

America can survive another term of Trump

GIDEON RACHMAN, PAGE 17

Britain's mounting mental health challenge

BIG READ, PAGE 15

## Deluge of debt feeds fear of backlash in bond markets

◆ 'Unmoored' deficits worry investors  
◆ Election pledges drive up borrowing

MARY MCDUGALL — LONDON

Investors are warning governments around the world over "unmoored" levels of public debt, saying pledges of excessive pre-election borrowing risk sparking a bond market backlash.

Government debt issuance in the US and the UK is expected to soar to record levels this year, with the exception of the early stages of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Emerging markets are set to add to the deluge of bond sales, after government debt climbed to an all-time high of 68.2 per cent of gross domestic product last year, according to the Institute of International Finance.

Deficits are "out of control and the real story is that there's no mechanism for bringing them under control", said Jim Cielinski, global head of fixed income at Janus Henderson, adding the issue would become a serious concern to markets "in the next six to 12 months".

The US Treasury will issue about \$4tn of bonds this year with a maturity of between two and 30 years, according to Apollo Global Management, up from \$3tn last year and \$2.3tn in 2018.

Net issuance, which is adjusted for Federal Reserve purchases and existing debt falling due, will be \$1.6tn over the year to September, according to RBC Capital Markets, the second highest ever. The Canadian bank estimates that net issuance in 2024-25 will surpass pandemic-era levels.

The scale of borrowing is likely to distract markets from their more typical focus on the future path of interest rates, fund managers say.

"We are truly in an unmoored environment for government debt com-

pared with previous centuries," said Robert Tipp, head of global bonds at PGIM Fixed Income.

The UK, where an election is expected this year, is also on course for its second-highest year of debt sales, behind only 2020 when the Bank of England stepped in to Hoover up supply during the early stages of the pandemic. Issuance net of BoE purchases and including its gilt sales is expected to be three times more than the average over the past decade.

Sir Keir Starmer, whose Labour party has a substantial lead in the polls, has scaled back a promise to borrow £28bn a year for its "green prosperity plan" amid concerns over public debt.

Sir Robert Stheeman, head of the UK's debt management office, warned in an interview with the Financial Times last week: "In a world where we have debt to sell, policymaking cannot be divorced from the reality of the market."

A historically busy year for elections boosts the incentives for political leaders to raise spending. As the US gears up for its presidential election on November 5, there is little sign of appetite for fiscal restraint from contenders across the political divide, say investors.

"It doesn't seem like much will change even when the election is over, and they will continue to spend at a high level," said David Zahn, at Franklin Templeton. "Eventually that could create a problem for the US."

The IIF warned that a wave of elections together with geopolitical frictions in the emerging world "raise concerns about increased government borrowing and fiscal discipline, including India, South Africa, Pakistan and the US".

Markets pages 8 & 9

## Lunar departure Big setback for Nasa's first step towards putting humans back on Moon



Chandan Khanna/AFP

The Vulcan Centaur rocket lifts off from Cape Canaveral in Florida yesterday as part of attempts to complete the first commercial mission to the Moon.

But hours after separating from the rocket, the lunar lander it was carrying was struggling to stabilise on-board solar panels that could threaten its ability to land safely on the Moon.

Astrobotic Technology, the Peregrine lunar lander's manufacturer, said

a "propulsion anomaly" had prevented the lander from pointing its solar panels stably at the Sun. Engineers attempted a fix but the company said it had been forced to consider "alternative missions" after reporting a critical loss of propellant.

The launch marked the start of Peregrine's 384,400km journey, with a touchdown scheduled for February 25. Peregrine is the first of eight mis-

sions in Nasa's commercial lunar initiative, a vital step in the US space agency's plan to return humans to the Moon for the first time since the Apollo programme ended in 1972. Nasa initially paid \$79mn for Peregrine to ride on the Vulcan but the cost rose to \$108mn after delays during the pandemic and a decision to alter the landing site, space agency officials said.

Moonshot & Space tsar's target page 4

### Briefing

► **Boeing and suppliers' shares reel from accident**  
The aircraft maker and Spirit AeroSystems have taken a hit as investors weigh the fallout from the incident on an Alaska Airlines plane. Boeing fell more than 8 per cent on opening.— PAGE 5; PEGGY HOLLINGER, PAGE 17; LEX, PAGE 18

► **French premier resigns**  
Élisabeth Borne has quit, paving the way for President Emmanuel Macron to name a successor and inject energy into a government weakened by political battles and falling poll numbers.— PAGE 2

► **Air assault on Ukraine**  
Russian forces have pounded the country with nearly 60 drones and missiles, as Moscow steps up attacks on energy infrastructure and as Kyiv urges western allies to approve military aid.— PAGE 3

► **Berlin backs Riyadh jets**  
Germany has dropped opposition to supplying Saudi Arabia with Eurofighter jets, saying Riyadh's role in foiling attacks on Israel meant it could no longer justify blocking the supply.— PAGE 3

► **Tech pressed on Belarus**  
Brussels has called on Google and other tech groups to aid dissident media by promoting their stories above those of pro-regime outlets that are said to be favoured by search algorithms.— PAGE 3

► **Backing for Northvolt aid**  
Brussels has approved €902mn in state aid for the battery maker's German plant, the first use of a tool allowing boosted funding for companies offered higher grants elsewhere, such as the US.— PAGE 6

► **Beijing accuses MI6**  
The state security ministry has accused UK intelligence services of using the head of a consultancy from a "third country" to spy on China, the latest accusation amid tensions with the west.— PAGE 4

► **Woods and Nike split**  
The sports goods manufacturer has announced it is parting ways with US golf star Tiger Woods after 27 years, ending one of the most transformative sponsorship deals in modern sport.— PAGE 5

## British betting boss's £300mn haul trumps salaries of top US executives

DANIEL THOMAS — LONDON

Bet365 chief Denise Coates earned close to £300mn last year in pay and dividends from the UK-based gambling group, cementing her position as one of the world's best-paid executives.

Coates was paid about £221mn in the year to March 2023, according to accounts filed yesterday. She also took at least half of the £100mn the company paid out in dividends, given her stake as the founder of Bet365.

Her payout comes despite the group's pre-tax loss of £72.6mn, against a profit of about £50mn in 2022, as it expanded in regions such as North America.

The group is also the majority owner of Stoke City Football Club, which reported an annual loss of £12.4mn.

Coates is one of the wealthiest businesspeople in the UK, having earned

more than £1bn in pay and dividends over the past few years. Her pay at the family-owned company dwarfs the remuneration offered by listed FTSE 100 groups, where Pascal Soriot, boss of pharma group AstraZeneca, was the highest paid executive in 2022, with annual earnings of about £15mn.

Coates also narrowly trumps the best-paid executives in the US S&P 500, where Blackstone's Stephen Schwarzman earned \$253mn last year (he separately received about \$1bn in dividends) and Alphabet's Sundar Pichai was paid \$226mn in total remuneration.

Coates, who founded the company in Stoke-on-Trent, in the English midlands, more than two decades ago, is one of the UK's highest taxpayers. Bet365 also donated £100mn to the Denise Coates Foundation, a registered charity.

Coates's salary peaked at £421mn in

2020 but dropped to £250mn in 2021 and £213mn in 2022. That means she has earned £1.1bn through her annual salary alone in just four years.

The Bet365 group, which is more than 50 per cent owned by Coates, also paid out £100mn in dividends last year and in 2022, £97.5mn in 2021 and £95mn in 2020.

The group said yesterday that revenues rose to £3.4bn in the year to March 2023, up from £2.9bn the year before, with the majority from sports betting. The increase reflected the expansion into new markets, with a launch of operations in the US and Canada in 2022, but that growth also led to a "significant increase in costs", the group said.

More than 20 US states have now legalised online sports betting, offering the world's largest gambling companies a new and fast-growing market to target.

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### World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS					
	Jan 8	Prev	%chg	Pair	Jan 8	Prev		Yield (%)	Jan 8	Prev	Chg		
S&P 500	4726.25	4697.24	0.62	\$/£	1.097	1.098	£/\$	0.911	0.911	US 2 yr	4.32	4.37	-0.05
Nasdaq Composite	14711.50	14524.07	1.29	\$/€	1.275	1.275	€/\$	0.784	0.784	US 10 yr	3.98	4.00	-0.02
Dow Jones Ind	37405.86	37466.11	-0.16	€/¥	0.861	0.861	¥/€	1.162	1.162	US 30 yr	4.15	4.17	-0.02
FTSEurofirst 300	1887.42	1882.39	0.27	¥/\$	143.900	144.140	¥/£	157.880	158.244	UK 2 yr	4.20	4.22	-0.02
Euro Stoxx 50	4483.86	4463.51	0.46	W/£	183.480	183.808	£ index	82.079	81.892	UK 10 yr	3.96	3.98	-0.02
FTSE 100	7694.19	7689.61	0.06	SFr/£	0.929	0.930	SFr/€	1.079	1.081	UK 30 yr	4.39	4.40	-0.01
FTSE All-Share	4204.14	4196.35	0.19	CRYPTO						JPN 2 yr	0.03	0.03	0.00
CAC 40	7450.24	7420.69	0.40		Jan 8	Prev	%chg		JPN 10 yr	0.60	0.60	0.00	
Xetra Dax	16716.47	16594.21	0.74	Bitcoin (\$)	45059.10	43940.36	2.55		JPN 30 yr	1.61	1.61	0.00	
Nikkei	33377.42	33288.29	0.27	Ethereum	2270.79	2222.68	2.16		GER 2 yr	2.55	2.57	-0.02	
Hang Seng	16224.45	16535.33	-1.88	COMMODITIES						GER 10 yr	2.13	2.15	-0.02
MSCI World \$	3120.55	3114.12	0.21		Jan 8	Prev	%chg		GER 30 yr	2.36	2.37	-0.01	
MSCI EM \$	1002.08	1004.26	-0.22	Oil WTI \$	70.42	73.81	-4.59						
MSCI ACWI \$	715.40	714.24	0.16	Oil Brent \$	75.70	78.76	-3.89						
FT Wilshire 2500	6089.64	6078.57	0.18	Gold \$	2056.35	2039.55	0.82						
FT Wilshire 5000	47439.60	47358.00	0.17										

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# Companies & Markets

## Boeing shares tumble after Alaska Airlines door blows out

- ◆ Accident grounds 737 Max 9 aircraft
- ◆ Supplier Spirit's stock also declines

SYLVIA PFEIFER — LONDON  
CLAIRE BUSHEY — CHICAGO  
GEORGE HAMMOND — SAN FRANCISCO

Shares in Boeing and supplier Spirit AeroSystems both tumbled yesterday as investors weighed up the financial fallout from last week's mid-flight accident on an Alaska Airlines aircraft.

US investigators announced on Sunday that they had located the door that blew out of the Boeing 737 Max during the flight. The incident prompted an emergency landing and the grounding of some aircraft.

The door plug, a "key component" for investigators, was located in the backyard of a Portland resident on Sunday

**'When serious accidents like this occur, it is critical for us . . . to understand and address the causes'**

night, according to Jennifer Homendy, chair of the National Transportation Safety Board, the independent US government agency that investigates civil transport accidents.

The Alaska Airlines flight was carrying 171 passengers and six crew on Friday when a section of the fuselage was torn away. All of those on board landed safely at Portland, Oregon.

The Federal Aviation Administration, the US airline regulator, ordered the temporary grounding on Saturday of some 737 Max 9s operated by US airlines or in US territory, while the NTSB has opened a probe into the incident.

Boeing shares fell 8.6 per cent to \$227 at the start of trading yesterday, while shares in Spirit AeroSystems dropped 13.5 per cent to \$27.

The company, a key Boeing supplier, installs the plugged door as part of the construction of the 737 Max fuselage for some aircraft.

Its role has been under scrutiny over the past year amid manufacturing problems. Homendy said pilots had reported pressurisation warnings on three flights in the month before the incident.

Those incidents were described to the NTSB as "benign" and it was unclear whether the previous warning lights had any correlation to Friday's incident, she said.

However, it was "certainly a concern and one we want to dig into", she added.

Alaska Airlines had placed a restriction on the plane preventing it from flying long overseas journeys, such as to Hawaii, so it could quickly return to an airport if needed, said Homendy.

Photos and videos shared on social media by passengers showed a portion of a side wall of the plane and a window missing and oxygen masks deployed.

Boeing has called a safety meeting today to discuss its response. Chief executive David Calhoun will host the meeting from the Renton, Washington, factory where the Max is assembled.

"When serious accidents like this occur, it is critical for us . . . to understand and address the causes of the event, and to ensure they don't happen again," he said in a memo to employees.

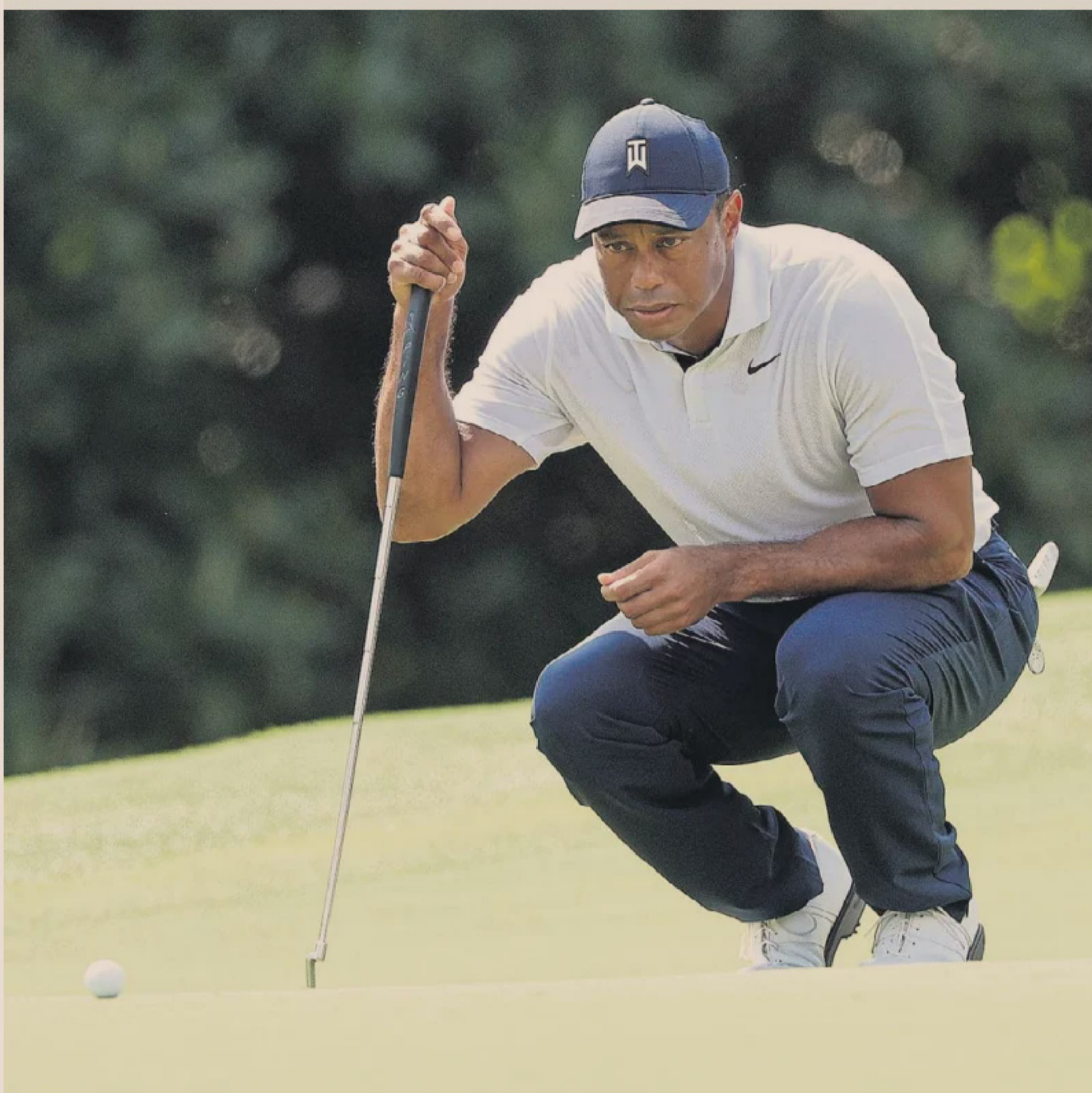
The accident occurred at about 16,000 feet and just 10 minutes into the flight, said the NTSB. No one was in the two seats next to the deactivated exit cabin door that blew out, leaving a gaping hole in the fuselage of the plane.

While often used as an additional exit on more densely configured low-cost carriers, the door is permanently plugged on Alaska Airlines planes.

Given that the aircraft was just two months old, investigators would look "in great detail at the assembly records and quality assurance inspections of that part of the aeroplane", said John Cox, a retired pilot and chief executive of Safety Operating Systems.

See **Companies, Opinion & Lex**

## Nike split Woods calls end to transformative deal with sportswear group after 27 years



Over the course of his career, Tiger Woods has won 15 major championships — Andrew Redington/Getty Images

SARA GERMANO — NEW YORK

US golf star Tiger Woods is leaving Nike after 27 years, ending one of the most transformative endorsement contracts in modern sport.

"For over 27 years, we have had the honour to partner with Tiger Woods, one of the greatest athletes the world has ever seen", Nike said in a statement yesterday. "We watched him set records, challenge conventional thinking, and inspire generations of people around the globe. We are grateful to have been a part of it. We wish him the best in the future."

Woods signed with Nike shortly after turning professional at the age of 20 in 1996. His excellence on the links — becoming the youngest golfer to win the Masters in 1997 — combined with his passionate play and mixed-race background helped him achieve global fame. By outfitting Woods in his signature red polo, Nike tran-

sferred its reputation as a maker of running and basketball shoes.

At the time of Woods' signing, golf was little more than an accessory category for the sportswear maker.

It subsequently began producing golf equipment and sales ballooned into the hundreds of millions, but never topped other sport categories like football, running, or basketball.

Nike discontinued the golf equipment line in 2016.

Over the course of his nearly 28-year career Woods has won 15 major championships and tied for most all-time career wins on the PGA Tour.

His profile has faltered, but hardly diminished, over the years, particularly after an infidelity scandal in 2009. In 2021 he was severely injured in a single-car wreck in California that limited his return to play.

Woods paid tribute yesterday to Nike co-founder Phil Knight, with whom he is especially close, and

posted a photo of the two of them alongside Woods' mother Kultida.

"I want to personally thank [Knight], along with the Nike employees and incredible athletes I have had the pleasure of working with along the way", Woods wrote on X.

Over more than a half-century of Nike's history, few athletes have been as celebrated at the company as Woods. At Nike headquarters in suburban Portland, Oregon, the company's primary conference centre is named for him. In Knight's 2016 memoir, *Shoe Dog*, he praised the golfer, and detailed a particularly tender moment after the untimely death of Knight's son Matthew in a scuba diving accident.

"Every Nike athlete wrote, emailed, phoned. Every single one. But the first was Tiger. His call came in at 7:30am. I will never, ever forget. And I will not stand a bad word spoken about Tiger in my presence", Knight wrote.

