick exit from court supervision.

In the oral ruling, Jones pre-empted an ongoing lawsuit over Serta Simmons in the arguably more senior federal district court in New York, prompting lawyers and scholars to both grumble and marvel at what they saw as a power play based on cavalier legal reasoning.

But it cemented the status of Jones as the ultimate kingmaker in big US bankruptcy cases – so far in 2023, almost half of large Chapter 11 cases have landed in Houston, where only two judges oversee large restructurings, more than in Delaware and New York combined.

Top corporate lawyers and investment bankers gravitated to his court, where private equity firms and hedge funds won and lost fortunes in complex legal chess matches.

"I'm a big fan of the Houston court," says a well-known financial adviser who has appeared in several cases before the judge. "Jones entirely changed the paradigm of the 'sleepy court' where you had to wait around and feel like you were dealing with government bureaucracy."

But in October, the Jones empire collapsed. A lawsuit, brought in relation to a 2020 bankruptcy, accused the judge of concealing a longstanding romantic relationship with Elizabeth Freeman, a lawyer who frequently worked on matters assigned to Jones.

Property records showed the couple co-owned a home and Jones quickly admitted to living with Freeman, who was previously a colleague in private practice and a clerk at the court. Days later he resigned from the bench.

Jones was a polarising figure even before the Freeman issue became public. His downfall has prompted more scrutiny of the Houston court and the world of blockbuster bankruptcies is braced for more revelations. The episode comes as distressed debt fights are likely to intensify given the financial pressures that higher interest rates are inflicting on US companies. Such disputes leave bankruptcy judges to determine who wins and loses, and their judgments – as in the Serta Simmons matter – set legal and marketplace precedents.

It has also prompted more criticism of America's bankruptcy laws, which allow companies to file for creditor protection in jurisdictions where they believe a particular judge will rule favourably. This has led to accusations that judges in some courts are marketing themselves as friendly arbiters to draw big cases.

But one prominent retired bankruptcy jurist notes that "there did not seem to be similar complaints about the assignment system in [Houston], where the two-judge system was purposefully designed to attract mega cases".

Houston: bankruptcy central

Jones was initially appointed to the Houston bankruptcy court in 2011 after several years in private practice. The court was no stranger to the occasional big case, though most were local energy companies that had gone bust.

But in 2016, SDTX implemented new procedures for large, so-called complex cases. Debtors with more than \$200mn of liabilities would be assigned to one of only two judges: Jones and Marvin Isgur.

The pair also happened to be personally close. Isgur and his then-partner Tom Kirkland had hired Jones out of law school in 1992. "They took me in, taught me how to think, how to write and how to be a lawyer," said Jones in a tribute earlier this year.

Following the creation of the complex case system, Houston quickly attracted the kind of large bankruptcies that previously might have gone to courts in Delaware or New York.

Jones told the Financial Times in 2022 that he believed Houston had become popular because he and Isgur, who both had MBA degrees and years of experience, were sophisticated in finance as well as law.

They also had a unique intensity in



Judge David R Jones resigned after he was accused of concealing a romantic relationship with Elizabeth Freeman, a lawyer who worked on matters assigned to him; below right: Houston federal courthouse. The city's court has come under scrutiny since Jones's downfall

FT montage; Houston Chronicle/Getty Images; Carol M Highsmith/Library of Congress

processing cases. In 2021, the court confirmed the bankruptcy plan of retailer Belk within 24 hours of the company filing it, a turnaround time described by one prominent law professor as emblematic of what he saw as Chapter 11's "descent into lawlessness".

In local media interviews at the time, Jones said he was no longer married, only had dogs, and was thus available to work nights and weekends. His case manager Albert Alonzo, also a long-standing friend, famously kept his court-provided cell phone switched on at all times, allowing lawyers to reach him and Jones at any hour.

The bankruptcy adviser who has appeared before the judge says that earlier this year, Jones's responsiveness had been instrumental in getting a client's cash out of Signature Bank just before its collapse. Another says courts in New York and Delaware districts have a judge or two who can be pedantic in rulings, creating delays that rapidly develop into business risks for companies already running out of cash.

