



Is Berlin's defence promise too hard to keep?

BIG READ, PAGE 15

How AI will shake out asset management

MOHAMED EL-ERIAN, PAGE 11

Jakarta party Widodo ally claims victory

Prabowo Subianto celebrates with supporters in Jakarta after claiming victory in Indonesia's presidential election yesterday.

Projections by polling groups put the defence minister and former general on track to win 60 per cent of the vote and to succeed Joko Widodo as leader of south-east Asia's biggest economy. Prabowo had pledged to continue the policies of the popular incumbent.

"This is a very convincing win. [Widodo's] influence as a kingmaker in this election has been very consequential," said one analyst.

But the prospect of a Prabowo administration has raised concerns for Indonesia's young democracy because of his links to Widodo, whose son was Prabowo's running mate, and his alleged involvement in human rights abuses during his time in the army.

Report & analysis page 3



Kim Kyung-Hoon/Reuters

Briefing

Uber joins Silicon Valley rush to reward investors

The ride-hailing app has unveiled an inaugural \$7bn share buyback programme, days after reporting its first full-year of profit. Meta announced its debut dividend this month, while Airbnb added \$6bn to its buyback scheme. — PAGE 6

Russian warship sunk

A large landing ship with a crew of 90 has been destroyed off Alupka on Crimea's south coast, Ukraine's military has said, dealing another blow to the Kremlin's Black Sea navy. — REPORT & ANALYSIS, PAGE 2

Bezos sells \$4bn of shares

Amazon's billionaire founder Jeff Bezos has sold another \$2bn worth of the online retail giant's stock, bringing the total value of shares he has offloaded in the past week to \$4bn. — PAGE 6

LNG demand to rise 50%

Global liquefied natural gas demand is forecast to surge 50 per cent by 2040 as the world switches to cleaner fuel, energy major Shell has said in its latest annual LNG outlook. — PAGE 9

Biden berates Trump

The US president has rebuked his predecessor for saying he would encourage Russia to attack Nato allies that failed to reach their targets for defence spending. — PAGE 2, EDWARD LUCE, PAGE 17

Turbulent ride for Lyft

The ride-hailing company's shares have soared more than 60 per cent and then fallen back sharply after an error in its earnings release overstated the outlook for margin growth. — PAGE 10, LEX, PAGE 18

Splits in India opposition

A broad but fragile opposition coalition is breaking down over internal rivalries, defections and arrests, sapping the best chance of challenging Narendra Modi in this year's national elections. — PAGE 3

Issa brothers add to loans

Mohsin and Zuber Issa, billionaire British co-owners of supermarket Asda, have borrowed £71m more from their petrol station company EG Group to repay debt taken on to buy two private jets. — PAGE 8

Luxury cars held at US ports after VW discovers banned Chinese part

◆ Porsche, Bentley and Audi ◆ Thousands of vehicles seized ◆ Component breaches forced labour law

PETER CAMPBELL — LONDON
DIMITRI SEVASTOPOL — WASHINGTON
PATRICIA NILSSON — FRANKFURT

Thousands of Porsche, Bentley and Audi cars have been impounded in US ports after a supplier to parent group Volkswagen found a Chinese component in the vehicles that breached anti-forced labour laws.

According to two people with knowledge of the matter, the carmaker has delayed delivery of the vehicles until as late as the end of March as it replaces an electronic component found to have come from "western China".

The people stressed that VW was not aware of the origin of the part, which was sourced by an indirect supplier further down its supply chain, until the supplier alerted it to the issue.

They added that VW notified US authorities as soon as it was made aware of the part's origin.

US-China relations remain mired in their worst state since the countries established diplomatic ties in 1979. But Washington and Beijing have been trying to stabilise their relationship, with President Joe Biden meeting his Chinese counterpart Xi Jinping at a summit in San Francisco in November.

The US prohibits the import of products made with forced labour in the western Xinjiang region and other areas in China under the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act of 2021.

The people would not confirm whether or not the part in question was produced in Xinjiang itself. The issue affects about 1,000 Porsche sports cars and SUVs, several hundred Bentleys and several thousand Audis, say people briefed on the details. VW said it took "allegations of infringements of human rights very seriously, both within the company and in the supply chain", including "any allegations of forced labour".