## Deloitte rolls out AI chatbot to workers in Europe and Middle East

SIMON FOY

Deloitte is rolling out a generative artificial intelligence chatbot to 75,000 employees across Europe and the Middle East, to create power point presentations and write emails and code, in an attempt to boost productivity.

The Big Four firm launched PairD, the internal tool, in the UK in October, in the latest sign of professional services firms rushing to adopt AI.

But in a sign that the fledgling technology remains a work in progress, staff were cautioned that the tool might produce inaccurate information about people, places and facts. Users had been told to perform their own due diligence and quality assurance to validate the "accuracy and completeness" of output before using it for work, said a person familiar with the matter.

Unlike rivals, which have teamed up with the likes of OpenAI and Harvey, the ChatGPT maker, Deloitte's AI chatbot was developed internally by the firm's AI institute.

PwC is using AI chatbots in its legal and tax divisions to speed up the work by summarising large documents and identifying compliance issues. Allen & Overy, the law firm, has created an AI contract negotiation tool that drafts agreements that lawyers can amend or accept.

Deloitte said PairD could be used by staff to answer emails, draft written content, write code to automate tasks, create presentations, carry out research and create meeting agendas.

The adoption of AI comes at a time when professional services firms are seeking to reduce costs amid a slowdown in demand for some of their services. Deloitte, EY, KPMG and PwC, the Big Four, have all announced redundancy programmes in recent months.

Costi Perricos, generative AI leader at Deloitte, said the rollout was "part of [the firm's] long-term AI investment plans, as we continue to explore the potential that this technology could offer our firm, our clients, and wider society".

A focus for employers "should be on how to use these new tools safely, so that they can be applied correctly and create value."

Deloitte employees are required to complete a training module before they can access the tool.

## Meloni's capital bill threatens to damage corporate Italy's interests

INSIDE BUSINESS  
REGULATION

Patrick  
Jenkins



Forget the S&P 500 and the frenzied excitement of recent weeks as the US index flirted with record levels. The FTSE MIB index of Italy's 40 biggest stocks is where the real boom story is at. Over the past three years the Italian benchmark has eclipsed the S&P 500 index in local currency terms. And while the S&P never did hit a new high and has fallen back in January, the Italian market has continued its upward momentum.

The boom is arguably healthier, too. Whereas the Magnificent Seven tech stocks have accounted for the bulk of US gains, Italy's bull run has been driven by a broader spread including defence contractor Leonardo, its shares have doubled over the past year; carmaker Ferrari, up 50 per cent; and the banks, led by UniCredit, up 77 per cent.

Now the government of Giorgia Meloni is promising to go further to make stock market access easier and reward shareholders who invest for the long term: the so-called *DDL Capitali* — or capital bill — expected to pass through parliament in the next few weeks. The measures are supposed to boost the economy and stem a flight of local companies to rival EU locations, particularly the Netherlands. They should also directly benefit the government's privatisation programme, slated to raise

€20bn over the next three years. However, alarm has been spreading among some companies and shareholders that the legislation, rather than liberalising and boosting investment in corporate Italy, may do the reverse. Late amendments have given it a protectionist bent, serving the interests of allies of Meloni, and potentially discouraging international investment.

Among the most striking amendments is a rule that would give an extreme incentive to hold shares for 10 years or more, granting such investors 10 times more voting rights than short-term shareholders. While the provision would theoretically apply to any investor, it in effect favours certain types of Italian shareholders — typically family-backed entities that seek to retain control of companies, as well as the kinds of local *fondazione* that have been long-term, though often politicised, shareholders of Italy's banks.

The benefit that comes from extra voting power is expected to be most significantly exercised via another of the key provisions in the new law, which gives shareholders a greater say over the appointment of a company's board members. That might sound positive. Yet it would neuter hedge fund activists. And convoluted new mechanisms for director appointments would make an already quirky corporate governance regime — whereby large company boards and their most vocal shareholders often put forward rival lists of proposed directors — into a potentially unworkable one, say experts. A report from the Consob securities regulator said the reforms could "represent a unique [set-up] interna-

**Ad hoc taxes and policy flip-flops have made many US asset managers wary of markets such as Italy, Spain and the UK**

tionally, undermining the objectives of simplification, stability and comprehensibility of sector regulations".

The most obvious beneficiary of the amended bill is billionaire Francesco Gaetano Caltagirone, the octogenarian construction and media baron, a significant shareholder in two of Italy's most powerful financial services groups, Generali and Mediobanca. He and his allies were thwarted in their attempts to impose new boards at both companies. Caltagirone is also a key ally for Meloni's government: he owns influential newspapers in regions where her support is strong.

If the law does pass as proposed, it would represent a second retrograde step for Italian markets in a matter of months. Last August, bank shares tumbled after a chaotic announcement of a bank tax. After wrangling within Meloni's coalition government, the rate of the tax was reduced, and then an alternative was introduced, whereby a bank can boost its reserves rather than pay a levy.

The Italian Treasury has hailed the outcome, which has seen next to no tax revenue raised, as a boost to the capital strength of banks at a time when higher interest rates threaten to trigger a surge in non-performing loans. Even if this is true, any accidental benefit has been undermined by the reputational damage done by the episode. Ad hoc taxes and policy flip-flops have made many US asset managers wary of markets such as Italy, Spain and the UK.

So far the Italian stock market has prospered in spite of all this — but Meloni's government can hardly afford to be sanguine: the trailing price/earnings ratio of the S&P 500 is about 25 times; the FTSE MIB is still in single digits.

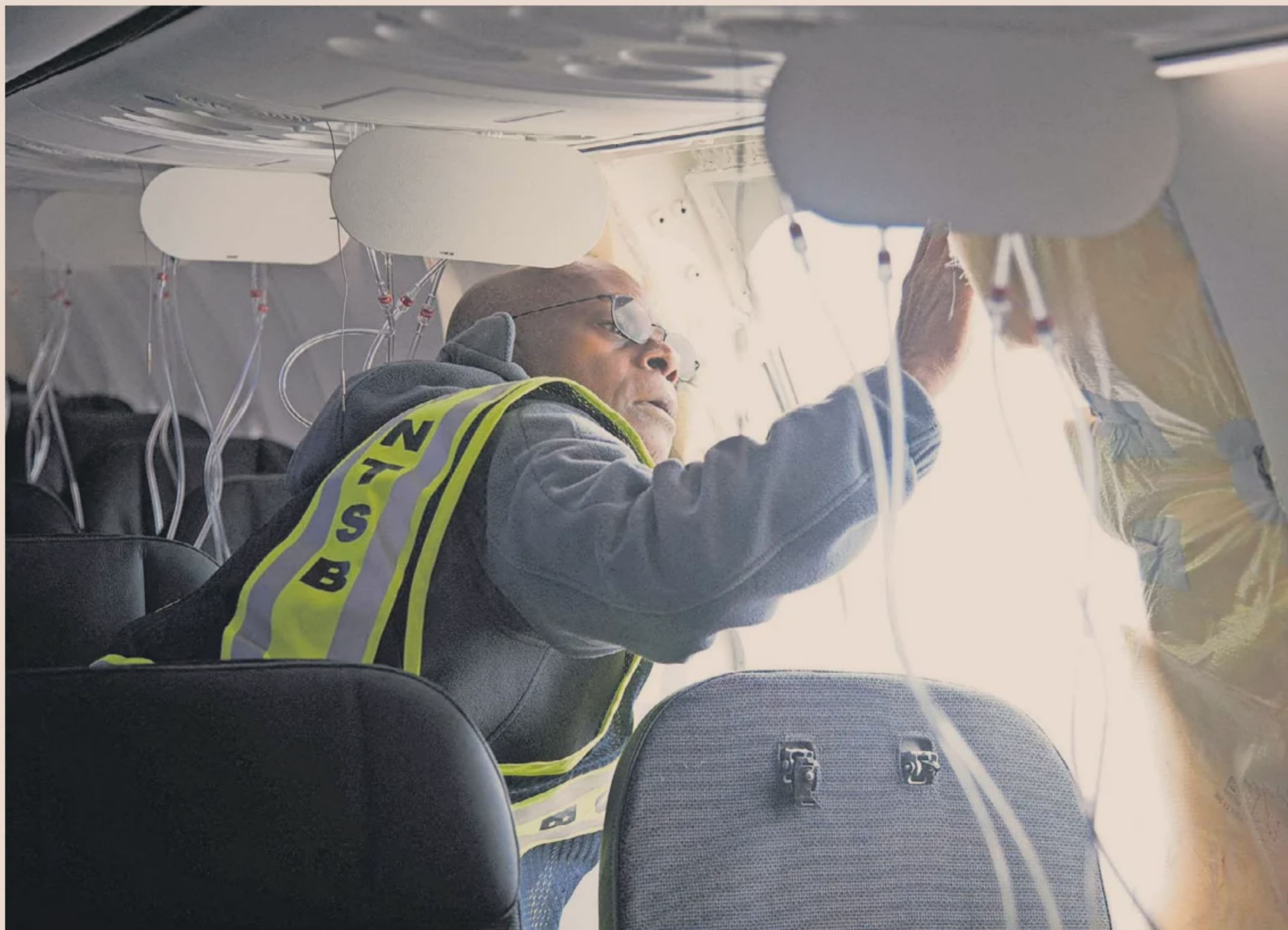
patrick.jenkins@ft.com



COMPANIES & MARKETS

# Boeing panel blowout throws the spotlight on supplier Spirit

Air safety inspectors to pore over stages from manufacturing to 737 assembly



SYLVIA PFEIFER — LONDON  
CLAIRE BUSHEY — CHICAGO

The mid-air breach of the fuselage of an Alaska Airlines Boeing aircraft has put the spotlight on one of the planemaker's biggest suppliers: Spirit AeroSystems.

Spirit is one of the largest suppliers of aircraft structures, building 737 Max fuselages and other airframe parts for Boeing and for its European rival Airbus. It also built the 27kg, four-foot-long door panel which blew out of the Alaska plane on Friday. It was finally located in a Portland suburb on Sunday night.

Technical specialists from the National Transportation Safety Board, the independent US government agency responsible for investigating civil transport accidents, will be poring over every inch of the door for clues.

Shares in Spirit fell 7 per cent yesterday, the first day of trading since the incident. The company also issued its first statement on the accident, stressing that its "primary focus" is the "quality and product integrity of the aircraft structures we deliver" and was continuing to work with Boeing on the issue.

"Spirit's biggest programme is 737, so what is bad for 737 is bad for Spirit — no way around that," said Sash Tusa, analyst at Agency Partners.

Industry experts said it was too early to draw conclusions as to what led to the accident with the 737 Max 9, noting that it was not yet clear whether the blowout was an assembly error from Boeing, a manufacturing issue by Spirit, or a different problem altogether.

Boeing declined to comment on whether the plug-in doors installed by Spirit are then removed by the Washington DC-based group in order to complete the cabin before being reinstalled during final assembly, citing the ongoing investigation into the incident.

Spirit used to be Boeing Wichita, located in the heart of Kansas's aerospace hub and the state's largest private employer. It was spun out of Boeing in 2005 as the US group looked to shed fixed costs of factory and labour to the variable cost of procuring parts.

It manufactures the fuselage for the

Max and fuselage and wing components for the wide-body 787 used for long-haul flights. It also builds aerostructures for Airbus jets, including parts for the A350 and A320 jets. It builds the wings for the A220 jet in Belfast, Northern Ireland.

Spirit's relationship with Boeing has been rocky and marked by clashes over pricing as well as labour challenges.

More recently, it has been dominated by production problems which have affected Boeing's deliveries to airline customers just as the plane maker has sought to increase its output rate and gain back market share it lost to Airbus during the grounding of the Max fleet.

Last April, Boeing discovered that Spirit had improperly installed two fittings on the vertical stabiliser on the 737, forcing the jet maker to delay deliveries to customers. Four months later, a new problem arose: incorrectly drilled holes in the rear pressure bulkhead for some fuselages.

The quality problems and soaring inflation have cost Spirit money on its fixed-price contracts, according to analysts. The supplier has not reported a profit since 2019, before the pandemic, posting a net loss of \$546mn in 2022 on sales that exceeded \$5bn.

In October, Tom Gentile, Spirit's chief executive, departed abruptly, and was

replaced on an interim basis by Pat Shanahan, a 31-year Boeing veteran who was briefly acting secretary of state for defence in the Trump administration. Shanahan has already renegotiated an agreement with Boeing to give Spirit better prices for its work on the 737 and 787 aircraft.

The new agreement also requires Spirit to increase staffing in engineering and quality control and to carry buffer stock, "including two weeks' worth of finished goods for 737 work". It also says Boeing must agree to any "change in control" at the company — protection for the plane maker in case Spirit becomes a takeover target.

Analysts said Shanahan's relationship with the aircraft manufacturer had already proven to be critical and could prove vital now. "Having Pat take charge, and then getting that new arrangement with Boeing, has drawn the two companies even closer together. I think that should help Spirit in sorting out its Boeing programmes," said Rob Stallard, analyst at Vertical Research Partners.

"Pat's first priority — rightly — was to renegotiate the key contracts between Spirit and Boeing. For too long, Boeing's worship of returns on investment or assets meant short-changing everything, including suppliers and labour," said Richard Aboulafia, managing director at Aerodynamic Advisory.

Others said that having Shanahan in place as interim CEO should also help the two companies manage the current crisis better. "Not only should [it] help Spirit — it gives new confidence Boeing should have in Spirit," said Scott Hamilton of consultancy Leeham News.

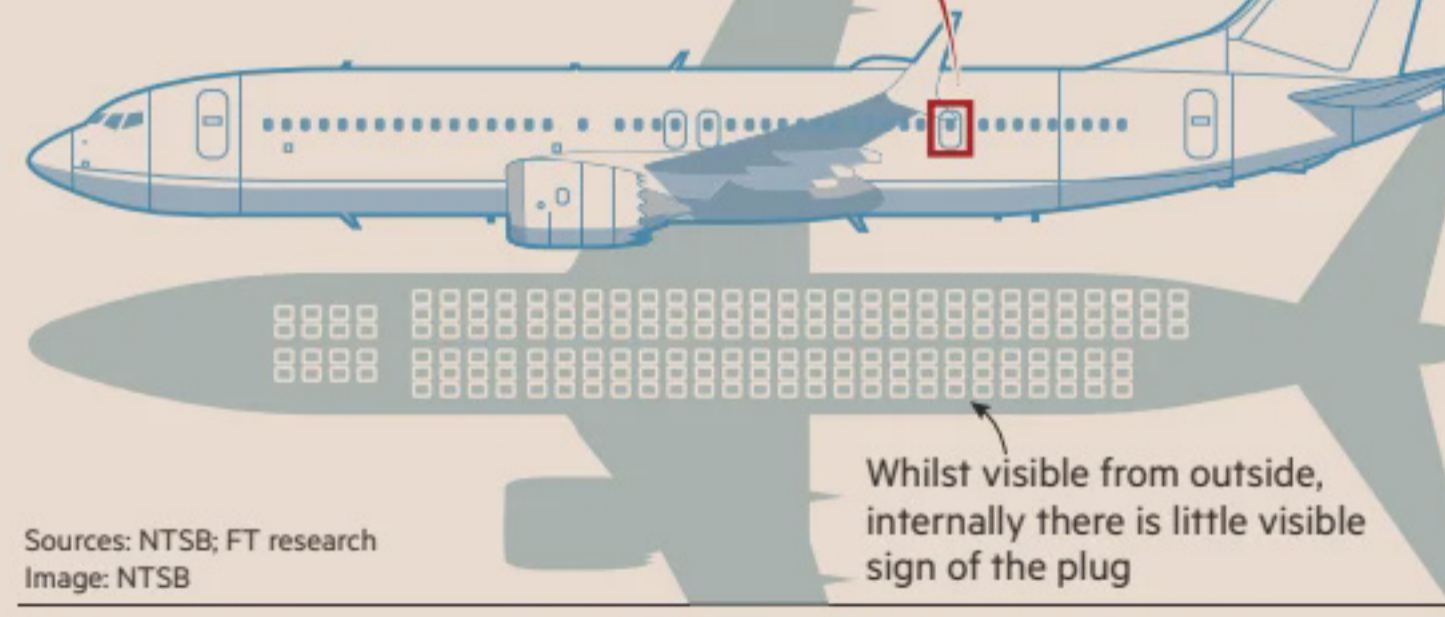
"Shanahan is a no-nonsense guy who knows production and, importantly, knows Boeing — and Boeing knows him."

See Opinion & Lex

### Boeing's 737 Max 9



The area of fuselage that detached on Jan 6 comprised a mid-cabin door plug. This replaces an emergency exit door that is unnecessary when the aircraft layout has fewer seats



Whilst visible from outside, internally there is little visible sign of the plug

Sources: NTSB; FT research  
Image: NTSB

### Failures. Triple challenge

## Bankruptcies in US healthcare hit record level

Tougher regulation, higher costs and fewer patients take toll on bigger groups

PATRICK MATHURIN — LONDON

A record number of large healthcare companies filed for bankruptcy in the US last year, underlining the industry's struggles with problems ranging from rising costs to falling patient numbers and tougher regulation.

Radiotherapy and medical staffing services and a community hospital are among 18 companies with liabilities of more than \$100mn that filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection, seeking court approval to reduce their debts.

The list includes Envision, formerly owned by KKR, Brown Brothers Harriman's American Physician Partners (APP), and Akumin, according to analysis by BankruptcyData.com, part of the New Generation Research group.

The number of bankruptcies is an almost fivefold rise on 2022 and an increase of five from the previous high during the pandemic in 2020. A Chapter 11 bankruptcy is a common way for businesses in financial distress to cut their debts and restructure in the US.

Steven B. Smith, a partner at US law firm Herrick, Feinstein, said: "Healthcare has historically been perceived as always in demand, perhaps inflation-resilient.

"But in the pandemic you had low interest rates, lender concessions, government funding for healthcare providers. All those factors deferred some of the fundamental issues hitting the most fragile businesses."

In total, the 18 healthcare companies had assets of \$7bn against liabilities of \$8.3bn. Healthcare was not the only sector with a high number of bankruptcies in 2023 — others included computer software, chemicals and agriculture — but it had by far the largest aggregate shortfall in assets.

US bankruptcy volumes in 2023 overall were lower, at 133, than in 2020, when there were 179. The latter was a record year for bankruptcies in the US. But in terms of scale — that is, the amount by which liabilities exceeded assets — 2009 was worse, driven by the financial crisis.

The numbers include "lead" bankruptcy filings only and exclude the filings of any subsidiaries.

The rising bankruptcies highlight the problems that some indebted private equity-owned healthcare businesses are having because of the combination of

higher interest rates and costs and a reduction in patient numbers.

In the past five years, private equity groups have backed about \$140bn of US healthcare deals, making it the most active sector behind technology and financials according to Refinitiv figures.

The "No Surprises Act", which regulates patient billing and seeks to cut excessive charges, came into place at the start of 2022 and has been problematic for some providers.

"Surprise" healthcare bills arise when a procedure is not fully covered by an insurance scheme. They have been cited as a problem in the fragmented and costly US healthcare system.