In court hearings, Jones was warm and friendly towards all participants, and was especially "solicitous" – as one lawyer put it – towards the big-time advisers from New York, Los Angeles and Chicago who appeared in front of him, heaping praise upon their written briefs and oral arguments.

"He made us look good in front of our CEO clients and also the junior lawyers on our team", says the person. Jones was also popular for almost never pushing back on creeping fees for advisers.

However, he was also well-known for two memorable verbal fusillades launched during the 2020 bankruptcy hearings for department store chain Neiman Marcus, perhaps the most sensational case that landed in his court.

At the outset, Jones sharply denounced the testimony of one of Neiman's directors as "uneducated, unprepared, and borderline incompetent". And he railed against Dan Kamensky, a hedge fund executive who helped win a \$172mn settlement for Neiman's unsecured credi-

tors but was later caught attempting to appropriate the winnings for himself. "I don't think you are a good person," he told Kamensky in open court. "The court believes you to be a thief . . . that attempted to steal not based on need, not out of necessity, but out of pure greed."

Jones went on to warn the financier: "You disrespect me one more time you will see the other side of me that I don't want to come out."

The Houston bankruptcy boom created a mini-windfall for the local economy. "Jones has done more for that economy in the last 10 years than just about anyone," says one hedge fund executive only half-jokingly. "He should be the mayor of Houston."

The surge in big bankruptcies hosted in SDTX led the large national law firms to beef up their presence in Texas. And it proved a gift to one local firm in particular: Jackson Walker, which was founded in Dallas in 1887 and whose elder statesman, Byron Egan, is considered the dean of the corporate law bar in Texas.

Even as the national firms led the big cases filed in the Texas southern district, Jackson Walker found a niche as a local co-counsel to debtors. A lawyer at one large firm says Jackson Walker was useful as a back channel to Houston's two judges, partly because Freeman, a partner at the firm, had previously been a clerk to Jones while another bankruptcy partner, Matt Cavanaugh, had clerked for Isgur.

Neither Jones nor Isgur responded to the FT's requests for comment on multiple issues. A representative for Freeman declined to comment.

Jackson Walker has served as a bankruptcy counsel in at least 50 large Houston cases since 2018, according to bankruptcydata.com. In the retention applications that require detailed disclosure of potential conflicts of interest, the firm never revealed the relationship between Jones and Freeman.

Ironically, the two were both involved in the bankruptcy of Westmoreland Coal in 2018, a restructuring that became best known for allegations that management consultancy McKinsey failed to enumerate its potential conflicts in retention applications.

After the scandal broke last month, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, which oversees the Texas bankruptcy court, filed a complaint stating there was "probable cause" to believe Jones had breached judicial ethics standards by neither recusing himself nor disclosing the relationship at the time he was approving fees paid to Freeman.

'Closed insider system'

Jones's resignation from the bench has ended the inquiry into his conduct by judicial authorities. But the damage to the Houston bankruptcy ecosystem may only just be starting.

Early in November, the Office of the US Trustee, a Justice Department agency that oversees bankruptcy administration, released the findings of its preliminary investigation, describing Jackson Walker's failure to disclose the Jones-Freeman relationship as a "breach of fiduciary duty".

It revealed the firm had been awarded more than \$13mn in fees and expenses in at least 26 cases since 2018 where Jones was involved, either as judge or mediator in disputes within cases.

Freeman herself has billed more than \$1mn in those cases. The US Trustee is now seeking court permission to nullify those awards, a first step to clawing back the money.

Jackson Walker responded in a court filing last week, indicating it was prepared to contest any clawback attempts and blaming Freeman for misleading the firm by telling it that her relation-

'He made us look good in front of our CEO clients and also the junior lawyers on our team'

ship with Jones had ended and would not resume.

The firm has previously told the FT it was "confident it acted responsibly", citing an internal inquiry it launched in 2021. Following that probe, it prohibited Freeman from working on any matters where Jones was presiding. In 2022, when the firm learned the pair's relationship had in fact continued, Freeman agreed to depart.



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The tussle between Jackson Walker and the US Trustee also may invite scrutiny about who else knew of the Jones-Freeman entanglement. Kirkland & Ellis, the dominant US debtor law firm, had used Jackson as co-counsel in at least 46 large bankruptcy cases since 2018, according to data collected by bankruptcydata.com.