"We will clarify the facts and then take appropriate steps. These may also include the termination of a supplier relationship if our investigations

confirm serious violations," it added. Questions of forced labour found within its Chinese supply chain are particularly sensitive for VW, which has come under mounting pressure from human rights groups and investors alike over a facility it jointly owns in Xinjiang's capital, Urumqi.

The German car company said it would discuss "the future direction of business" in Xinjiang with its Chinese joint venture partner SAIC, following the publication in German media of fresh allegations of forced labour. Chinese officials have defended work programmes in the region as helping employment but the US's human rights body has said China's actions might constitute "crimes against humanity". VW is balancing falling sales in China

with a desire to increase its presence in the US at a time of growing political tension between the two countries.

The delay to US deliveries came after the company discovered in mid-January that some luxury cars bound for North America contained a part that was not compliant with customs rules, two people with knowledge of the matter said.

A letter from VW to waiting customers blamed "a small electronic component that is a part of a larger control unit, which will be replaced". It did not specify the origin of the part.

The company has begun fixing cars, two people said. The backlog is unlikely to be cleared until at least next month. Additional reporting by Edward White in Shanghai

VW in Xinjiang talks page 8

Fantasy 'phenomenon' Maas breathes fire into Potter publisher Bloomsbury

DARIA MOSOLOVA — LONDON

The UK publisher that tapped into the magic of JK Rowling's *Harry Potter* series yesterday hailed another "publishing phenomenon", as sales of Sarah J. Maas's fantasy novels boosted profits.

Shares in Bloomsbury Publishing hit a record as it raised its profit outlook for the second time in three months on soaring demand for fantasy novels, led by those written by Maas, forecasting annual earnings "significantly ahead" of market expectations.

Bloomsbury said the consensus market expectation for the year ending February 29 was for revenue of about £229m, and for profit before tax and highlighted items to be £37.2m. The group will report results in May.

"Sarah J. Maas is a publishing phenomenon," said chief executive Nigel

Newton. "We are very fortunate to have signed her up with her first book 13 years ago."

Maas's most recent novel, *House of Flame and Shadow*, which was published last month, has topped the charts across the UK, US and Australia, while boosting demand for the previous 15 books in her series, the publisher said.

Bloomsbury said it had signed up the bestselling author for six more books, expecting her audience to grow further on the back of "word-of-mouth recommendations", particularly by TikTok and Instagram book bloggers.

BookTok — the TikTok content subgenre for book reviews — is shaping the publishing industry "more than you could imagine," said Newton.

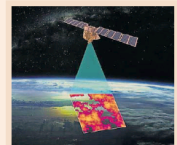
"It plays a huge role in the genres of publishing that its users are interested in," he said. "It is not driving sales of

thousand-page-long works of history but it's an absolute phenomenon in fiction."

The group, which also publishes Women's Prize for Fiction winner Susanna Clarke and popular comic book writer Alan Moore, said it was investing further into the fantasy genre, which has grown over more popular in recent years.

Bloomsbury's shares were up almost 9 per cent following the trading update, hitting a high of 535p. Their value has risen more than 130 per cent in the past five years.

Analysis at Investec said the business was "fundamentally undervalued", given the "resilient, near-constant growth [it] can deliver over time". They now expect profit before tax for the year to be 31 per cent higher, at £48.1m, with forecast revenue at £329.5m.



Eye in space to pinpoint hidden methane menace

Methane is blamed for almost a third of the emissions-induced rise in global temperatures since the industrial era began, with the oil and gas sector a chief source. An AI-equipped satellite for tracking methane leaks is now set for launch. Costing \$88m, and primed to detect invisible releases that other systems cannot, MethaneSAT will help to crack down on leaky infrastructure while chasing the goal of a 30 per cent cut in methane emissions by 2050. Satellite mission — PAGE 2