The act has resulted in tougher reimbursement talks between medical groups and the insurers that pay the bills, and meant cash flows have become harder to predict, or even dried up.

This combination of factors has meant that some healthcare companies have struggled to make interest payments and sought to reduce their debts.

The outlook remains challenging. During the pandemic, the US government required Medicaid programmes — federal and state-supported medical insurance for people on low incomes —

The 'No Surprises Act', which regulates billing, has been problematic for some providers

to keep people enrolled in the system. That protection is being withdrawn.

KFF, a US health policy research organisation, estimates that between 8mn and 25mn people could lose Medicaid coverage by May 2024. Of the \$4.3tn of US healthcare spending in 2022, Medicaid represented \$1 in every \$6, according to KFF.

"Margin squeeze, economic contraction, staffing shortages and regulatory scrutiny are mounting systemic challenges," Smith said. "All these factors have made healthcare a tough environment generally to succeed in."

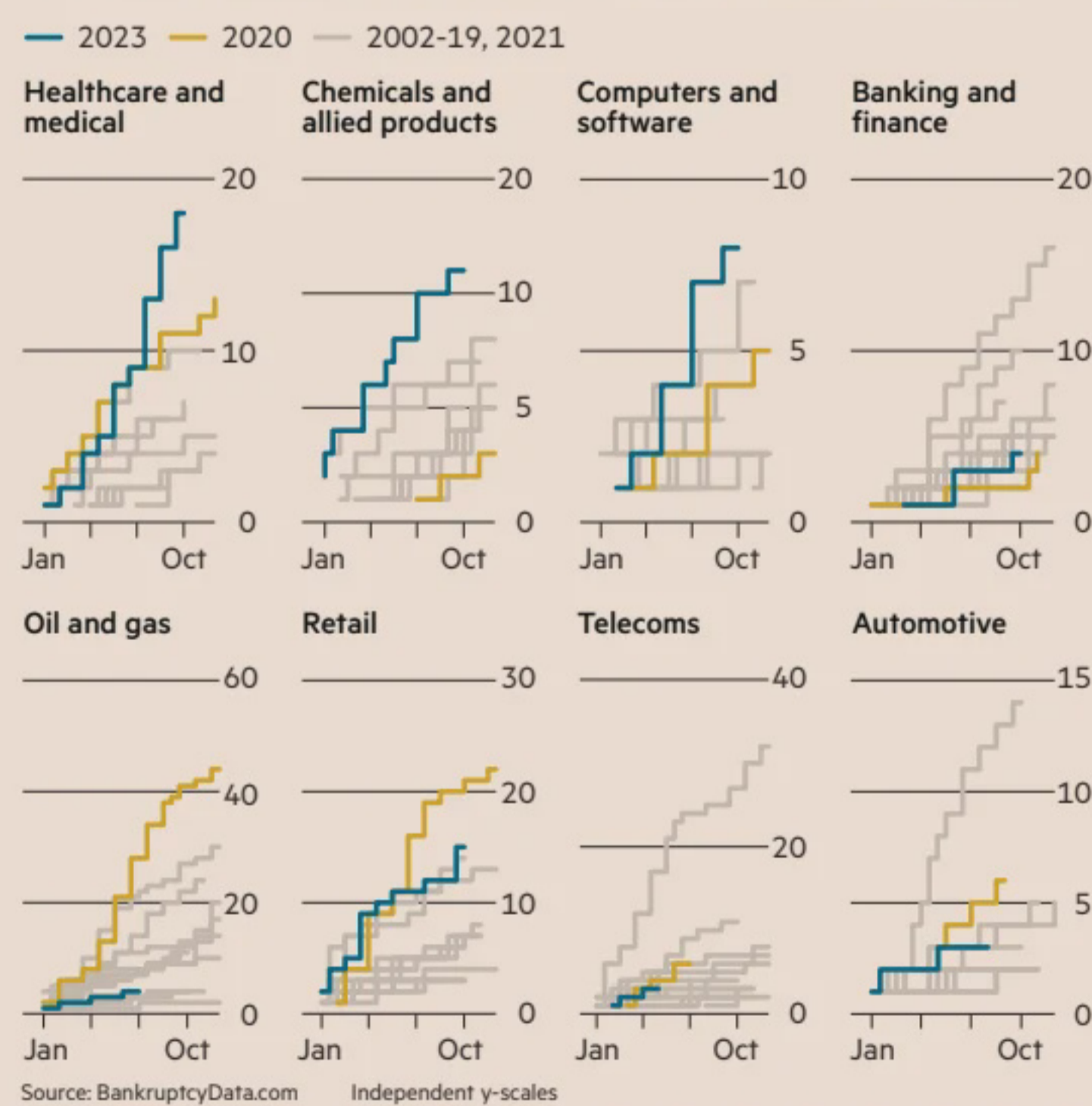
Stonepeak, which reached an agreement with Akumin in October to take the company private, declined to comment.

Envision said it had successfully emerged from bankruptcy in November "with a markedly strengthened capital structure", adding that its clinicians were "an essential part of the US healthcare system" and it was committed to supporting them.

Brown Brothers Harriman and APP could not be reached for comment.

### Chapter 11 filings

Cumulative number by year for businesses with \$100mn or more in liabilities



Source: BankruptcyData.com Independent y-scales

### Financials

## Berkshire Hathaway settles dispute over Pilot Travel Centers

ALISTAIR GRAY — LONDON  
ERIC PLATT — NEW YORK

Warren Buffett's Berkshire Hathaway averted a courtroom showdown over its purchase of a truck stop operator founded by a Tennessee billionaire, after settling a dispute centred on the value of the business.

Berkshire had struck a deal about six years ago to acquire an interest in Pilot Travel Centers, founded by billionaire James "Big Jim" Haslam II, patriarch of a powerful Tennessee family. The \$11bn deal, which has turned into one of Berkshire's largest corporate acquisitions over the past five years, raised the prospect of damage to the sprawling conglomerate's reputation as the Haslam family accused Berkshire of changing the terms of the deal over time.

The purchase was done in stages, with Berkshire initially buying a 38.6 per cent interest in 2017 for \$2.8bn before spending a further \$8.2bn last year for another 41.4 per cent, boosting its total stake to 80 per cent. The Haslams have an option to sell its remaining 20 per cent stake to Berkshire.

But the deal turned acrimonious last year. In October, the Haslam family company Pilot Corp accused Berkshire of changing the truck stop chain's accounting methodology to make it look

less profitable and lower the value of the remaining 20 per cent stake.

Berkshire hit back in November, accusing the founder's son Jimmy Haslam III, co-owner of the Cleveland Browns football team, of seeking to suborn executives at Pilot into inflating the company's profits, by secretly promising them payments.

The price for the remaining 20 per cent stake was to be based on 10 times the company's earnings before interest and taxes, with some adjustments, but how those earnings were calculated was at the centre of the dispute.

"Buffett's refusal to even disclose Berkshire's position on the proper

method of valuing Pilot's put right [its right to sell shares] has not only made litigation inevitable, but also made clear that Berkshire and the board defendants will not commit to honour their contractual obligations and fiduciary duties," Pilot charged in its complaint.

A trial in a Delaware court was expected to start yesterday. However, in separate statements late on Sunday both companies said they had reached an agreement "to fully settle the Delaware litigation", including "all claims and counterclaims". Details of the settlement were not disclosed.

Berkshire did not respond to a request for comment.

### Contracts & Tenders



INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE CÂNCER



MINISTÉRIO DA SAÚDE

**INTERNATIONAL COMPETITIVE BIDDING Nº 005/2023**

**Bidding Type:** Lowest Price per Item  
**Object:** Acquisition of DACTINOMYCIN 0.5 MG LYOPHIL POWDER and others.  
**Opening:** 01/31/2024 at 09:00 a.m.  
**Process no.** 25410.010802/2023-21  
**Address:** Rua Marquês de Pombal, 125, second floor, City Center, Rio de Janeiro - Brazil - CEP: 20230-240

The announcement may be withdrawn at the websites:  
[www.comprasnet.gov.br](http://www.comprasnet.gov.br) or [www.inca.gov.br/editais](http://www.inca.gov.br/editais)

**PAULO AUGUSTO DIAS DE OLIVEIRA**  
**CHAIRMAN OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF BIDDING**

## COMPANIES &amp; MARKETS

Commodities. Chippy trading

# Economic fears and new supply temper outlook for crude oil



Industry commentators expect excess output to offset impact of tensions in the Middle East

LUKANYO MNYANDA AND GEORGE STEER

Steady growth in oil supply from countries outside the Opec+ cartel and an uncertain economic outlook are expected to keep a lid on the price of crude this year, even as the Israel-Hamas conflict threatens to spread to the rest of the region.

Oil prices, which clocked only modest gains in the first week of 2024, dropped yesterday after Saudi Arabia cut its official selling price for oil exports in February.

Brent crude fell 4 per cent to \$75.65 a barrel and WTI, the US equivalent, 4.8 per cent to \$70.25 a barrel.

Yet the declines leaves crude prices only a few dollars below the \$80 a barrel that a consensus of analysts expect the Brent benchmark to reach over the next 12 months.

The prospect of oversupply, an uncertain economic outlook and a lack of clarity of how tensions in the Middle East will play out have left analysts reluctant to make aggressive bets in either direction.

Joe DeLaura, global energy strategist at Rabobank, said no hedge funds or traders wanted to be short oil in the mid-to-low \$70s because “you could wake up one morning and there could be a tanker sunk in the Red Sea”.

Yet absent any further shocks in the Middle East, robust supply growth is expected to keep a lid on prices, which will probably “trend sideways” as a

result, DeLaura said. Last week, prices fell in two out of four sessions after the killing of a senior Hamas leader and a bombing that claimed more than 100 lives in Iran.

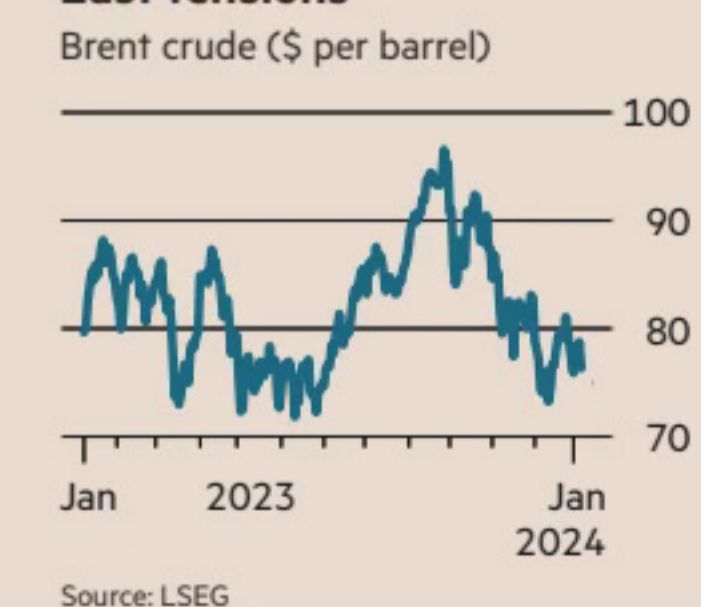
Prices rallied briefly by as much as 3.4 per cent on Wednesday as Hassan Nasrallah, leader of Lebanese militant group Hezbollah, vowed revenge against Israel over the killing of Saleh al-Arouri, Hamas's deputy political leader, in an explosion in Beirut.

But the gains were quickly reversed and attention instead switched to the outlook for global supplies. Traders bet that more oil from non-Opec countries would largely offset attempts by the Opec+ cartel to tighten the market.

Industry forecasters have learned to tread more warily after the past few years, when events such as the Covid pandemic and Russia's invasion of Ukraine ripped up their predictions.

“A lot of analysts have had the extremes beaten out of them,” said Mark Wilson, an analyst at Jefferies in London. “The last couple of years have

**Oil prices slide as ample supply overshadows Middle East tensions**



proven that it is so hard to keep up.”

While the market has largely ruled out a major supply disruption stemming from the Israel-Gaza war, companies like Maersk have said they will need to reroute container shipping from the Red Sea “for the foreseeable future” due to attacks by the Houthi militant group in Yemen.

Brent, the international crude oil benchmark, ended last week at \$79 a barrel, only about 6 per cent higher than the six-month lows it hit last month.

Helima Croft, head of commodities research at RBC Capital Markets, said “complacent” traders had relegated the war in the Middle East “to background noise until there is a clear threat to supply”.

But for all the market's relatively cautious nature, analysts concede that big risks remain that could shake the consensus view.

The move by Saudi Arabia over the weekend was taken by some traders as an indication that the world's biggest exporters expected lower prices to persist as demand cools and supply from US shale producers continued to increase.

Another factor is the US presidential election campaign and the potential impact on voters of higher prices at the pumps.

Bob Ryan, commodity and energy strategist at BCA Research, said traders were underpricing other risks such as potential cyber warfare by Russia, China and Iran, and Russia seeking to engineer higher oil prices in order to derail the chances of President Joe Biden's re-election.

Donald Trump, the Republican front-runner, has said he would push Ukraine to negotiate.

**Pipe down:** The move by Saudi Arabia to cut its export selling price over the weekend was taken by some traders as an indication that it expects such levels to persist

Simon Dawson/Bloomberg

“Unlikely as it seems, US elections can hinge on what is happening with gasoline prices at the time,” said Ryan, who expects Brent crude to rise above \$100 a barrel.

Another big unknown factor is the extent to which new sources of oil will continue to influence prices.

US crude soared last year as a boom in shale helped drive growth of about 2mn barrel a day in oil production, including both crude and natural gas liquids.

The country's exports averaged nearly 4mn barrels a day in the first half of last year, the highest total for the first six months of the year since 2015, according to the EIA.

That helped push crude down by just over 10 per cent in 2023, the first annual fall since 2020.

That rise in US supply last year was “massive” and if market predictions of a sharp drop in growth of shale production in 2024 prove to be inaccurate, this would make it harder for Opec+ to support prices, said Bjarne Schieldrop, chief commodities analyst at SEB.

“If US production continues to increase on a very strong note in 2024 on par with 2023 then it will be much tougher for Opec+ . . . especially if global oil demand is weak at the same time,” he said.

However, Martijn Rats, chief commodities strategist at Morgan Stanley, said last week that it remains his view that oil could have a relatively quiet year, forecasting crude will trade around \$80 a barrel before easing to nearer \$75 a barrel in 2025.

“The risk of disruption impacting oil prices is relatively modest at the moment,” Rats said. “The oil market is reasonably supplied.”

**A lot of analysts have had the extremes beaten out of them'**

## Derivatives

## South Korea widens probe on 'exotic notes' tied to Hong Kong stock index

SONG JUNG-A — SEOUL

South Korea's financial authorities have widened their investigation into banks and brokerages over the possible mis-selling of so-called exotic notes linked to Chinese stocks, following complaints from retail investors fearing heavy losses from the high-risk securities.

The Financial Supervisory Service said yesterday that it would probe 12 financial institutions this month to see if there were any illegal activities related to the sale of securities linked to a benchmark for Hong Kong-listed Chinese stocks.

“Investors basically invest at their own risk but the financial firms will have to take responsibility for their acts if they neglected their duty of protecting customers,” said Lee Bok-hyun, FSS governor.

Exotic notes that promise higher yields and are often linked to risky assets such as derivatives are popular among South Korean retail investors, despite frequent meltdowns.

The FSS said big investor losses could materialise as Won15.4tn (\$11.7bn)

worth of the equity-linked securities, or nearly 80 per cent of outstanding ELSs, are set to mature this year.

ELSs are fixed income derivatives that promise bond-like coupons and early redemptions based on the performance of the underlying assets but investors could suffer heavy losses if the underlying stock index falls below a certain level.

The Hang Seng China Enterprises index, a relatively stable gauge in the past, has been hit by a slow economic recovery from the effects of the



**The exotic notes are popular among South Korean investors**

Covid-19 pandemic and geopolitical tension between Beijing and Washington.

It has more than halved to about 5,450 points since peaking above 12,000 in February 2021.

The investigation will start with KB Kookmin Bank and Korea Investment & Securities, the biggest sellers of the high-risk notes, and then be extended to four other banks and six brokerages.

Following a two-month preliminary probe, the FSS said it had found some serious breaches of rules in the ELS selling process, such as a lack of internal controls and mishandling of key documents related to the securities contracts.

It added that some banks encouraged staff to sell more ELS products despite the growing risks in order to boost their non-interest income.

The FSS said it would punish institutions for illegal activities in efforts to strengthen regulatory oversight and investor protection following similar problems in 2019 when the agency ordered banks and brokerages to return up to 80 per cent of investors' losses from high-risk derivatives linked to interest rates of foreign countries.

## Equities

## Carta customers say platform tried to trade their shares without consent

GEORGE HAMMOND — SAN FRANCISCO

Carta, a \$7.4bn software company used by start-ups to track their investors, has been trying to trade its customers' shares without consent, according to a complaint that threatens to undermine trust in the widely used platform.

Karri Saarinen, co-founder of software start-up Linear, claimed Carta started approaching his investors without consent. Carta “is now doing cold outreach to our angel investors about selling Linear shares to their buyers”, wrote Saarinen in a post on social media platform X last Friday.

Since Saarinen's complaint, it has emerged that Carta employees had approached investors regarding two further start-ups.

The dispute has raised questions about how Carta is using private information gleaned from customers of its platform to gain an advantage in the increasingly competitive secondary market for start-up stocks.

Carta chief executive Henry Ward responded to Saarinen's post to say he was “appalled that this happened” and that the company was investigating

what it said appeared to be a rogue employee violating its policies.

Shortly afterwards, Ward admitted that two other companies using the Carta platform had also been affected by the same issue.

Carta's primary business is helping start-ups to manage their capitalisation, or cap, tables — in effect a record of who owns the company. That can be com-

**“That never should have happened and is absolutely a breach of our privacy protocols’**

plex for young companies with multiple classes of stakeholder. Carta was last valued at \$7.4bn in a 2021 funding round, according to PitchBook.

Carta also manages a separate private share trading platform, acting as an intermediary between start-ups and investors to allow early-stage companies to be simultaneously private and liquid. Carta takes a small cut from buyers and sellers on any deal.

Ward published a lengthy blog post

## Crypto

## Price war for spot bitcoin ETF heats up ahead of key SEC ruling

SCOTT CHIPOLINA — LONDON  
WILL SCHMITT — NEW YORK

A fee war has broken out among the asset managers hoping to launch spot bitcoin exchange traded funds in the US, even though the US regulator has not yet indicated whether it will allow the products to be sold.

BlackRock, the world's largest fund manager, said in a regulatory filing yesterday that it would charge customers just 0.2 per cent of the net asset value of its fund for the first year or until its ETF hits \$5bn in assets before rising to 0.3 per cent

Rival applicant Ark Investment Management, which had previously indicated that it would charge 0.80 per cent of its bitcoin holdings, offered to waive fees for the first six months or until its ETF's assets reach \$1bn. Thereafter, its fee will be set at 0.25 per cent.

Invesco likewise will waive fees for six months or the fund's first \$5bn before settling at 0.59 per cent.