Jackson Walker said it had informed Kirkland about its 2021 inquiry into Freeman's relationship with Jones. Multiple Kirkland partners told the FT that they were long aware of the romantic relationship between the pair, though did not know how advanced it was. The Kirkland lawyers assumed the pair had received clearance from a superior court or decided that it was not Kirk-

'There did not seem to be complaints about the assignment system in [Houston], where the two-judge system was designed to attract mega cases'

land's place to intervene in Jackson's retention applications.

Kirkland declined to comment. Isgur, Jones's longtime friend and mentor, may also face questions. He rejected a bankruptcy court claimant's 2021 recusal motion against Jones – where the Freeman relationship was first alleged – and referred several cases in his court to Jones in his capacity as an external mediator.

In several similar mediations, Freeman had represented clients with Jones overseeing these negotiations. In one, held in New York, Freeman and a handful of other participating lawyers joined Jones at a steakhouse dinner afterwards, according to one participant.

In response to public concern about judge-shopping, bankruptcy courts in New York and Virginia have in recent years tightened their procedures to keep debtors from picking friendly judges. In a recent open letter, a group of prominent academics and lawyers asked the Houston court to broaden its judge assignment pool for large cases.

Senator Elizabeth Warren, a former bankruptcy scholar and a longstanding critic of the finance industry, has previously proposed forcing companies to file for bankruptcy in courts near to their operations or headquarters.

Cliff White, who previously managed the US Trustee programme, described the Houston scandal as "a body blow to the integrity" of the bankruptcy system. "It has the appearance of the closed insider system that the modern bankruptcy code was designed to thwart."

But top bankruptcy advisers remain convinced that only a handful of judges are capable of managing large, complex cases where they say efficiency and predictability are paramount.

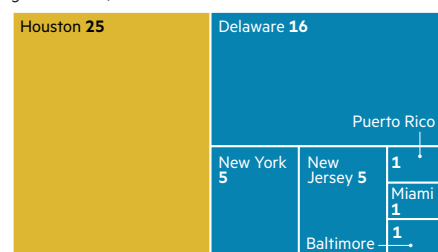
Kirkland & Ellis recently chose the New Jersey district for big bankruptcy cases such as Bed Bath & Beyond, Rite-Aid and WeWork, suggesting that in bankruptcy terms, the northeastern state could yet become the new Texas.

After leaving Jackson Walker, Freeman established the Law Office of Liz Freeman. Jackson Walker has hired her as a contract attorney or co-counsel on multiple occasions in 2023, even letting her occasionally use a conference room, according to a person familiar with the matter. The firm declined to comment on these appointments.

On November 11, a month after her relationship with Jones was revealed, Freeman submitted a fee request for \$257,000 for work on IEH Auto Parts' bankruptcy. Isgur, overseeing the case, assigned Jones to lead a New York City mediation session in April for which she billed her time at \$750 per hour, plus travel expenses. Her application attested to her "disinterestedness" – and still made no mention of her relationship with David R Jones.

Nearly half of all large US bankruptcy cases this year have landed in Houston

Venue of Chapter 11 or Chapter 15 cases filed in 2023 with greater than \$500mn in listed liabilities



Source: bankruptcydata.com

Lex.

Twitter: @FTLex

Autumn Statement: full expensing, partial truths

"Pot for life" is a savings vehicle pushed by Jeremy Hunt, not a marijuana subscription service. It might also describe the mind-bending properties of power. The UK chancellor claims to have provided "the largest business tax cut in modern history". You would need to be smoking something aromatic to believe that.

The context is that last autumn Hunt confirmed an increase in corporation tax from 19 per cent to 25 per cent. The cost to business, kicking in this tax year, is an estimated £18bn annually. Fiscal drag – sub-inflationary rises to tax thresholds – will benefit state finances by some £40bn by 2028, says the Resolution Foundation.

The centrepiece of Hunt's supposed business giveaway was full expensing. He is making this permanent. Companies will be able to write off 100 per cent of investment in some physical assets against tax.

The Treasury claims this will be worth £11bn to UK business by 2028-29. But this reflects dreamy optimism about uptake. Buzz killers at the Institute for Fiscal Studies quoted a cost to the government of £10bn a year when the measure was temporary and companies were rushing to exploit it. They cited a figure of up to £3bn as a permanent run rate.