The latest moves are the final touches to regulatory filings ahead of an expected decision this week from the Securities and Exchange Commission on whether to permit stock market funds that invest directly in bitcoin.

If approved, funds could be launched

**‘How do you prove that your ETF is any better than anybody else’s? The only way is on price’**

in a matter of days. Bitcoin last month soared to a 20-month high of \$44,000 and this week has risen more than 5 per cent to \$45,200 as anticipation builds ahead of the SEC potentially giving the green light to several applicants.

Because the products are similar — they are all designed to hold bitcoin — fees and, to a lesser extent, firm branding will be a key part of how the applicants distinguish themselves in a crowded market.

“This is a classic price war,” said James Angel, faculty affiliate at Georgetown McDonough's Psaros Center to Financial Markets and Policy. “How do you prove that your ETF is any better than anybody else's? The only way you can compete is on price.”

The SEC has resisted applications for a spot bitcoin ETF, arguing that bitcoin prices are set on unregulated exchanges and thus it cannot give adequate investor protections. But pressure has been growing on the regulator since it lost a court ruling last summer on its reasons for blocking an ETF application by asset management firm Grayscale.

Grayscale yesterday said it would drop its fee from 2 per cent to 1.5 per cent. The remaining list of applicants, including WisdomTree, Valkyrie and Fidelity are all offering fee structures comfortably below 1 per cent. “Grayscale is in a difficult position because they were the very first mover in the field and it was the only way to get in,” Angel said. “Now they face competition.”

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COMPANIES & MARKETS

The day in the markets

What you need to know

- Wall Street rises ahead of this week's much-anticipated inflation data
- Core government bonds rebound from last week's retreat
- Oil drops sharply on Saudi Arabia's decision to cut export selling price

Wall Street stocks rose yesterday as traders looked ahead to inflation data out later this week that will heavily influence the US Federal Reserve's upcoming monetary policy decisions.

Wall Street's benchmark S&P 500 added 0.7 per cent and the tech-dominated Nasdaq Composite rose 1.5 per cent in early afternoon trade in New York with Boeing the worst performing stock on the former, down 6.1 per cent.

Both indices declined last week, breaking a run of nine consecutive weeks of gains, as traders' hopes for interest rate cuts in the first half of this year were dented by stronger than expected labour market data and warnings from Fed officials.

"Solid US jobs growth, cautious Fed minutes and a still robust US economy raise doubts about markets' aggressive Fed rate cut expectations," said analysts at Barclays, who expect a first cut in June.

December's US consumer price inflation data, due on Thursday, is set to be the main data point of the week.

"The end-2023 rally could keep going well into 2024 as inflation cools further," said a note from the BlackRock Investment Institute, the in-house think-tank at the world's biggest asset manager. "Yet the jittery start to 2024 for stocks and bonds suggests investors may be nervous about the macro outlook."

US stocks have started the year in the red



Across the Atlantic, stocks made small gains. The continent-wide Stoxx Europe 600 rose 0.4 per cent ahead of a busy week of inflation and economic data. Paris's CAC 40 added 0.4 per cent, Frankfurt's Xetra Dax rose 0.7 per cent and London's FTSE 100 rose less than 0.1 per cent.

Bonds rebounded from last week's retreat. The 10-year US yield, a global benchmark for asset prices, fell 6 basis points to 3.97 per cent, reflecting higher prices. The equivalent German yield was marginally lower at 2.14 per cent.

Oil prices dropped sharply as Saudi

Arabia's decision to cut its official selling price for oil exports in February overshadowed Middle East tensions.

Brent crude, the international oil benchmark, fell 3.9 per cent to \$75.70 a barrel after Riyadh over the weekend lowered its official selling prices.

The Saudi decision to cut the price of oil exported to Asia by \$2 a barrel was taken by investors as a signal that the world's biggest exporter may be struggling to sell all of its output.

In currency markets, the dollar weakened 0.2 per cent against a basket of six international peers. **George Steer**

Regulations on bank capital make financial system more fragile

Jeffrey Meli

Markets Insight



Regulators and investors are worried about the fragility of government bond and funding markets. This is understandable. These markets are vital for financing governments, for monetary policy transmission and for the hedging of interest rate risk for banks, investors and corporations.

But they are experiencing repeated bouts of instability, such as the frenzied "dash for cash" in early 2020 and the 2019 blow-up in repos, a market for interbank lending.

Such concerns have triggered a series of reforms, including new rules from the Securities and Exchange Commission requiring more trades in US Treasuries to be cleared centrally, in line with other assets like equities, futures and swaps.

Clearing will provide some capital relief for banks, by allowing them to net off exposures. But the new rules are no panacea. Short-term funding markets have become more fragile largely because of a recent shift in the constitution of the financial system: the segregation of bank capital by jurisdiction.

Until 2016, banks were primarily regulated at a global, consolidated level, by their home regulators.

Banks could shift capital more or less seamlessly between their subsidiaries, across products and currencies as market conditions warranted.

This was particularly the case when moving capital between activities with similar implications for consolidated capital, such as positions in US, UK and European government debt.

Things changed in July that year when the US Federal Reserve began to require foreign banks with more than \$50bn of American assets to set up special holding companies for local operations. Each

of these holding groups is governed by its own board of directors and is subject to the rigours of US banking supervision, including local capital and liquidity standards as well as annual stress tests.

In 2019, Europe followed suit with a similar set of rules; the biggest US and UK banks were compliant within a year.

The new regimes were well-intentioned: the US reforms were part of the Dodd-Frank Act, a sweeping provision aimed at preventing a repeat of the 2007-08 meltdown. But the result is that shifting capital between bank subsidiaries now requires the recommendation of the local management team,

Further regulations, mandates and constraints are likely to compound the calcification of markets

the approval of the local board, consideration of local stress tests and, at times, approval from local regulators.

Capital mobility has become time-consuming, costly and uncertain. In short, bank capital is trapped. When capital can no longer move across jurisdictions, balance sheets in each region are fixed. It is no surprise that markets have stiffened and that policymakers now have to stabilise markets more often. The official sector is filling a role that was once left to bank capital.

The best illustration of this is in the repo market, a liquid market with trillions of dollars in daily volumes. Before 2016, repo shocks often spilled across borders. Our analysis shows that, when the US market was disrupted, a dislocation normally occurred somewhere in

European or UK repo, too. Contagion was global as banks shifted capital towards trouble spots and out of equivalent activities elsewhere.

This spread shocks across multiple jurisdictions, reducing their severity. Now, shocks are more localised. When volatility spikes in US repo, other parts of the front end, including short-dated Treasuries, also experience disruptions.

Dislocations in Europe, too, are more likely to affect multiple types of collateral. And as it is now harder for capital buffers to be deployed across borders, the hits are harder. In the US, repo shocks are 26 per cent more frequent than they were pre-2016 and 51 per cent more severe, and tend to last much longer. It's similar in Europe and the UK.

Further regulations, mandates and constraints are likely to compound this calcification of markets. Among the most significant are the Basel III reforms, due to be phased in from 2025, which look set to push up banks' capital requirements.

This would make it more expensive for banks to intermediate in government bond markets, which would in turn raise costs for participants trying to arbitrage price differences.

Persistently wider spreads and lower volumes would add to price and yield volatility — which would raise banks' regulatory requirements once more.

The US is looking especially vulnerable given the Treasury market is on course to expand rapidly as federal deficits remain wide. More bonds outstanding implies a greater need for financing and hedging, as well as for transactions in futures and swaps. Market stability is likely to remain under pressure.

Jeffrey Meli is head of research at Barclays

Markets update

	US	Eurozone	Japan	UK	China	Brazil
<b>Stocks</b>	<b>S&amp;P 500</b>	<b>Eurofirst 300</b>	<b>Nikkei 225</b>	<b>FTSE100</b>	<b>Shanghai Comp</b>	<b>Bovespa</b>
Level	4726.25	1887.42	33377.42	7694.19	2887.54	132088.94
% change on day	0.62	0.27	0.27	0.06	-1.42	0.05
<b>Currency</b>	<b>\$ index (DXY)</b>	<b>\$ per €</b>	<b>Yen per \$</b>	<b>\$ per £</b>	<b>Rmb per \$</b>	<b>Real per \$</b>
Level	102.392	1.097	143.900	1.275	7.161	4.874
% change on day	-0.020	-0.091	-0.167	0.000	0.048	0.043
<b>Govt. bonds</b>	<b>10-year Treasury</b>	<b>10-year Bund</b>	<b>10-year JGB</b>	<b>10-year Gilt</b>	<b>10-year bond</b>	<b>10-year bond</b>
Yield	3.981	2.134	0.601	3.963	2.576	11.136
Basis point change on day	-1.520	-2.000	0.000	-2.000	0.100	2.500
<b>World index, Commods</b>	<b>FTSE All-World</b>	<b>Oil - Brent</b>	<b>Oil - WTI</b>	<b>Gold</b>	<b>Silver</b>	<b>Metals (LMEX)</b>
Level	473.73	75.70	70.42	2056.35	22.98	3674.30
% change on day	0.34	-3.89	-4.59	0.82	0.09	0.11

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
<b>Ups</b>	<b>Baxter Int</b> 7.18	<b>Airbus</b> 2.52	<b>Melrose Industries</b> 4.31
	<b>American Airlines</b> 6.07	<b>Hugo Boss</b> 2.29	<b>B&amp;M Eur Value Retail S.a.</b> 3.16
	<b>Advanced Micro Devices</b> 5.04	<b>Philips</b> 2.09	<b>Rolls-royce Holdings</b> 2.90
	<b>Nvidia</b> 4.63	<b>Infineon Tech</b> 2.04	<b>Legal &amp; General</b> 2.79
	<b>Arista Networks</b> 4.59	<b>Adidas</b> 1.60	<b>Smith &amp; Nephew</b> 2.74
<b>Downs</b>	<b>Boeing</b> -6.64	<b>A.p. Moller - Maersk B</b> -5.65	<b>Shell</b> -3.11
	<b>Baker Hughes</b> -4.23	<b>Saipem</b> -3.86	<b>Bp</b> -2.62
	<b>Schlumberger</b> -4.01	<b>Omv</b> -3.79	<b>Endeavour Mining</b> -2.35
	<b>Halliburton</b> -3.73	<b>Oci</b> -3.17	<b>Anglo American</b> -1.28
	<b>Marathon Oil</b> -3.30	<b>Casino Guichard</b> -3.13	<b>Glencore</b> -1.27

Prices taken at 17:00 GMT

Based on the constituents of the FTSE Eurofirst 300 Eurozone

All data provided by Morningstar unless otherwise noted.

Fixed income

China detains executive of Evergrande's EV unit ahead of restructuring hearing

EDWARD WHITE — SHANGHAI  
CHENG LENG AND GLORIA LI  
HONG KONG

China has detained an executive of Evergrande's electric vehicle unit, threatening to further complicate the outlook for the restructuring of the world's most indebted property group.

Liu Yongzhuo, an executive director of China Evergrande New Energy Vehicle Group, was detained yesterday over "suspicion of illegal crimes", the company said in a filing to the Hong Kong stock exchange.

The disclosure of Liu's detention comes as Evergrande is due to face a hearing in a Hong Kong court over demands from offshore bond holders to wind up the company on January 29.

In an earlier restructuring plan rebuffed by investors, Evergrande offered to issue new bonds and swap some of its offshore debt with stakes in its EV unit and Hong Kong-listed affiliate Evergrande Property Services Group.

That proposal was derailed in September when Evergrande said in an exchange filing that it could not issue the "new notes" required under the proposal because its business in China was being investigated by authorities over alleged breaching of disclosure rules.

The detention of the EV executive has added to Evergrande's challenges, said

'Creditors probably need to wait even longer if more key assets run into uncertainty'

analysts. The company's shares fell 9.6 per cent in trading yesterday.

"Such a move is somewhat expected but it still casts a shadow over the already slow restructuring process," said Gary Ng, a senior economist at investment bank Natixis. "Creditors probably need to wait even longer if more key assets run into uncertainty."

Liu joined Evergrande in 2003,

according to a company profile. Before joining the EV business, Liu worked across the Evergrande empire, including a spell in its real estate operations as well as its football team.

Evergrande did not immediately comment on the detention.

In September, the company said its chair, Hui Ka Yan, was placed under "mandatory measures" over illegal activities, a term that implies residential surveillance or detention by Chinese officials. Employees of Evergrande's wealth management subsidiary were also detained that month, police said.

No further details were disclosed about the allegations or the "measures" concerning Hui. Neither the company nor Chinese officials have provided an update on the health and personal security of the Evergrande founder.

Creditors are demanding more stakes in Evergrande itself and its units to compensate for their debt obligations.

Additional reporting by Chan Ho-him in Hong Kong

See Lex



WEALTH TECH AWARDS 2024

Entries are open

The PWM Wealth Tech Awards recognise the prominent role of technology in private banking.

The awards celebrate excellence in the use of technology to support advisers, enhance brand, improve client experience and ultimately drive growth.

Winners and highly commended will be announced at an exclusive ceremony on 2 May.

To find out more scan the QR code or visit: [wealthtechawards.pwmnet.com](http://wealthtechawards.pwmnet.com)



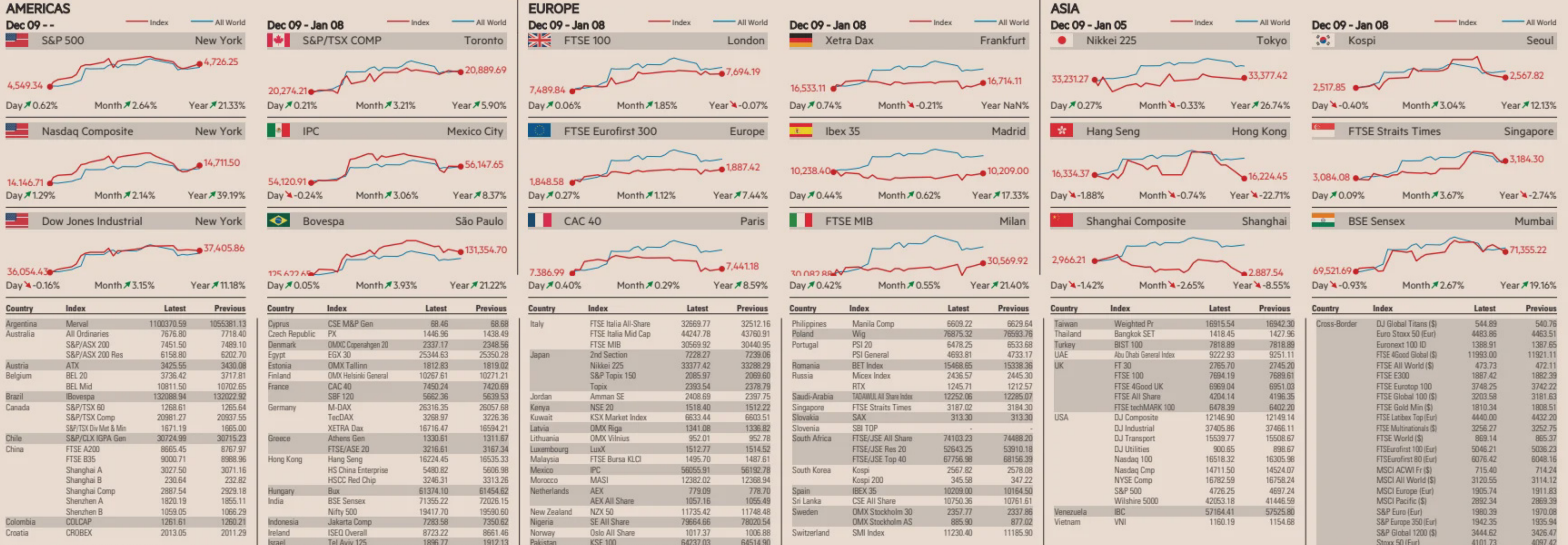
MARKET DATA

WORLD MARKETS AT A GLANCE

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



(c) Data (i) Unavailable. 1 Correction. \* Subject to official confirmation. For more index coverage please see www.ft.com/worldindices. A fuller version of this table is available on the fcom research data archive.

STOCK MARKET: BIGGEST MOVERS

Table with columns for AMERICA, LONDON, TOKYO, and ACTIVE STOCKS, listing stock names, prices, and percentage changes.

UK MARKET WINNERS AND LOSERS

Table with columns for FTSE 100, FTSE 250, FTSE SmallCap, and Industry Sectors, listing winners and losers with their respective price changes.

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FTSE Global Equity Series

Table showing FTSE Global Equity Series with columns for index name, closing price, and daily change.

Data provided by Morningstar

Data provided by Morningstar | www.morningstar.co.uk



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BONDS: INDEX-LINKED

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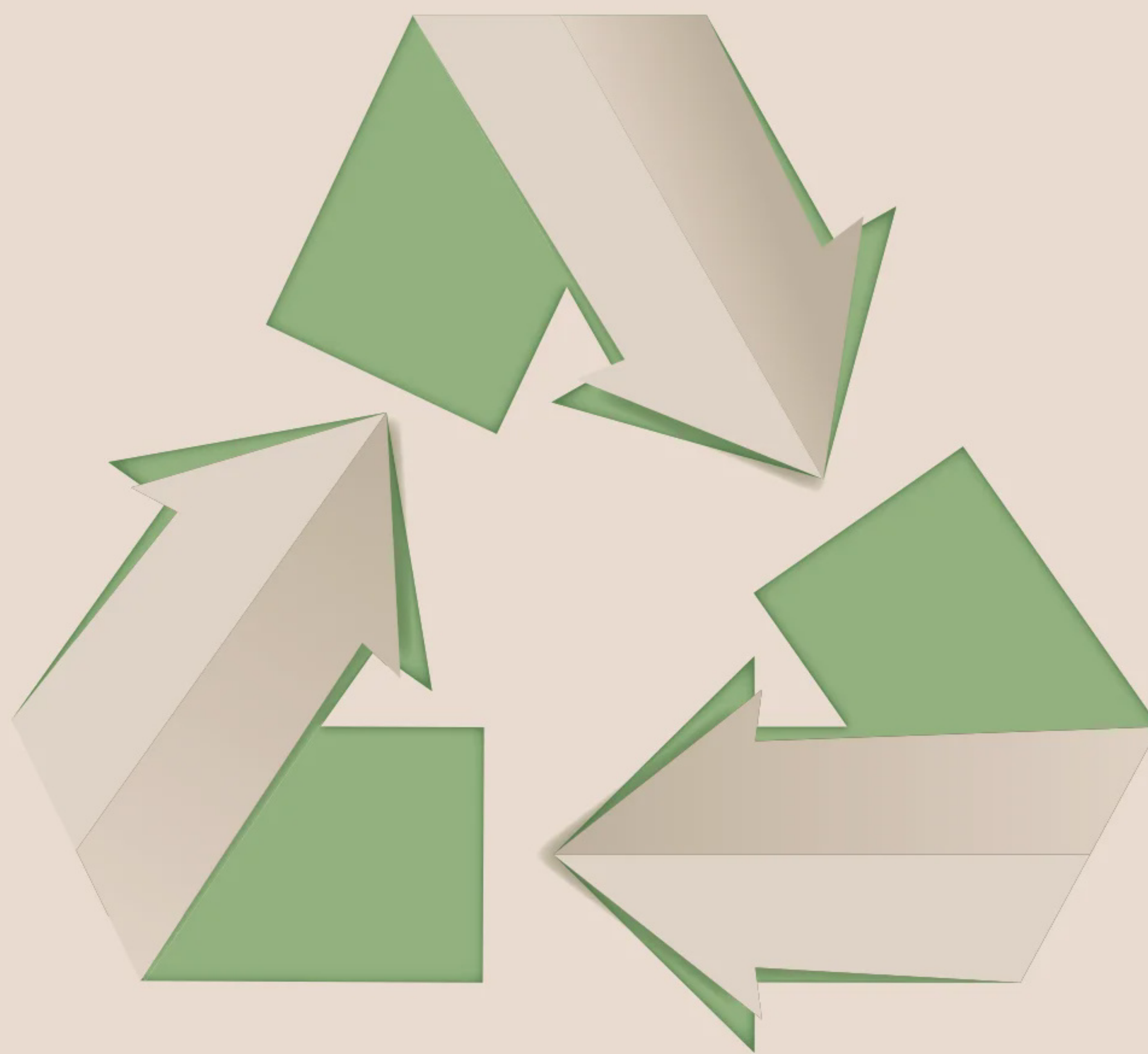
COMMODITIES

Table of commodity prices for Energy, Base Metals, Precious Metals, and Bulk Commodities.

Sources: FT, Bloomberg, Reuters, etc. unless otherwise stated.

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## ARTS



Fanny Däuper in "The Timeless Moment". Below left: pianist and dramaturge Alain Franco — Gianmarco Bresadola

## Ground-shaking tribute to a dub reggae pioneer

POP

### A Brief History of King Tubby

Jazz Café, London  
★★★★☆

Ian Gittins

They say the pioneers get the arrows and the settlers get the land, yet King Tubby was always lord of his musical terrain. The Jamaican sound engineer was a groundbreaking figure who, in the 1970s, invented and developed the hypnotic, mesmeric sub-genre of reggae known as dub.

Tubby, who was murdered in 1989, enjoys messianic status in his field, and one of his most fervent disciples is the Barbados-born, London-based reggae guitarist, bassist and producer Dennis Bovell. Himself a venerable figure, now 70, he has established a tribute evening at London's Jazz Café to his mercurial musical hero as an annual event.

Bovell divided the evening into two halves, the first of which appeared to celebrate himself more than Tubby. Singing over his own records, such as "Dub Master" and "Champion", he listed the artists he has produced and remixed: Radiohead, The Slits, The Pop Group. "I don't like to boast," he added, a little unconvincingly.

An avuncular, grey-bearded presence behind a pair of decks, Bovell introduced Nigerian saxophonist Bukky Leo, then a protégée, L Dot, an attitudinal teenage rapper. As she spat rhymes with two pals, Bovell proudly noted, "I've been watching them since they were doing that in year seven in my kitchen!"

These two cameos were pleasantly diverting, although it was difficult to discern exactly how they related to King Tubby. It was only after Bovell had growled his own

"Half Way to Za-Ion" and changed into bright orange Caribbean casualwear that he applied himself to lauding that seminal figure.

King Tubby's genius, half a century ago, was to turn the recording studio mixing desk into an instrument. He would take reggae tracks and utterly deconstruct them, removing vocals, accentuating bass and drum rhythms, and adding layers of echo, reverb and phased electronic effects to create a whole new entity.

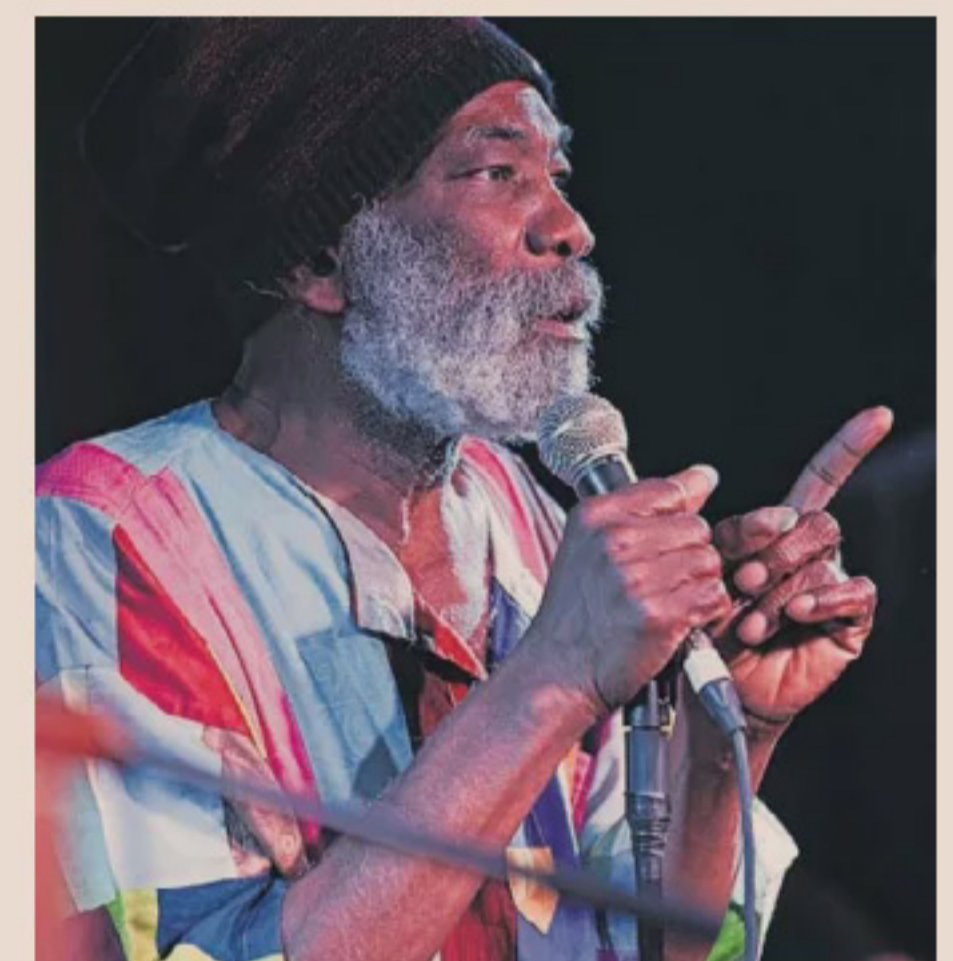
Bovell's tribute tonight was, in effect, to replicate this methodology on Tubby's own material. Crouched over a performance controller, he unleashed waves of juddering dub and ground-shaking bass over cavernous, febrile Tubby original tracks such as "Strength to Survive".

Tubby's radical reinventing and lengthening of existing songs saw him lauded as the inventor of the remix. Bovell acknowledged this by adding even more layers of echo to his hero's deep-dub reworkings of "Rainy Night in Georgia" and The Temptations' "Get Ready", the latter retitled "Get Ready for the Master Dub".

Bovell's fervent enthusiasm for this material was infectious. When he wasn't yelling "Tubby!" over the seismic beats, he was howling like a wolf. He went particularly spare for Tubby's reshaping of "Kingston Town", best known in the UK for its rather diluted, less essential 1989 cover by UB40.

Bovell closed with his own production of Bob Marley's hit "Sun Is Shining" by Tubby's contemporary, and fellow pioneering reggae producer, Lee "Scratch" Perry, who died in 2021. "Scratch is still here, just not in the flesh!" he opined, gravely. It was a distinctly quixotic evening; probably, exactly what King Tubby would have wanted.

[thejazzcafelondon.com](http://thejazzcafelondon.com)



Producer, bassist and guitarist Dennis Bovell devoted his show to the sound engineer King Tubby  
Dave Bennett/Getty

## Music flows as water ripples

MUSIC

### The Timeless Moment

Staatsoper Berlin  
★★★★☆

Shirley Apthorp

Audience members are offered silver balls as they enter the fog-filled gloom. How they use them is left to their own discretion, though any thoughts of Gwyneth Paltrow's jade objects are best repressed.

*The Timeless Moment* is billed as a



"scenic concert", explicitly devoid of narrative, more experience than performance. The Berlin Staatsoper has turned the Alter Orchesterprobensaal, its former orchestral rehearsal room, over to director Silvia Costa and dramaturge/pianist Alain Franco for an hour-long event featuring the keyboard works of Debussy and his spectralist successor Tristan Murail.

Franco has cleverly knitted the music of the two composers together into a continuous flow, which he performs first in virtual darkness, with the audience seated on cushions on the floor, — or, for those of us who could imagine

nothing worse, stools against the walls. His playing is accurate and thoughtful, if seldom truly magical.

As the light eventually rises, we see an arrangement of several circular basins, like inverted hand drums, filled with water. These are ingeniously wired to a sound system, so that the water ripples in ever-changing patterns in response to the music.

After some time, a girl dressed as a beekeeper enters, carrying a fishing net which she uses as a stick to tap her way through the set. This is Fanny Däuper, a local performer who has been blind since birth. She delivers a gentle, improvised performance in response to the music, hands fluttering, arms reaching, or stooping to fish a water-lily from a pond; she describes the pictures the music shows her, and, for one haunting moment, sings a sweet duet with the pianist during Debussy's "Clair de Lune". It feels both intriguing and disconcertingly voyeuristic. Do we have the right to spy on this child's inner world?

Some people's balls are, inevitably, dropped in the course of the evening, giving rise to quickly suppressed sniggers. When the final applause ends, some people roll them, like marbles, across the dark floor. *The Timeless Moment* feels more like a philosophical experiment than an act of music theatre. But perhaps it is none the worse for that.

To January 17, [staatsoper-berlin.de](http://staatsoper-berlin.de)

## Subtle sounds of a distinctive label

JAZZ

### ECM Series

Wigmore Hall, London  
★★★★☆

Mike Hobart

The first of the Wigmore Hall's occasional ECM Series of concerts twinned the swish and grind of free-form electronica with the resonant sonics of a trumpet and piano duo. The first delivered all-original work, the second reimagined covers, but both bore the textural subtleties, narrative twists and subdued rhythms of the ECM label's stamp.

The trio of drummer Michele Rabbia, guitarist Eivind Aarset and trombonist Gianluca Petrella, convening at the suggestion of ECM label boss Manfred Eicher, released the album *Lost River* in 2019. The seven tracks, conjured in the studio, wrapped the warmth of Petrella's trombone in wraithlike atmospherics and juxtaposed dystopian moods with a sense of optimism and calm.

Those freely improvised sonics became signposts for the trio's first-half set. Aarset's sustained synthesised guitar opened, pulsating behind Petrella's melancholic trombone. As on "Nimbus", the album's opening track, the trombonist's close control and mellow acoustics dovetailed neatly with the textural depth of Aarset's guitar. Drummer Petrella entered with a sustained hiss of cymbals, a departure from the script, and then a supple undertow of rhythm journeyed to pastures new.

As the piece unfolded, a sampled trombone breath supported a joyride of picked guitar, duets emerged and there were bursts of electronically doctored free-jazz abstraction. A second piece

started with Rabbia distorting short press-rolls, taps and scrapes into the sounds of drills, clangs and the disturbing dribbles of a dripping tap; a third found Aarset ruminating on an altered minor scale. But these were just the first steps of a three-way dialogue that conjured cinematic vistas and narrative twists that ranged from full-force electronica to the drummer's finger snap. The mesmerising "What Floats Beneath" was beautifully poised, and the finale steadily built in volume before fading to a whisper.

Trumpeter Avishai Cohen and pianist Yonathan Avishai have been playing music together for 35 years — "Since we were kids," as the trumpeter said. Here, their second-half set reproduced the intimacy of their 2019 duo album *Playing the Room*.

As on the album, the evening closed with Alexander Argov's magical waltz lullaby "Shir Eres", here played as the encore, and there was a wistful remake of Duke Ellington's "Azalea", from the album *Louis Armstrong & Duke Ellington*. But the rest of the set

referenced a new selection of covers. "April in Paris" was the opener, pulled this way and that; then the outline of Herbie Hancock's "Maiden Voyage", its melody ghosted until the final notes. An impromptu "Fever" introduced Lee Morgan's soul-jazz composition "Yama". The elegiac "Lashir Ze Kmo Lihot Yarden" ("To Sing Is Like to Be Jordan") combined moments of introspection and hints of the blues with the uplift of a country dance.

For the most part, Cohen tempered his advanced trumpet technique to dovetail with Avishai's stripped-down approach to piano accompaniment. High-note trills, pinched inflections and dazzling downward sloping runs came mid-solo to add spice while maintaining the mood of the set. Bob Marley's "No Woman, No Cry" was the highlight of this always engaging set. Introduced by a single offbeat piano note, the melody, played in unison, sat sensuously behind the beat, before Cohen channelled the emotional purity of the blues.

[wigmore-hall.org.uk](http://wigmore-hall.org.uk)



Yonathan Avishai, left, and Avishai Cohen at the Wigmore Hall — Wigmore Hall Trust

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FT BIG READ. SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Spending by NHS trusts on private out-of-area beds for people with mental illness is at record levels in England. The practice can harm patients and burdens a health service already under financial strain.

By Anna Gross and Amy Borrett

# The costly outsourcing of mental health

In the worst of her mania, Isobel Hallett planned to put her magical powers to use by jumping off the local viaduct and flying over the town of Knaresborough in Yorkshire. “People telling me, ‘You can’t fly’ just made me cross,” Hallett says of her first fully manic episode in May 2022. She was subsequently diagnosed with bipolar disorder after 14 years of struggling with severe bouts of depression.

Hallett, who is 30, was admitted to the hospital a mile away from her home, where she waited for six days in a loud, crowded ward as doctors tried to find her a psychiatric bed.

She was eventually transported 200 miles away to a private hospital in Harrow, near London, run by the company Cygnet Health Care. Her fiancé at the time could not afford to make regular trips to visit her. When her manic episode subsided and depression set in the loneliness became intolerable.

After a month, she discharged herself. “If I’d been closer to home where I could see my fiancé, see the dog, see some friends, it would have made a big difference,” she says.

The NHS outsources mental health support to the private sector just as it does other procedures such as eye, hip and knee operations – part of a wider trend of the taxpayer-funded service supplementing meagre resources and staffing.

But unlike other segments of the public health sector, the 50 mental health trusts that provide services to patients across England tend to rely on private providers for specialised care that is often complex and expensive.

This outsourcing can be costly for the NHS trusts already facing severe financial strain. It can also have damaging effects on patients sent far away from their home and loved ones.

Spending on private “out of area” beds by NHS mental health trusts in England has reached record levels and is 43 per cent higher than it was five years ago, according to Financial Times calculations. Of 21 mental health trusts that responded to Freedom of Information requests with the data requested, 18 say they have increased spending on private beds considerably over the past five years as bed occupancy within the trusts reached some of the highest levels on record.

The responses also reveal that several trusts are increasingly discharging patients to bed and breakfasts and hotels amid cuts to community psychiatric services and pervasive local authority housing shortages.

Part of what is driving the trend is a rapid increase in demand for mental health services, which poses a problem not just for the health system but the wider economy.

Chancellor Jeremy Hunt vowed to tackle the problem in his Autumn Statement in November with a five-year carrot-and-stick plan to provide extra support and coaching to help nudge people into work, while tightening sanctions on benefit claimants who do not take up work placements.

But many in the sector feel this does not get to the heart of the problem – that more and more people are getting to crisis point because of underlying drivers of instability, such as financial insecurity, and are not being supported sufficiently in the early stages of mental ill health.

“The reason more people are getting really sick, and going off work as a result, is because they’re not getting the care they need early. It’s as simple as that,” says Dr Lade Smith, president of the Royal College of Psychiatrists (RCPsych). “They’re sick. They’re not pretend sick.”

Meanwhile, a landmark mental health bill – which had been five years in the making and is expected to alleviate pressure on trusts by reducing the number of people detained with psychiatric conditions – did not make the cut for the King’s Speech last year.

There is now only a vanishing chance the legislation will be passed before the election later this year, exacerbating fears that trusts will further buckle under the pressure of demand.

Close by the former coal-mining village of Rainworth in Nottinghamshire, builders are putting the finishing touches on a new multi-storey psychiatric ward owned by Cygnet Health Care. From this month, the site will start treating dozens of men with acute mental health conditions. A few miles away, Nottinghamshire



**A rise in health-related economic inactivity has cost the UK government an estimated £16bn more each year since the pandemic, largely due to mental health problems. Below right: Isobel Hallett was diagnosed with bipolar disorder after 14 years of struggling with severe bouts of depression**

FT montage/Dreamstime, Charlie Bibby/FT

Healthcare NHS Trust has been battling with bed capacity at over 95 per cent on its mental health wards for the past 12 months. RCPsych recommends bed occupancy does not breach 85 per cent.

Ifti Majid, the trust’s chief executive, says the “danger” of new private hospital openings is that “we’re not treating the condition, we’re treating the symptom, which is that we need more beds”. Nottinghamshire increased spending on private beds from £26,000 in 2014-15 to £14mn in 2022-23.

Majid believes the recent “tsunami” in demand for services is partly caused by increasing financial strain on individuals and growing insecurities about work and housing. There were an estimated 4.8mn new referrals to mental health services in England in 2022-23, 50 per cent higher than in 2017-18.

Majid calls the financial position of his trust “critical”. This is caused in part by the increasing outlay on private beds, which in the past year have become more expensive per day, he adds.

For several years, experts have called for an end to what the NHS calls “inappropriate” out-of-area placements, where a patient is sent far from their community to receive care. A review of mental health services in 2016 found that these placements tend to be more costly and harmful to patients than using local NHS services. A commitment was made to eradicate them in acute inpatient care by 2021.

But spending on such placements in England rose rapidly last year and is inching back towards record levels set in late 2019, according to FT analysis. By September last year, 95 per cent of all “inappropriate placement” days were at private providers rather than NHS trusts, up from 73 per cent in 2017.

In 2019, the government announced

that it would invest £2.3bn extra in mental health services per year by 2023-24 and it is on track to reach that goal this year. Smith describes the uptick in spending as “fantastic” but says inflation and soaring demand for services had simply “wiped it out”.

In the 1980s, a several decades-long drive to reduce the number of mental health beds in England began. Initially, it was coupled with an ambition to improve care in the community.

But while per person spending at NHS mental health trusts has risen in recent years, care provided by local authorities for community services has taken a financial hit. From 2018-19 to 2022-23, the local authority public health grant had a 6 per cent real-terms funding reduction, according to a recent report by MPs.

“The transition to community care has not happened in the way that it needed to happen,” Smith says. “We used to manage people so that it didn’t get so bad that by the time they came in again they were in crisis.”

Meanwhile, the need for inpatient care is soaring. In the second quarter of 2023-24, more than three-quarters of mental health trusts had bed occupancy above RCPsych’s recommended limit, up from 63 per cent six years ago. Northamptonshire reported average bed occupancy on mental health wards of 133 per cent between July and September last year.

This has led to a situation where many trusts are in desperate need of additional beds, often with precious little notice. At Northamptonshire, for example, spending on private beds increased from £1.8mn in 2019 to £3.6mn in the first eight months of last year, according to data provided via FOI. Average private bed prices fluctuated from £763 per day in 2020 to £2,000 in 2023.