This is less than the nominal value of some corporation tax cuts announced last decade by George Osborne, one of Hunt's predecessors.

The Office for Budget Responsibility symmetrically expects full expensing to increase business investment by £3bn a year. The bulk of the £20bn investment stampede trumpeted by the chancellor turns out to have humdrum sources. Some £10bn would come from reforming the electricity grid. Investment by water companies would supply another £6bn.

Reducing human faeces in rivers is a worthy aim. But it is not exactly the kind of high-tech, 22nd century activity Hunt extols. Equally, full expensing mostly benefits businesses when they buy equipment. It excludes purchases of intellectual property such as drugs formulas and software.

If that all sounds like a downer, here is an upper. It is fashionable to fret over low levels of UK investment. Foreign

direct investment is one aspect of this. But grim numbers for smaller projects are as one-sided as the chancellor's upbeat figures. The UK has FDI stocks of some \$3.1tn. That is well ahead of EU rivals, according to the OECD.

Nvidia: one-stop chip shop

Without Nvidia's high-powered chips, there would be no generative artificial intelligence boom. Demand already outstrips supply. The group's lead over rivals is about to be extended with the release of a new specialist AI chip. If analyst forecasts are correct, annual revenues will more than triple in the next three years to top \$98bn.

Chief executive Jensen Huang says AI will be "bigger than the internet". On Tuesday he said it represented the biggest expansion of total addressable market for software and hardware. However big the projections are, Huang wants them to be bigger.

If he is right Nvidia's lack of competition and wealthy enterprise customers put it in clover. Tech groups with fat cash piles are investing in AI to improve services and lift productivity. With gross margins at 74 per cent, Nvidia's own cash pile has grown \$5bn in the fiscal year to date to \$18bn. Along with chips, it is selling more products and services devoted to expanding use, including a new kind of Ethernet switch. Its market cap hit a record \$1.25tn this week. It has come to represent the market's hopes for AI.

What might stall future gains? Developers who worry about the speed of AI could try to slow the sector. The start-up market may be cooling, too. CB Insights points out that four AI start-ups reached valuations of \$1bn or more in the past quarter, down from seven in the previous quarter.

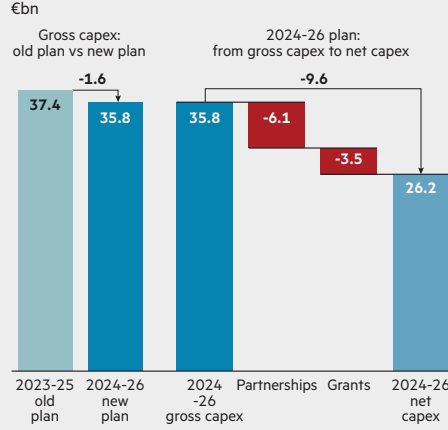
But the group's biggest worries centre on China and competitors. China accounted for 21.5 per cent of sales in the past nine months. That is falling. US efforts to ensure chip security have led to restrictions on the country's access to advanced chips.

This clears the field for Chinese rivals to move on Nvidia's market. At home, cloud customers are trying to counter their reliance on the group, too. They are developing bespoke chips. Nvidia's answer is a new chipset for release next

Enel: not a borrower be

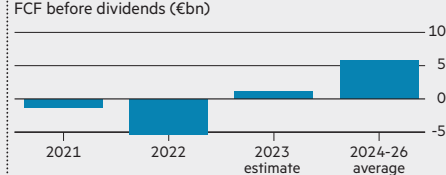
Enel's stock plunged in 2022 as the indebted utility was buffeted by rising interest rates. As well as disposing of assets, the utility plans to cut capital expenditure and fund more of its growth through grants and by bringing third-party renewable energy developers into its projects. That will boost free cash flow.

New plan sees reduction in capex

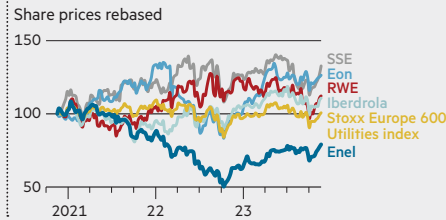


FT graphic Sources: Enel; LSEG

Free cash flow generation will improve



Enel underperforms utility peers



Borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry, according to Shakespeare's Polonius. Italy's Enel is seemingly heeding the old courtier's advice.