At Central and North West London trust, spending on private beds increased by 46-fold between 2014 and 2022 from £147,000 to £6.8mn.

Central and North West London says it is reducing its use of private beds with the aim of ending their use entirely in 2024, and is investing in community services to act as a step-down from inpatient care. Northamptonshire did not respond to a request for comment.

Private providers are for the most part responding nimbly to deficits in the health service. Andy Bell, chief executive of the Centre for Mental Health, a research and campaigning organisation, says that while private providers across most of the NHS tend to do the “quick

stuff” in mental health they usually provide more specialised longer-duration services because this is where the public sector most severely lacks capacity.

“We spend a king’s ransom on complex and long-stay services, like forensic and locked rehab,” Bell says.

He claims this isn’t always justified clinically. Private providers, he says, “do have an inevitable business interest to keep people in those beds”.

A study of mental health rehabilitation by the Care Quality Commission, a health regulator, in 2020 found that stays in private beds tend to last almost double the duration of stays in the NHS.

Smith of RCPsych notes that the per day rate of private beds can be similar to NHS costs if they are bought in block contracts, but the urgent need for beds

‘We spend a king’s ransom on complex and long-stay services, like forensic and locked rehab’



‘If I’d been closer to home where I could see my fiancé, see the dog, see some friends, it would have made a big difference’

Equity in 2021, says it gets a “substantial portion” of its revenue from public bodies, but has seen a decline in revenues and profits since 2017. Elysium, which was purchased by Australian multinational Ramsay Health Care in 2022, has seen ebitda rise 50 per cent to £67mn, according to filings.

Cygnet, Elysium and the Priory each say they are proud partners to the NHS and are committed to providing the best outcomes to their patients. Cygnet says: “Our services provide intensive support to some of society’s most vulnerable people and those presenting with higher acuity, complex care needs.” The company says its investment “helps to fill the gaps in [NHS] provision”.

It adds that in many cases, the average length of stay at Cygnet services is less than in other settings, and it never refuses or delays the transfer of people to an equivalent NHS bed once one is available.

Priory says it does not delay discharge or retain patients in its service unnecessarily or seek to profit from extending the duration of admissions. The company says that average length of stay varies depending on specialism and because Priory offers a range of specialisms this could mean longer lengths of stay than in the NHS.

Elysium says its services are “delivered according to need and our preference is always to work in partnership”.

When patients are admitted to hospital for several weeks or months, they often lose their council accommodation. Due to a local housing crisis across swathes of England, trusts are often unable to find suitable replacements quickly. In order to vacate beds for new admissions, some trusts are increasingly discharging patients to hotels and bed and breakfasts.

South London and Maudsley (SLAM), the second-largest mental health trust in the UK, spent nearly £4mn discharging patients to hotels and B&Bs in 2022-23, up from £1.3mn the year before, according to data provided via FOI, and spent nearly £1.5mn between April and September of last year.

SLAM says it is seeing “extremely high levels of demand for mental health services across south London”, caused in part by the long-term impact of Covid-19, the cost of living crisis and a lack of local authority housing.

It notes that it is currently streamlining its admission and discharge processes and increasing the number of senior decision makers in liaison teams so that patients spend less time in emergency departments.

After checking herself out of the Harrow facility, Hallett was prescribed lithium in December 2022 and has not had any serious mental health episodes since. She says that after receiving community care she has had the support of a “wonderful therapist” whose assistance and kindness “saved my life”.

But Hallett says it took too long and was “too hard” to get the support of the mental health team. She was admitted to hospital multiple times in 2021 after trying to kill herself and was simply discharged home without support.

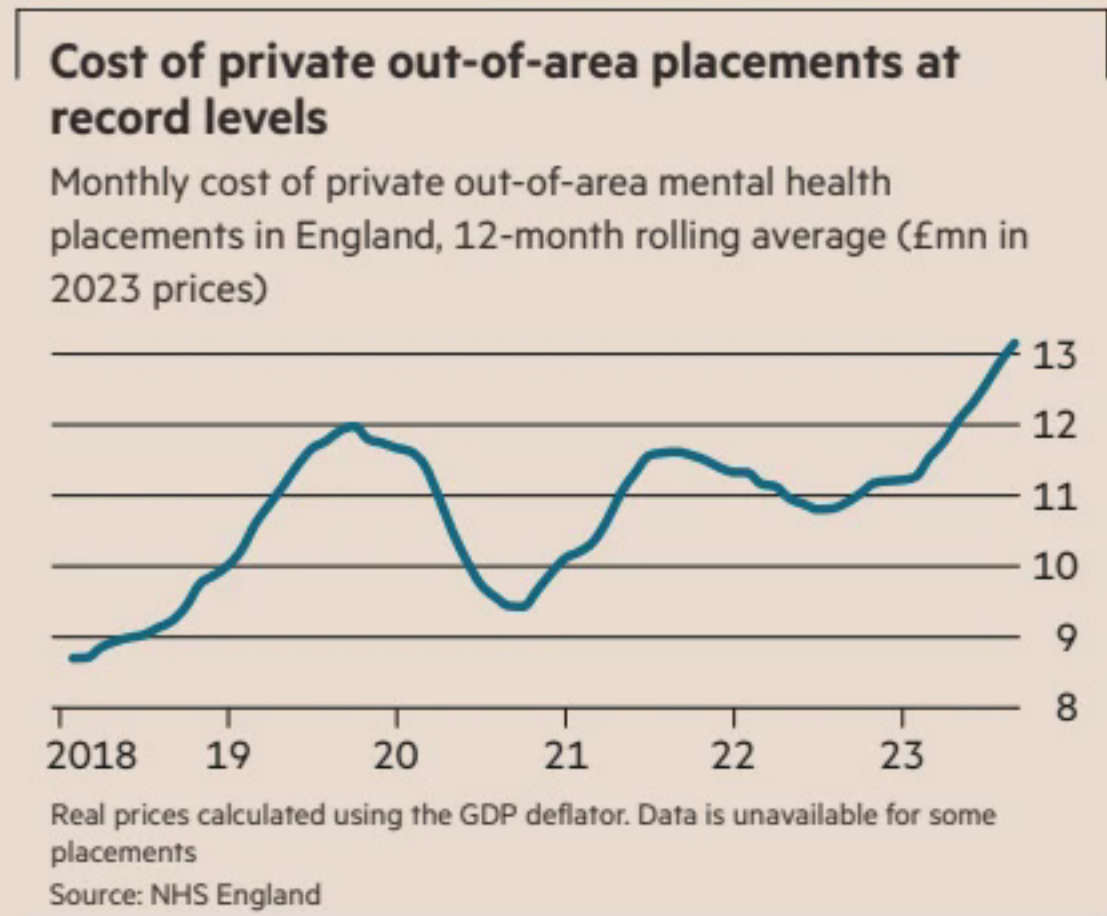
In light of cases like these, some medical professionals and politicians are clamouring for greater investment in community teams and services for young people. They are also eager to see the long-awaited mental health bill passed into law.

The legislation aims to reduce the strain on services by taking away the power to detain people with autism and learning disabilities, and by tightening the criteria for being sectioned.

The government says it is investing £1bn to March 2024, part of its £2.3bn mental health investment, in improving community services as well as establishing 24/7 urgent helplines across the country. It notes that the private sector plays a key role in delivering NHS-funded care, but says it remains committed to eliminating all inappropriate, acute out-of-area placements for adults and bringing forward the mental health bill when parliamentary time allows.

Many argue it is crucial that services are available to people at the very onset of their difficulties. “If you treat young people, they become adults who don’t have mental health problems,” says Smith. “If you don’t treat them, they become adults who have chronic, relapsing mental health problems.”

Anyone in the UK affected by the issues raised in this article can contact the Samaritans for free on 116123





## FINANCIAL TIMES

'Without fear and without favour'

ft.com/opinion

# How to put right a grave British miscarriage of justice

## Wrongful convictions of victims of the Post Office scandal must be overturned

The most talked-about holiday TV viewing in Britain was not a Hollywood blockbuster or a Netflix fantasy drama. It was a dramatisation of the real-life scandal of hundreds of sub-postmasters wrongly accused by the Post Office of theft and false accounting that were in fact the result of a faulty computer system. Many were jailed or ruined. Some convictions have been overturned, and a public inquiry is under way. Yet the TV drama has galvanised outrage and pressure to end delays in compensating victims. This is one of the UK's widest miscarriages of justice in recent years. It is a lesson for organisations everywhere, especially in the era of AI, in the perils of putting blind trust in technology.

Between 1999, when the Post Office introduced the Horizon IT system sup-

plied by Fujitsu, and 2015, more than 700 local sub-postmasters – who provide post office services often as part of wider businesses – were prosecuted for alleged shortfalls in accounts. For historical reasons, the Post Office can bring its own prosecutions, without the police, and sub-postmasters' contracts with the state-owned company made them liable for making good any losses. Lives were destroyed and reputations besmirched. At least four people took their own lives.

Only 93 convictions linked to the flawed IT system have been overturned. The first priority must be to quash the rest, to end victims' torment and enable them to apply for compensation that is now available. The case for "mass exoneration" is compelling. This might mean acquitting a few genuine wrongdoers among those convicted. But such people have already been punished, and this would be a small miscarriage of justice compared with the mass wrong against innocent victims.

One option is legislation in parliament

to declare an amnesty. This could be done quickly, and overcome some fearful victims' reluctance to pursue appeals. Some victims, however, want their names cleared by the same judicial system that found them guilty.

A preferable route, if ministers could be confident of a swift outcome, might be to group remaining cases into mass appeals to be fast-tracked by the courts. The government is considering removing the Post Office as a participant in appeals. An advisory board on compensation suggests the Post Office's mishandling of prosecutions was so egregious that it would constitute a "coherent ground" for overturning convictions.

Quashing convictions would speed up compensation payments. But others were not prosecuted yet still lost jobs and savings, and payments need to be accelerated. Some victims have died without being properly compensated.

A final priority is to secure accountability, via the public inquiry and a police investigation, for what went wrong. No

Lives were destroyed and reputations besmirched. At least four people took their own lives

executives of the Post Office or Fujitsu, which took control of the British computer company ICL in 1998, have been punished. Yet Post Office managers, including former chief executive Paula Vennells, continued to insist Horizon was "robust", and to allow sub-postmasters to be hounded, even as evidence to the contrary piled up.

It is surely time to strip the Post Office of its anachronistic right to bring private prosecutions. Police are now investigating potential "fraud offences" related to the Post Office's clawback of millions of pounds from sub-postmasters that was never actually missing. But that process could take years.

The human suffering caused by the Horizon scandal has dented citizens' belief that the courts and public authorities will protect them from abuse by those in authority. Speeding up action to provide redress is vital to rebuild that confidence – and to deter other organisations, public or private, from ever behaving in similar fashion again.

Email: letters.editor@ft.com

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## Opinion Technology

# Substack gave the wrong reply to its 'Nazi problem'

Ewan White



Stephen Bush

Substack is to email newsletters what Hoover is to vacuum cleaners in the UK and Colgate to toothpaste in Zambia: none of the companies involved created the original product, but they did so much to introduce it to a wider audience that their brands became synonymous with the whole enterprise.

That's not to belittle the significance of any of those companies. But it is to say that what often matters most about their fortunes is what it suggests about the future of their industries as a whole.

Today, Substack, which has enjoyed astonishing success since its foundation in 2017, is facing the biggest test of its young life.

The title of a recent article in The Atlantic tells you pretty much all you need to know about the challenge

Independent publishing, whether by post or email, has always been a home for extreme ideas

it confronts: "Substack has a Nazi problem". The piece, which appeared at the end of November, revealed the presence of unabashed Nazis and white supremacists on the platform. Some writers really are out on the political extremes – for example, one Substacker blogs about "markets and the Jewish question".

But for those of us who have been in the newsletter business somewhat longer than Substack has existed, this story is no surprise at all. One of my many hobby horses is that the newsletter business is not "new media" at all – email is more than half a century old, and the business of newsletters closely resembles that of independent zines and mail-order publications.

It's certainly true that original thinkers and enthusiastic hobbyists have used newsletters either to impart insight or share best practice – that's precisely what make them fun to read, whether on Substack or elsewhere. But the history of the newsletter business is also the history of cranks.

People complaining that Substack has brought the email newsletter to neo-Nazis have got the causality the wrong way round. Independent publishing, whether it's words sent by post or now via email, has always been where discredited and extreme ideas have found a home.

And that is not true just for ideas emanating from the political right, either. You can also find unapologetic Maoists on Substack. One piece I read talked about how the much-maligned Cultural Revolution still holds lessons for revolutionaries today – and I'm sorry to say that the lessons in question did not include "don't do it".

But for the newsletter business's newer – and more profitable – members, the presence of neo-Nazis on the platform means that they are either quitting Substack or making noises about doing so. Three newsletters I subscribe to have already switched to the rival Buttondown. More troublingly for Substack, Platformer, one of the largest publishers using the service, is also considering a move.

Substack's argument in response to the Atlantic article was a masterclass in how not to do it: the best way to defeat these ideas, it claimed, was through scrutiny. Frankly, if scrutiny was going to defeat neo-Nazis or the idea that the Cultural Revolution had some upsides, it would have done so already. The response allowed Substack's critics to draw an unfavourable contrast with how the platform deals with pornography and incitement to violence, both of which it bans, and its handling of extremist political content.

Substack would have been better off not claiming to be a publisher at all. The reality is that it hosts a number of publishers, but Substack itself is a service, a handy bit of infrastructure for sending newsletters. If Substack's recommendation engine was gradually pushing readers of earnest centre-right and centre-left newsletters towards neo-Nazi content or Maoist apologia, that would be one thing. But it doesn't: the company makes few editorial judgments beyond "is this obviously illegal and/or unacceptable to our payment providers?" There is no good reason why Substack should be making political judgments about how to use its space any more than, say, a postal service does.

If Substack were a European or British company, the matter would not even arise: both the European Convention's Article 11, on freedom of association, and even more explicitly the UK's 2010 Equality Act, place sharp limitations on the ability of businesses or states to discriminate on the grounds of politics.

Of course, there are other ways that British and European law is a colder home to free speech than the US. But as we contemplate the lessons from this Substack spat, one of them is that in an era in which more and more communication is facilitated by private providers, broad European-style protections for political views are a model worth copying.

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## Letters

# UK has a proven policy on energy saving in private rental sector

Leila Abboud's article "Landlords in a bind as France imposes tough green rules on properties" (Report, January 3) outlines a policy being introduced to ensure that tenants no longer have to live in energy expensive housing.

She cites a "policy expert" at the Paris-based OECD who maintains that because no other country in Europe had ever introduced a policy of requiring minimum energy efficiency standards for privately rented homes "everyone is looking at the French

example, to see how it plays out". No such crystal ball is needed.

Five years before the 2016 Brexit vote, the UK's coalition government introduced legislation requiring that, within seven years, no private landlord would be permitted in the UK to let out a property – residential or non residential – which incurred an energy performance gas-guzzling rating of F or G. Despite inevitable initial grumbling, the policy has now been implemented without much fuss for the past five

years. In 2020, the government went out to public consultation, stating that in 2025 the minimum standard would be increased, intending to outlaw the letting of D or E rated buildings.

Sadly, last October UK prime minister Rishi Sunak surprised everybody by putting that 2025 introduction date "on hold", as part of his controversial anti-net zero package. However, both main opposition parties have made plain their intention to retain the original timetable.

With buildings held responsible for almost half of all energy being consumed, the UK has created a proven policy to improve its usage in rented-out properties, the most intractable sector of the lot. Hopefully the OECD will even now be prepared to start looking across the Channel for empirical information to inform other governments.

**Andrew Warren**  
Chairman, British Energy Efficiency Federation, Cambridge, UK

## Don't underestimate the dangers of space economy

Peggy Hollinger raises valid concerns about how the new space economy is evolving ("New star wars over satellite space push participants to take sides", Inside Business, January 4).

She is right to stress the importance of "equitable access to spectrum and orbits".

We must not underestimate the dangers of the commercial space age. Humanity has become over-dependent on space-based assets for our daily needs, including critical infrastructure such as the internet, navigation and weather prediction.

This growing dependence means that any disruption of space orbits will disrupt vital activities on Earth for all, because terrestrial and space security are interlinked.

The exponential growth of disruptive space debris and the militarisation of outer space also merit serious concern.

As outer space becomes more congested and contested, we need to find equitable and sustainable ways to reconcile national and commercial interests with global and planetary interests. As a global commons, if outer



space becomes critically unsafe, it will not be selectively unsafe, but unsafe for everyone.

**Professor Nayef Al-Rodhan**  
Head of the Geopolitics & Global Futures Department, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Geneva, Switzerland  
Member, Global Future Council on Complex Risks, World Economic Forum

## Liberals need to show good grace of conservative rivals

Alec Russell's Big Read could easily be summarised as "democracy is wonderful as long as it comes up with the right answer" ("Can democracy survive 2024?" January 4).

We use the term "liberal democracy" as if the two words are joined at the hip – but is a democracy any less democratic if it is not liberal? After all, Russell says that Hungary's elections were "genuinely free and fair".

Since the second world war the liberal agenda (which to be clear I support completely) has pushed forward remorselessly, and on the whole conservatives have accepted with pretty good grace their own deeply held convictions being sidelined. Why are we liberals surprised that the worm may have turned?

Perhaps it is time for us to wonder, with a degree of humility, how we can build a cohesive society that accommodates fellow citizens who have an equal stake in a just and prosperous future, but have different values.

**Robin Cooke-Hurle**  
London SW11, UK

## How funds perform is also worth reporting, surely?

Your article "T Rowe Price chief says worst of outflows is over after poor performance" (Report, December 30) extends over five columns, but nowhere in the article does it say what the performance of the funds (or some of them) actually was.

This is not peculiar to this case: such articles on fund managers in the FT concentrate mainly on how much they are earning and how much the total of funds under management has gone up or down, but tend to omit the equally relevant information on how these funds are actually being managed. Surely the latter is of equal relevance?

**ER Yescombe**  
YCL Consulting, London N10, UK

## Corrections

- Microsoft has a multibillion-dollar investment in OpenAI, rather than owning the company as incorrectly stated in a column on January 8.
- Guinea is bordered by Mali, not Burkina Faso as incorrectly illustrated on a map in an article on January 8.

## OUTLOOK

### CHICAGO

# The migrants who are pawns in the politics of US immigration



by Patti Waldmeir

Luis, 28, and his wife, Maria, 26, squat among the patchwork of air mattresses, sleeping bags and blankets that they call home, in a disused part of Chicago's O'Hare International Airport. Nearby, a young friend slurps instant noodles from a bowl, his Christmas Eve dinner. Another pulls a knitted cap low over his brow and plays on a cell phone.

For months, these Latin American migrants have been sleeping, eating and trying to build their own American dream on this bit of linoleum, which they currently share with 245 others; they are pawns in a battle that has upended the politics of immigration in the US, at the start of a critical presidential election year.