Under its former chief executive Francesco Starace, the utility expanded into one of the world's largest renewables producers. But it racked up a debt pile of some €60bn. New broom Flavio Cattaneo is now insisting Enel must live within its means.

The change in tack is understandable. In 2022, Enel was buffeted by rising interest rates, as higher commodity costs hit margins. Investors dropped the stock like hot coals. Starace had to draw up a €21bn asset disposal programme before he

was replaced by Cattaneo this year.

The state-backed utility reckons more than €17bn of that target is already in the bag. Its tally includes deals completed or in advanced stages of negotiation.

Cattaneo now wants to limit borrowings. Enel will trim capital expenditure and fund more of its growth through grants. It also aims to bring third-party renewable energy developers into its projects. That will cut net capex from €11.5bn, envisaged under the group's previous plans, to less than €9bn a year between 2024 and 2026.

He also intends to put his money into safer stuff. Some 60 per cent of net capex will go into building out grids. These tend to have regulated returns.

Enel will veer away from building renewables in Latin America, where risk-adjusted returns are challenging. Instead it will focus on Spain and Italy where, it has customers to hedge its production.

The last leg of Enel's plan is to cut €1.2bn of costs. That has allowed it to juice up ebitda targets. It also means that debt will reach a much more manageable 2.3 times ebitda by 2026.

The new Enel looks more like an old-style utility than a pioneering investor in renewables. Yet, for investors, a narrowing of the utility's ambition is a consolation. Enel's stock still trades at less than 7 times this year's ebitda. Rival Iberdrola is at a 30 per cent premium. Cattaneo's plans should help narrow the gap.

year. The H200 can generate results twice as quickly as the H100. Nvidia will again set the industry standard.

Visa/Mastercard: moat gloat

Fintechs have done a great job bridging moats in the payments sector. For some investors, they have been too successful. The likes of well-funded Block and Stripe are driving down costs for merchants but also profit margins for payment service providers. The ditch surrounding the card networks is proving too broad for these techies to jump, though.

Simply put, a payment is a transfer between two bank accounts. In the

middle, a tangle of financial plumbing makes that happen. The fintech assault has so far succeeded at the start of that chain, helping merchants take payments more cheaply and easily.

The middle part – the network over which banks talk to each other – is more resilient. It is largely controlled by two groups: Visa and Mastercard. UK open banking initiatives may allow fintechs to chip away at their duopoly. But progress will be slow.

A rich prize awaits any victor. Mastercard generated net revenues equal to 28bp of transaction volumes in the third quarter of this year. Visa and Mastercard's marginal costs are practically zero. Operating margins averaged 62 per cent in 2022.

The networks' strength could be their Achilles heel. They rely on

physical payment cards. Direct bank-to-bank payments are the only threat to their use. For these to really take off, payments must shift further into the digital realm with technologies such as QR codes plus facial and fingerprint recognition.

Leading the charge in Europe is TrueLayer. The London-based group processes a third of open banking payments in the UK, Ireland, France and Spain, worth about \$35bn.

In contrast, Visa and Mastercard process \$25tn of volumes annually. Card payments should still account for almost half of the UK total by 2026.

The two networks are also well aware of the threat. They are making their own efforts to move into direct payments. The fight may be on, but it is shaping up to be a long one.

US telcos: high-fibre diet

The appeal of annuities lies in their predictability. But in an era of high interest rates, distant cash flows are suddenly less valuable.

That has put US telecom companies that need to spend tens of billions of dollars to build or retrofit broadband lines in an awkward position. A Lumen Technologies executive summed this up when he enthused about the "beautiful" annuity stream that would come once the fibre was in the ground but acknowledged the challenge of a long payback window.

The sector is not feeling much love from Wall Street. Shares in Lumen, Frontier Communications, AT&T and Verizon are down between 7 per cent and 75 per cent in 2023, a year that the S&P 500 is up. The race is on for groups to get to charging customers for superfast fibre internet before they burn through their cash balances.