Luis and Maria (names changed to protect them) are among nearly 30,000 migrants transported by Texas Republicans to the Democratic city of Chicago since August 2022 in a protest over lack of enforcement of the Mexican border. What began as a political stunt by Texas governor Greg Abbott to call the bluff of "sanctuary city" northern Democrats has almost overwhelmed cities such as New York and Chicago.

Eric Adams, the mayor of New York, has warned the influx could "destroy" his city. He and Chicago mayor Brandon Johnson have appealed for urgent federal help to deal with the crisis. At one point last autumn, Chicago had more than 3,000 migrants living inside and outside police stations because shelters were

full. Johnson wanted to build a tent city for them, but had to abandon the plan after an environmental study showed toxic chemicals in the soil.

With budgets under strain, and long-term residents complaining that migrants are being prioritised for funds over them, Chicago imposed stricter rules on bus operators to try to staunch the flow of people. But Abbott simply diverted buses to the suburbs. Suburban Chicago governments passed ordinances to push back, but Texas was also chartering planes. Abbott has declared victory, saying Democrats such as Johnson "should be embarrassed because it is utter hypocrisy... They say, 'Oh, bring us your migrants'... We sent them migrants and now they're complaining about it."

Luis is caught in the middle – but he's not complaining. It took him two months to travel, mostly by foot and bus, from his Venezuela home through the treacherous Darién Gap jungle, to Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras and Guatemala and across the Mexican border into Texas – where he was detained and then shipped north via Florida.

At O'Hare, he tells me, "there is food, we don't have to pay rent". He says his biggest problem is getting a work permit. Because of the political and economic turmoil in their country, Venezuelans can apply for expedited work permits if they arrived in the US before July 31. He did not. There is also a longer path to working papers, but only if

Venezuelans apply for humanitarian parole before entering the US, says Eréndira Rendón, vice-president of immigrant justice at The Resurrection Project, a Chicago community group that helps migrants get work permits. Luis did not.

Instead he is working illegally for a delivery company that pays him only \$80 for a 12-hour day, and trying to get a lawyer to take his case. He's not alone, says Nan Warsaw, founder and president of Refugee Community Connection, a volunteer group that helps new Chicago migrants. She says about two-thirds of her clients without permits are working.

"A lot will end up in the general undocumented community," says Rendón. With that in prospect, does Luis wish he'd never come? He shrugs, gesturing at the dentures he wears to replace the teeth that he says were knocked out by Venezuelan police: "I can't go back."

Warsaw says many of her clients feel the same: "Life is harder here than they expected but easier than where they came from... I think most will settle here and many will thrive, and things will be much easier for the second generation." She adds: "It's that old immigrant story."

Maybe that's true, but it's a strange way to run an immigration policy: and with the presidential election kicking into high gear, things could well get stranger before they get better.

The writer is a contributing columnist, based in Chicago

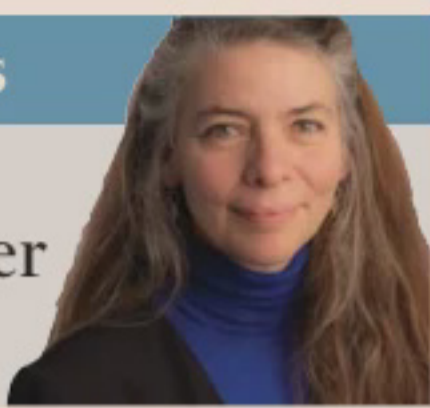


## Opinion

## Troubled Boeing's mid-flight drama is another severe blow

## BUSINESS

Peggy Hollinger



On Friday, passengers on Alaska Airlines flight 1282 were subjected to the terrifying ordeal of watching a piece of the 737 Max 9 aircraft they were on tear away, leaving a gaping hole in its place. It turns out that a panel covering an unused emergency exit had fallen away while the aircraft was flying at about 16,000 feet. Amazingly, no one was sitting beside that door, so there were no casualties. But a child nearby is reported to have had his shirt sucked off as the aircraft lost pressure. It could have been much worse.

The exact cause of the accident is not likely to be known before safety inspectors complete their investigation. But whether they find this is the fault of a supplier, Boeing or neither, it is a severe

blow to the US aerospace and defence company's reputation at a time when it appears to be staggering from one incident to another. This raises questions over whether the company has really overcome the quality and production issues revealed after the fatal crashes of the 737 Max 8 in 2018 and 2019.

Last April, Boeing announced its supplier, and former subsidiary, Spirit AeroSystems, had improperly installed two fittings on the fuselage of certain models of the 737 Max, delaying deliveries. In August, it revealed that Spirit had incorrectly drilled holes in the rear of the aircraft fuselages, incurring further delays. And in December it asked inspectors to look for loose bolts that might be rattling around rudder control systems.

At the same time Boeing was asking the US Federal Aviation Administration to exempt its newest 737 variant, the smallest Max 7, from certain safety standards on anti-icing systems until May 2026 to allow it to begin delivery. Boeing insists the fix will be installed across the fleet. But even if this is not a critical safety issue, it is not a good look for a company with Boeing's recent his-

tory to be asking for exemptions to safety criteria so it can rush an aircraft out the factory doors.

Many in the industry believe an exaggerated focus on financials and shareholder returns at the expense of engineering expertise led to the Max 8 disaster. Chief executive David Calhoun was part of the team that led that strategy, as a board director since 2009. He has been

**On almost all its products the aircraft maker has faced delays, cost overruns and production issues**

paid \$65mn in total compensation and incentives since he took charge in 2020, promising to stabilise the company, return the Max to flight, improve the engineering culture and win back investor and customer confidence.

On the plus side, the Max has been recertified. And before Friday's incident on an aircraft made on Calhoun's watch, Boeing's shares even seemed to be

advancing on hopes of improving deliveries — though they were still trading below where they were when he took over. Yet it is difficult to see what else has been achieved in four years, while rival Airbus powers ahead. On almost all of its products — in both the civil and defence sides of the business — Boeing has encountered delays, cost overruns and production issues.

Meanwhile, many of the decisions taken suggest that the culture at the top has not changed to the degree needed. Calhoun has refused to consider investing any time soon in a new aircraft to take on Airbus's popular A321. He also seems to have signalled a preference for lobbying over engineering by moving headquarters to Arlington, Virginia, close to Washington DC and the Pentagon. More recently he abolished Boeing's corporate strategy function, leaving it instead to individual divisions. As Richard Aboulafia of AeroDynamic Advisory points out: "A strategy department allocates scarce capital amongst the demands of competing business units (who always want more than their fair share)". And resources are indeed

scarce, with Nick Cunningham of Agency Partners estimating net debt of \$38.9bn.

Finally the recent appointment of Stephanie Pope, former head of Boeing Global Services, as COO brought speculation that the 66-year-old Calhoun is preparing his succession. Most of Pope's career, however, has been as a financial officer. What the company really needs now is not another leader who may be focused on cost-cutting but one with the gumption to take a risk on a new future for Boeing.

This will require a deep understanding of and commitment to the complex high value added manufacturing business that it is, internally and across the supply chain — crucial to any culture focused on safety. It also needs a bold commercial strategy to engage engineers and claw back share from Airbus. Because even if these recent incidents are eventually blamed on suppliers, passengers won't care. If the safety of Boeing's aircraft is in question, Boeing, and ultimately its CEO, will carry the can.

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## The EU's new fiscal rules are not fit for purpose

Luis Garicano

The reform of the EU's fiscal rules agreed in December ignores the fundamental fiscal and political realities of member states. For this reason, the new rules will not work.

The deal struck last month, which still has to be partially negotiated by the European parliament, maintains the Maastricht treaty's 60 per cent debt and 3 per cent deficit ceilings, but significantly alters the Stability and Growth Pact which implements them.

The key novelty is the introduction of country-specific spending plans, based on a debt sustainability analysis by the European Commission and negotiated bilaterally with each member state. In addition, the rules include two key safeguards: a debt sustainability safeguard ensuring debt reduction over the adjustment period, and a "deficit resilience safeguard" mandating fiscal adjustments beyond the 3 per cent treaty limit to a margin of 1.5 per cent of gross domestic product.

Economically, these rules represent a commendable effort to adapt spending paths to the conditions in which individual states find themselves, and to focus on net growth in expenditure and a debt anchor based on sustainability analysis. But they do not solve the problems that bedevilled previous iterations.

Member states have tried to reform the Stability and Growth Pact, introduced in 1997, several times before. These changes failed not because the proposed new rules were bad, but because there was nobody capable of monitoring and implementing them.

**Instead of yet more decrees, the bloc needs a central treasury able to raise levies and commit to spending**

This was clear as early as 2002, when the first breaches and attempted sanctions occurred.

The commission's initial proposal this time around, put forward in April 2023, included one element designed to improve buy-in (and hence compliance) by member states: a monitoring role for national independent fiscal institutions, which would have to assess the extent to which government plans complied with the agreed spending path. Unfortunately, this element was missing from the final package.

Without this, the new rules make the politics much worse. The reliance on bilateral negotiation between the commission and each member state is now explicit. And it is hard to imagine the former not yielding to pressure, particularly from large member states.

Additionally, the seven-year implementation horizons stipulated in the new rules extend beyond typical political cycles. It is unlikely, for instance, that the commission would force a government elected with different priorities in the middle of the seven-year cycle to implement policies agreed by its predecessor. The framework is also vulnerable to manipulation through creative accounting and over-optimistic growth assessments.

A good example of the commission's inability to prevail in bilateral negotiations is the failure to implement reforms under the €750bn NextGen EU bond issuance plans. On this occasion, Brussels had a stick with which to threaten non-complying countries. Yet as economists Tito Boeri and Roberto Perotti note in a new book on Italy's plan: "Almost all these reforms were, already on paper, less 'epochal' than successive governments wanted us to believe; in addition, their implementation has been in some cases disappointing, in others a total failure."

The EU is running out of space for creative accounting. Instead of yet more rules, it needs a central treasury able to raise taxes and commit spending on Europe-wide public goods, including defence, innovation and climate change mitigation. Until the EU (or a subset of countries) can do that, the bloc will continue to find itself vulnerable to external shocks, full of unrealised potential but lacking in the purpose and direction needed to succeed in an increasingly complex and hostile world.

The writer is a professor of public policy at the LSE, a senior non-resident fellow at Bruegel and a former member of the European parliament

## Why I still believe in America

## US POLITICS

Gideon Rachman



My belief that America is a force for good in the world has led me, over the years, into some bitter arguments — even in Britain, which counts itself as America's closest ally. Whether it was the Vietnam war, Ronald Reagan's arms build-up, the Iraq war or gun violence, America's passionate critics have always had plenty to point to.

My usual response is that, like every great power in history, America has done terrible things. But in the three great global confrontations of the last century — the first world war, the second world war and the cold war — the US was on the right side. In fact, America was the decisive factor in those conflicts, ensuring that the democratic world prevailed over autocracy or outright dictatorship.

That is why so much rides on my second form of belief in America — the belief that the US will come through in the end. For the past 80 years, America really has been the "leader of the free world" — both an example of democracy in action and as the protector of its fellow democracies, through a network of alliances with other free countries in Europe and Asia.

If democracy begins to crumble in America, liberal democracies all over the world will be in trouble. It is reassuring that the world's richest and most powerful country is a fellow democracy. In a second Trump term that sense of reassurance might disappear.

Many Trump supporters will respond that, if their man wins the election, his victory would be an example of



democracy in action, not of a slide into autocracy. But a Trump election victory could not scrub the record clean.

We know the character of the man. Trump is somebody who has already demonstrated that he has no respect for the most basic of democratic procedures — a free election. His promise of "retribution" also involves repeated threats to put his political enemies on trial, ranging from Biden himself to Mark Milley, the former head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Unlike the indictments against Trump, these would not be cases brought by independent prosecutors who have weighed the evidence. They would be political show-trials ordered by the country's leader. That is the hallmark of an autocracy.

So how do I keep believing in America

**The melodrama the country churns up — even Trump's — can be a sign of vitality as much as sickness**

under those circumstances? First, and most obviously, nothing is foretold. There are still many months to go before the election in November.

Second, America's period of greatness and global leadership has always involved turmoil and melodrama, from John F Kennedy's assassination in 1963 to the "war on terror" under George W Bush. In the end, the country always righted itself and its underlying dynamism and constitutional system reasserted themselves. So it seems unlikely that this latest melodrama — "America season nine", as some call it — will bring the series to a definitive and tragic conclusion.

The melodrama that America churns up — even the Trump melodrama — can be a sign of vitality as much as sickness. The US is a country with a rebellious, anti-establishment streak that allows it to shake things up and constantly reinvent itself. Voting for Trump is a sign that people are demanding fundamental change. And even if Trump is not the right answer, his emergence is a sign of that restlessness

and refusal to settle for the status quo. Trump's enduring popularity may even belatedly be prompting some necessary self-examination by the American elite. Biden's effort to put equality back at the centre of US economic policy is one example of that correction. So is the beginning of a backlash against "woke" thinking. As one Biden aide put it to me, in a moment of introspection: "We've realised that a lot of people are frightened of the American left."

Trump's "retribution" against the left could take the US off in some new and frightening directions. But I believe in America enough to think that it would take more than one more term of Trump to destroy American democracy. The US is not Hungary. It is a big, complex country with many different sources of power and wealth. Trump and his acolytes could not bring them all to heel, in just four years.

So you can still count me as somebody who "believes in America". Me and Amerigo Bonasera.

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## It's already time to think about an AI tax

## TECHNOLOGY

Marietje Schaake



After years of wrangling, a global minimum corporate tax rate of 15 per cent is finally in effect. These groundbreaking new rules were driven by the desire to prevent big companies, often in the tech sector, from flocking to tax havens or jurisdiction shopping. There are a host of public policy solutions that the anticipated \$220bn in annual collection can help address. But even though the ink on the treaty is barely dry, it is time to start talking about a new one: targeted at artificial intelligence companies.

Generative AI is already bringing a host of societal challenges. Global job losses are one expected effect. While the political debate remains focused on safety and security harms, studies

foresee deep disruptions to labour because of the technology. It was Elon Musk who raised the future of work on the margins of last year's AI safety summit. He casually mentioned, in a conversation with UK Prime Minister Rishi Sunak, that we must anticipate a society in which "no job is needed". The reverberations of that are unimaginable.

And it is not just tech mavericks like Musk who predict major disruption. A study by Goldman Sachs projects almost \$7tn of additional growth for the global economy over 10 years, while expecting that roughly two-thirds of US jobs will be at risk of being impacted by AI. McKinsey anticipates up to 30 per cent of worked hours in America will be affected by automation in the next six years. Twelve-million people will need "occupational transitions" in addition to those already facing obsolescence.

While consultants are optimistic that AI will "enhance" jobs rather than replace them, research by Resume-Builder found that more than a third of business leaders said AI had already replaced workers in 2023. There is no indication that the more sophisticated

versions of generative AI would lead to a slowdown in impact on employment.

Scenarios differ, but they all signal similar trends. Jobs will be displaced, and even if there may be an economic upside long-term, the transition will require public policy efforts. Governments need to zoom in on the specifics of their national economies and anticipate AI's impact, sector by sector.

On the corporate side, there are

**Without intervention, this revolution risks pushing the costs of mitigating its harms on to the public**

also unprecedented shifts taking place. Already, we see AI companies as a major component of the most highly valued corporations in the world. In the US, tech companies helped drive gross domestic product growth in 2023. At the same time, AI threatens to exacerbate the concentration of capital into the hands of even fewer companies.

"Over the past four decades, automation has raised productivity and multiplied corporate profits, but it has not led to shared prosperity in industrial countries," say Daron Acemoglu and Simon Johnson in a paper for the IMF. In other words, the benefits of automation are not shared automatically. (More research is needed into the specific effects on jobs across the global south.)

Without intervention, the next chapter of the technological revolution risks once again privatising profits while pushing the costs of mitigating its harms on to the public. Paying for welfare and reskilling laid-off workers are not just economic downsides: they signal the kinds of societal shifts that easily lead to political unrest. For generations, work has been the foundation not just of family income but also of people's routine and sense of purpose. Try imagining what you would do without your job.

To rebalance the cost-benefit impacts of AI in favour of society — as well as to make sure the necessary response is affordable at all — taxing AI companies is the only logical step. I had not anticipated starting 2024 by agreeing with

Bernie Sanders and Bill Gates, both of whom have proposed a tax on job-taking robots in the past, but here we are. An updated version of their plan, taking in generative AI's progress, is needed.

A debate resulting in global political consensus may take years and should start now. Agreement must be reached around the percentage of revenue or profit to be taxable and the purpose of the tax — should it be focused on mitigating job losses specifically or on addressing the multiple societal impacts of AI more broadly? And given that China and the US are both leading AI developers and have not yet implemented the minimum corporate tax rate rules domestically, incentives and enforcements will have to be effective.

It took years to get a minimum global corporate tax base in place. Considering the impending costs to society, a conversation about a targeted tax for billion-dollar AI companies cannot wait.

The writer is international policy director at Stanford University's Cyber Policy Center and special adviser to the European Commission

# Lex.

X: @FTLex

## Boeing: crisis management

So much for Boeing's comeback year. Five days into the new year, David Calhoun, head of the US aerospace group, finds himself returning to crisis management.

On Friday, an unused emergency-exit door, known as a door plug, flew off a Boeing 737 Max 9 plane operated by Alaska Airlines in mid-flight. US regulators immediately ordered 171 of the 217 Max 9 fleet grounded. Boeing shares dropped 7 per cent yesterday.

Under Calhoun, Boeing has tried to return a stalled 737 Max programme following a pair of fatal crashes five years ago. The Max resumed flight in late 2020 but the crisis blackened the company's reputation and cost it tens of billions of dollars in damages, government fines and lost orders.

Rival Airbus has since extended its lead in the lucrative market for single-aisle aircraft. Boeing's shares remain down 50 per cent from their pre-crisis peak. Saddled with about \$47bn in long term debt, it has not made a profit since 2018.

Friday's terrifying accident could cause much less damage to Boeing. Experts believe the blowout was the result of a manufacturing not a design error. Boeing will point to this as a one-off, rather than a fleet-wide issue.

The 737 Max is Boeing's top-selling product. The family of jetliners accounts for about three quarters of its commercial orders. Analysts at Melius reckon the fleet could bring in nearly

\$27bn in sales in 2024, about 28 per cent of forecast Boeing group sales.

Within this, the Max 9 – the only variant that allows for a plugged door – accounts for a small portion of 737 revenue. Of the 4,526 outstanding orders for 737 planes, only 103 – or 2 per cent – are for the Max 9.

Boeing will still have to compensate airlines for the grounding of the Max 9. United Airlines and Alaska operate the most, with about 144 planes between them. The compensation would cost Boeing about \$18mn, Jefferies says. Even the loss-making Boeing should manage this. It had expected to earn \$3bn-\$5bn in free cash flow in 2023.

Longer term, the incident must renew scrutiny over Boeing's safety and quality-control records. Deliveries of its twin-aisle 787 Dreamliner stalled after production flaws were found.

Then there is China. While Beijing has allowed Max aircraft delivered before the recent grounding to fly again inside China, new deliveries (and the associated cash flows) have remained on hold.

Boeing down time could last a while longer yet.

## Evergrande: EV woes

Chinese electric-vehicle makers appear to be taking over the world. The reality is more that BYD is powering ahead of a large number of sputtering domestic competitors.

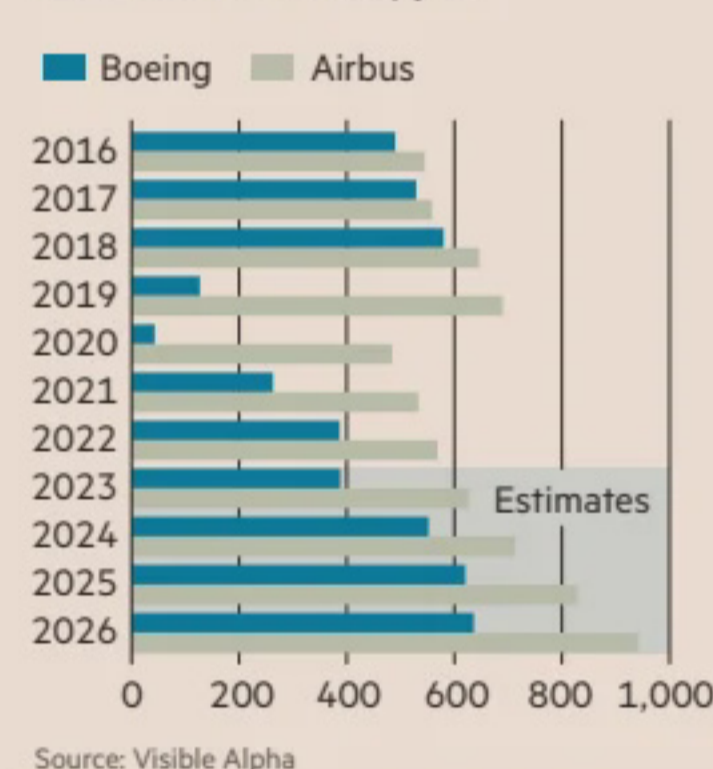
Take China Evergrande New Energy Vehicle Group. Its billionaire founder in 2019 pledged to overtake Tesla as the world's biggest electric-car maker in just five years. The big talk was backed up by plans to invest \$7bn.

Yesterday, it said its vice-chair, Liu Yongzhuo, had been detained and was under criminal investigation, adding to concerns about whether it would be able to find an investor to help inject funding. This month, plans lapsed for Dubai-based mobility product group NWTN to buy new shares of Evergrande NEV for about \$500mn.

The unit's troubles are more bad news for its struggling parent, China Evergrande, with more than \$300bn of debt: it had been regarded as one of the last-resort options to secure cash amid the property group's liquidity crunch. On its own, the EV unit's prospects

## Growing deliveries gap

Number of narrowbody jets



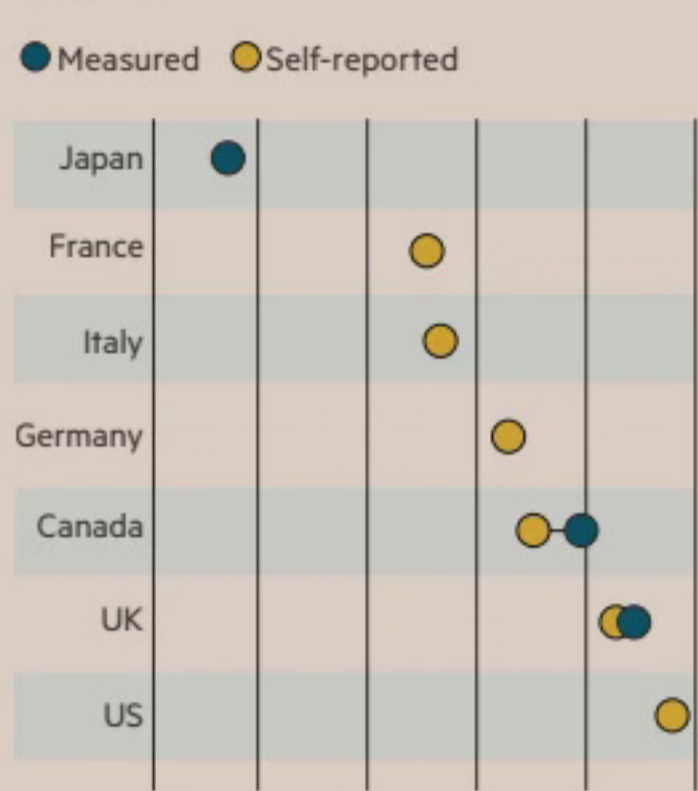
Source: Visible Alpha

## Obesity drugs: weighty matter

Obesity is increasingly prevalent. It affects more than one in eight adults, while some two in five are overweight. Analysts expect sales of weight-loss drugs to soar this decade. The success of the approach pioneered by Denmark's Novo Nordisk has doubled the market value of the business since 2022.

### Weight is a worldwide problem

% of population aged 15+ overweight or obese



Source: OECD

Weight-loss treatments are tipped to rake in \$80bn a year by 2030. Novo Nordisk and rival Eli Lilly have made the running; others are trying to find space. About a dozen companies are set to announce trial results for over 20 drugs this year. Most will struggle.

Challengers are largely following Novo and Eli Lilly in mimicking key hormones. Variations offer the chance to demonstrate fewer side-effects, easier methods of delivery, or other health benefits.

Take Zealand. It has a market value of \$3bn, less than 1 per cent of Novo. Its stock has doubled in 14 months. It is trialling Survodutide, developed with Boehringer Ingelheim, along with earlier-stage drug petrelintide. This mimics the amylin hormone, and may have fewer side-effects. If successful – a

look grim. It had ambitions of making 1mn cars by 2025 but, instead, last year sold about 900 units of the Hengchi 5, its only EV model on the market.

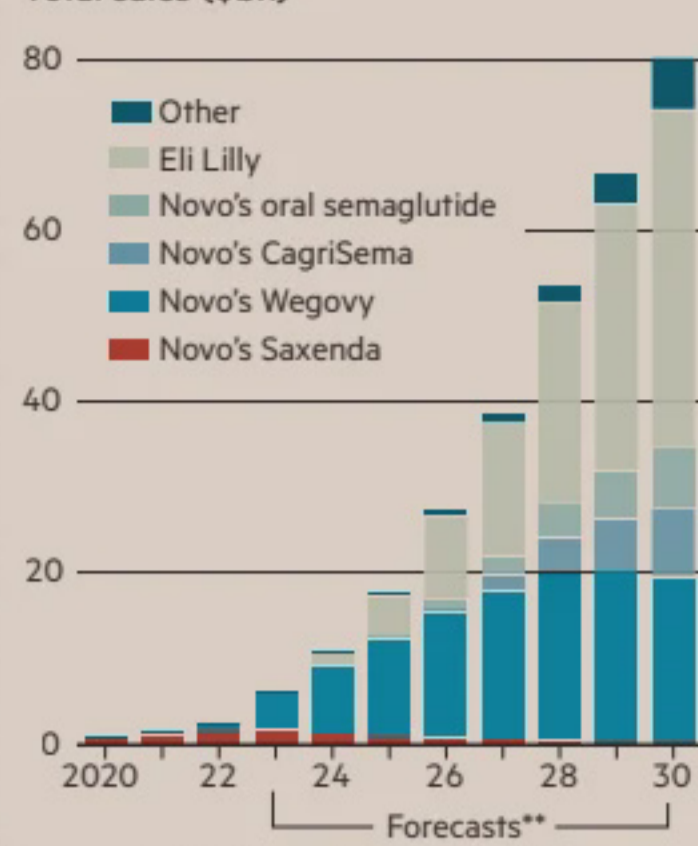
Its shares are down 99 per cent from the 2021 peak, in line with share falls of parent China Evergrande and unit Evergrande Property Services Group.

But the backdrop is that the success of BYD, which sold a record 526,000 battery-only cars in the last quarter of 2023, helping it to overtake Tesla globally, is squeezing local rivals just as much as the US and European auto names alarmed by these new upstarts.

True, combined sales by Chinese EV makers hit a fresh record last year. But there are about 100 EV makers in China. The vast majority, including

### Obesity drugs market

Total sales (\$bn)\*



\*Does not include figures for Ozempic, which was designed for diabetes \*\* Forecast only includes drugs with phase 2 data or later

Sources: Bloomberg Intelligence, company filings

one-in-five chance – it could have \$10bn peak sales, says Jefferies.

Carmot is working on GLP-1 and other analogues that promise to be relatively well tolerated. Roche recently agreed to buy the group for a sum of up to \$3bn. The plan is to combine its drugs with ones in the group's pipeline.

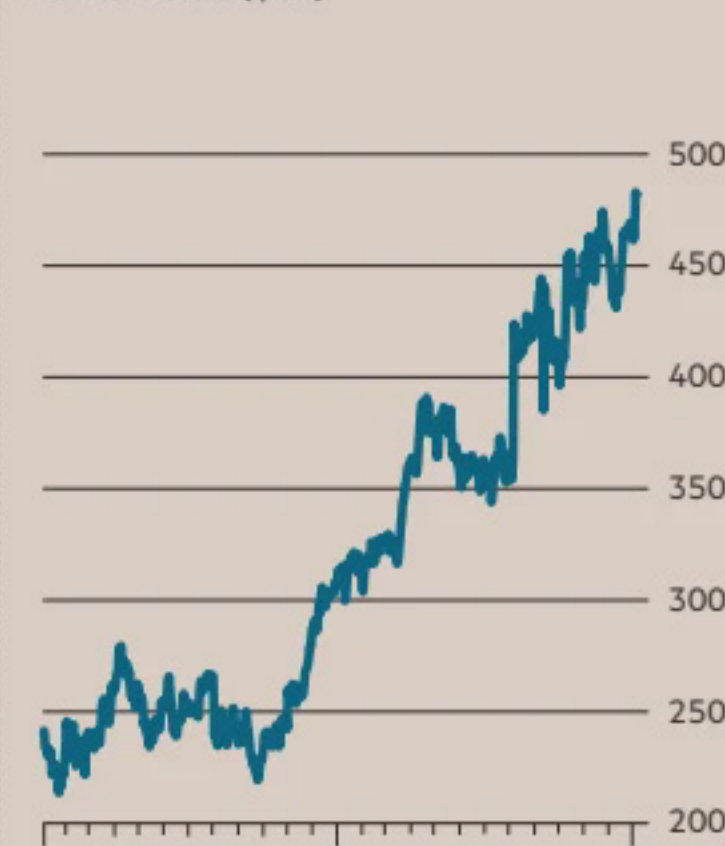
Improved delivery mechanisms are another differentiator. Amgen's therapy could require monthly, not weekly, injections. A pill formulation is attractive: in November, AstraZeneca struck a licensing deal with Ecogene for an oral once-a-day drug.

Many hopefuls will drop out. In December, Pfizer's shares fell after side-effects forced it to cancel its twice-daily weight-loss pill, although it is still pursuing a one-a-day version.

The question is how much ground

### Novo Nordisk

Market value (\$bn)



Source: LSEG

leaders are likely to cede. Pharma's first movers can often prove resilient.

Merck's Keytruda managed this in cancer therapy. The pioneers can use cash generated by blockbuster sales to extend their lead and stay abreast of new approaches.

This month Novo signed deals worth up to \$1bn with US biotechs, following several acquisitions last year. One involved Omega.

Their expertise is reflected in an enviable pipeline. Novo's next-generation CagriSema is biopharma's most valuable R&D project, with a net present value of \$30bn, according to Evaluate. Citi thinks that it and Eli Lilly will enjoy a structural duopoly well into the next decade.

Market size spurs competition. But most playing catch-up will fail to gain much heat.

## Shell: downstream weakness

Markets generally obsess over the direction of crude oil's price. Yet the black stuff's value really reveals itself only in the refining process. Few of us can do much with a barrel of crude.

But turn that into petrol or jet fuel and then we are really going places. Transport accounts for well over half of the consumption of oil. Refining helps produce industrial chemicals as well.

As such, the relative spread between refined-product prices and the value of crude oil inputs (refining margin) can indicate the health of global economic activity. The latest data point this week

wasn't exactly inspiring. Shell's trading update yesterday did not contain a vast amount to surprise energy market wonks, ahead of its full-year earnings in about three weeks. Demand has been sluggish for oil.

But the insights into its "downstream" divisions were more noteworthy: in its chemicals and (refined) products division, it expects another quarter in the red following a loss in the third quarter of \$329mn.

The oil group anticipates a refining margin of \$10 a barrel, a tenth lower than the consensus of analysts on Visible Alpha.

Shell thinks that its chemicals margin, a measure of profitability, will go up in the final quarter from the last period. The expectation of more losses, however, suggests that demand must remain subdued. Taken altogether, the outlook for Shell's downstream units hints that demand for refined products overall is weaker than expected.

It has also made noises about selling its Singapore refinery and chemical plants. The oil major now anticipates a writedown on these of up to \$2bn.

Sluggishness in refining at Shell chimes with what other oil groups are seeing. During October and November the amount of oil processed by refineries had slipped towards four-year seasonal lows, according to data from Rystad Energy. Even though airlines talked up the pick-up in passenger travel last year, in the last couple of months of 2023 jet-fuel demand tailed off significantly.

Weakening demand could coincide with a glut of downstream capacity coming online this year. Eighteen new refineries (or expansions) are set to start up in 2024, including Nigeria's very large 650,000 barrels a day Dangote refinery, points out Jefferies.

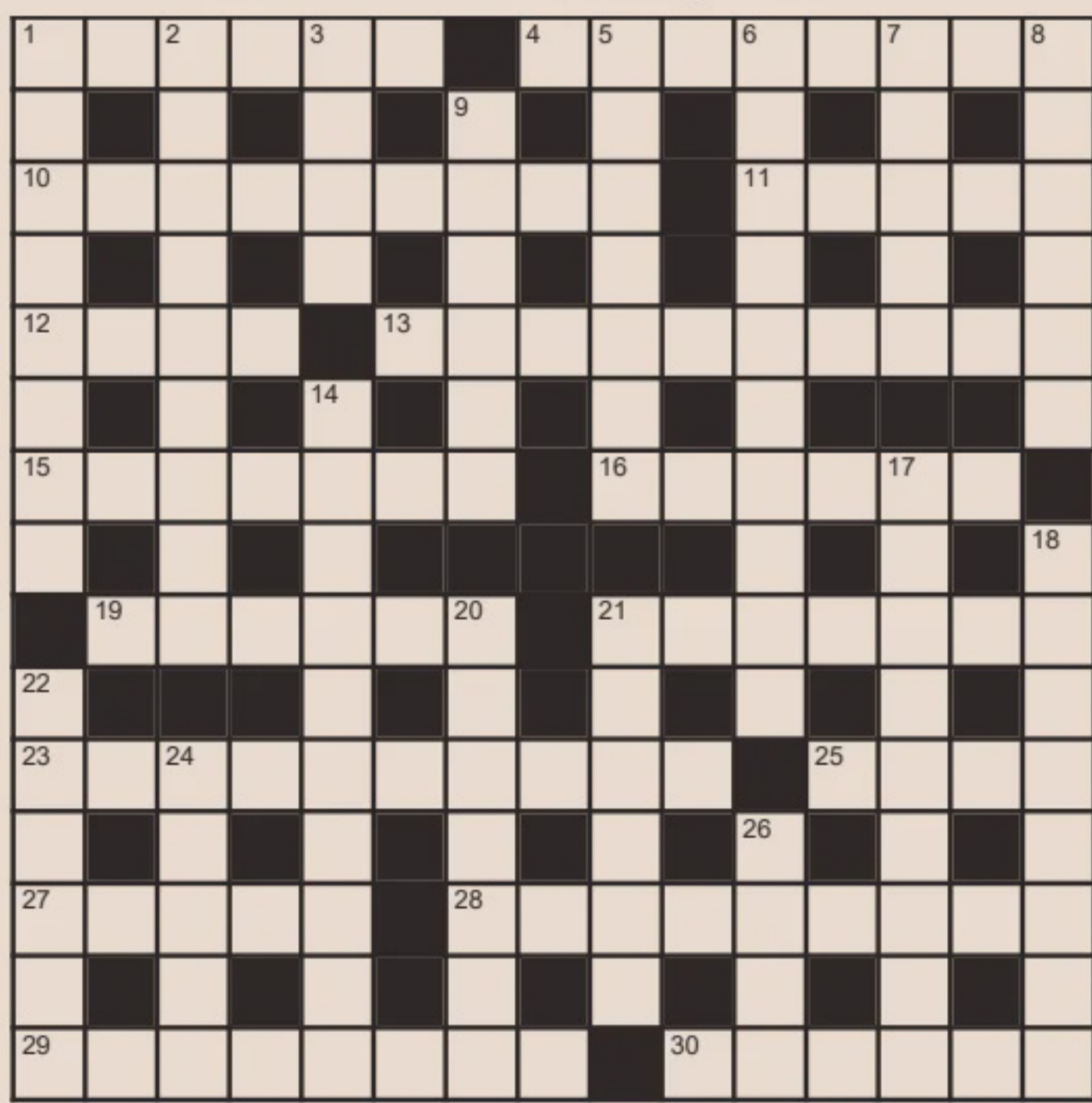
That pace of growth won't continue: even oil majors have limited appetite for new multi-decade assets, given the uncertainties over fossil-fuel demand. But refining businesses, which benefit from cheaper feedstock, usually act as a counterbalance to upstream production when the oil price dips.

Weakness there bodes ill for the integrated oil companies – and for the global economy.

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### ACROSS

- This writer's work, wicked, brought about complaint (6)
- Concerned about teacher following flutter occasionally (3,3,2)
- Day student embraced by selected attendant (9)
- Book with single belief regularly cited? (5)
- Pound, for example, fifth grade put in kitty (4)
- Stop and photograph, tracking bear (10)
- Footwear for sale all over the shop (7)
- Piece of cloth primarily scouring hands and face? (6)
- Complete run that's comparatively stifling (6)
- More work beginning to nag daydreamer (7)
- Studying firearms first in command found amid rubbish (10)
- Captain putting pressure on runner (4)
- On the counter section of deli, Victoria polished (5)
- Scholarly Greek count enters Israel excitedly (9)
- Temperature recorded in coastal reserve (3,5)
- In first half hour, Arsenal's fervent fans could be so (6)

### DOWN

- Assail post girl having wrong letters? (8)
- Ordered hat online without delay (2,3,4)
- Unemployed daughter captivated by Corsica, possibly (4)
- Adventurous chap's style of waltz endlessly supporting female (7)
- American soda's ordered in pub for VIP (10)
- Somewhere in Middle East, we're told you must purchase (5)
- Part of compass that one uses for trips? (6)
- A working group disturbing man's break (6)
- French location that might be linked with vice (harmful drugs) (10)
- Root perhaps with twist disfigured tree (9)
- Unharmful when in this jump-suit? (3-5)
- Macho behaviour by youth claiming new territory in Midlands (7)
- Religious sect welcome northern brat (6)
- Uber's first taxi to turn up in while, one reckons (6)
- Army man collects eggs, bluish-green (5)
- Oil wheels around bike event (4)

# Let's Go Further

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