Lumen garnered recent headlines for a complex debt restructuring that pushed out maturities a few years in exchange for paying higher interest rates. Its current debt balance of \$20bn compares with a market value of just \$1bn. Its free cash flow profile amid annual capital expenditures of \$3bn is just close to break even.

Frontier Communications has a market capitalisation of \$5bn against total debt of \$14bn. In 2021 it emerged from a bankruptcy that had cleansed it of \$10bn of debt and ostensibly left it appropriately capitalised. Its current annual free cash flow deficit is \$1bn but is supposed eventually to flip to a positive \$3bn.

Verizon and AT&T have much larger and diversified businesses. They pay sizeable dividends that support their share prices. AT&T has a joint venture with BlackRock to fund its fibre plan.

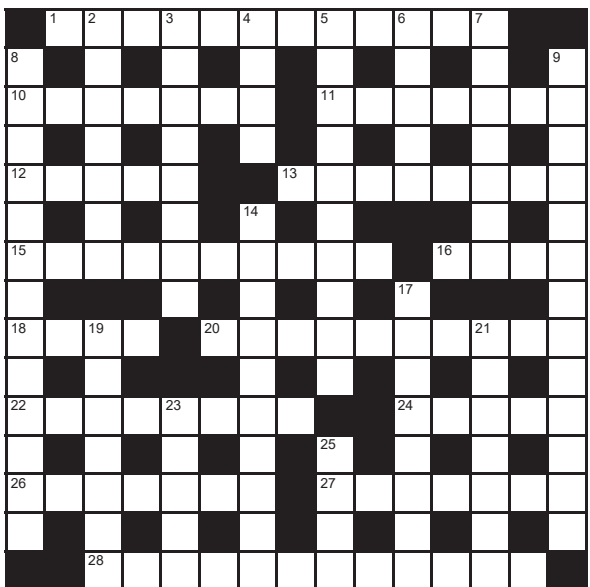
Even as telcos look ahead to their investments turning into cash gushers, they are still tied to their past. A Wall Street Journal investigation into potentially toxic legacy wires could lead to billions in remediation costs or other liabilities for some companies. Time, as always, is money.

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CROSSWORD

No 17,582 Set by BOBCAT



ACROSS

- Try first two parts of *Aeneid*, with Virgil in translation (4,2,1,5)
- I may hold up trains going by the Tube (7)
- Laid-back politician to lead a new party? It's out of the question (2,3,2)
- Bounders needing time to settle (5)
- Make a meal of covering over most of route to Stone (3-5)
- Dressing informally — a month with nothing on (10)
- Camp constituent's almost the centre of attention (4)
- Dislike putting cap on expenditure at the outset (4)
- Version of *Pooh* in dodgy Arabic's something dreadful (10)
- Once legendary figure losing head in battle (8)
- Setback involving minute vehicle used in Sky promotion? (5)
- Cook, exhausted after mains, is beginning to be ill (7)
- England overwhelmed by crazy revolutionary arm (4,3)
- Something at the drugstore excited almost 90% of American coeds (3-5,4)

DOWN

- Suffering greatly from onset of apopleptic fit in hotel yard (2,5)
- Prominent Russian, having turned up in work unit, is becoming agitated (8)
- Virginia could be appearing topless for art patron (4)
- Actively seek the means to enlightenment? Or just have a look (6-4)
- Suffer curtailment of fashionable remedy (5)
- Bond's in Spain, tailing Russian barman, keeping his head down (7)
- Capricious hopes and aims endlessly serve to provide too much stress (13)
- Low-cost launching with no public backing initially a pig to sort out (13)
- Former striker appearing before union rep? (10)
- Novel drone perhaps given directions to unlicensed premises (8)
- Instruments not fit to hold a note when set up (7)
- Went over the top visiting Bradford on vacation (7)
- Tense, and ready to show guts (5)
- Some quasi-autonomous region (4)

Solution 17,581

A T T A B O Y U N L O V E D
L H E A N O A R
P A R A S P E D A G O G U E
I O T E J U S
N E W N E S S R E A D E R S
E D N A S M E
S P O N D U L I C K S F A D
W M O E
E O N U N A B R O G A T E D
X N G E R T O
C O C T E A U D R O G U E S
U R A N W C S
S Q U I R E D O M B A I Z E
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