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World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS				
	Feb 14	Prev	%Chg	Pair	Feb 14	Prev	%Chg	Yield (%)	Feb 14	Prev	Chg	
S&P 500	4865.50	4863.17	0.25	\$/£	1.072	1.072	0/0	0.933	US 2 yr	4.56	4.61	-0.05
Nasdaq Composite	15718.02	15655.80	0.39	\$/¥	1.295	1.289	0.5	0.297	US 10 yr	4.26	4.27	-0.02
Dow Jones Ind	38552.18	38272.75	0.65	€/£	0.851	0.851	0/0	1.171	US 30 yr	4.44	4.44	0.00
FTSE 100	7588.40	7512.28	0.75	\$/HK\$	150.625	150.595	0/0	161.485	UK 2 yr	4.54	4.67	-0.13
FTSE 250	4769.48	4689.28	1.63	\$/INR	189.028	189.771	-0.39	82.804	UK 10 yr	4.22	4.32	-0.10
FTSE All-Share	4132.87	4104.81	0.68	\$/KRW	0.960	0.960	0/0	1.112	UK 30 yr	4.58	4.65	-0.08
CAC 40	7677.35	7625.31	0.68	\$/JPY					JPY 2 yr	0.14	0.12	0.01
DAX	16946.81	16880.83	0.38	\$/AUD					JPY 10 yr	0.76	0.72	0.03
Nikkei	37703.32	37963.97	-0.69	\$/NZD					JPY 30 yr	1.81	1.79	0.01
Hang Seng	15873.38	15746.58	0.84	\$/SGD					GER 2 yr	2.71	2.75	-0.04
MSCI World \$	3463.25	3401.01	1.74	\$/CHF					GER 10 yr	2.34	2.39	-0.05
MSCI EM \$	586.70	586.06	0.07	\$/SEK					GER 30 yr	2.91	2.98	-0.05
MSCI ACWI \$	739.58	747.88	-1.11	\$/NOK								
FT Worldw 2500	6367.87	6496.76	-1.51	\$/DKK								
FT Worldw 5000	4862.70	5000.00	-1.57	\$/PLN								



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INTERNATIONAL

Indonesians vote for continuity as Widodo ally set to win presidency

Prabowo vows to work for all amid fears over human rights and nation's hard-won democracy

A ANANTHA LAKSHMI — JAKARTA

Prabowo Subianto has won a decisive victory in Indonesia's presidential election, according to early projections by polling groups, putting the controversial former general on track to succeed Joko Widodo at the helm of south-east Asia's biggest economy.

The 72-year-old former special forces commander had pledged to maintain the policies of the hugely popular Widodo, known as Jokowi. He has over the past 10 years overhauled Indonesia's economy, putting it firmly on the radar of foreign investors and positioning it as an important player in the global energy transition.



Celebration: a supporter applauds Prabowo Subianto as he addresses a crowd in Jakarta yesterday after the polls closed

Prabowo, who is at present Indonesia's defence minister, won close to 60 per cent of the vote yesterday, according to sample ballot results — known as quick counts — released by multiple private pollsters, including Indikator Politik Indonesia and Lembaga Survei Indonesia. That was a stronger showing than pre-election polls that put his support closer to 50 per cent.

"This is a very convincing win. Jokowi's influence as a kingmaker in this election has been very consequential for Prabowo," said Kennedy Muslim, an analyst at Indikator Politik Indonesia.

Former Jakarta governor Anies Baswedan was second with about 25 per cent, followed by former Central Java governor Ganjar Pranowo with less than 20 per cent, according to the unofficial projections. The two defeated camps alleged fraud and violations in the election process.

Prabowo said he and his running mate, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, 36, were "grateful" for the quick count results predicting Prabowo's victory over Gibran and our coalition will embrace

all elements... We will lead, protect and defend all Indonesians regardless of ethnicities, religions, social backgrounds," he told thousands of supporters in a Jakarta stadium.

Prabowo is expected to avoid a runoff in June that would have been triggered if he had received less than half the vote. Quick counts have in the past been reliable and in line with official results, to be announced in March. The new president will take over in October.

The preliminary result capped a remarkable turnaround for Prabowo, who previously ran for president in 2014 and 2019 and has tried to soften his image by appealing to Indonesia's younger voters and campaigning heavily on social media. He also promised continuity with Widodo.

"Prabowo was propelled to victory by the unofficial but clear backing of the

popular Jokowi and a successful, social media-driven rebranding," said Peter Mumford, south-east Asia head at the consultancy Eurasia Group. "Prabowo's first-round victory removes the immediate political uncertainty."

The outgoing president spent heavily on infrastructure, pursued investor-friendly reforms and leveraged Indonesia's vast nickel reserves to build an electric-vehicle ecosystem, part of his ambition to transform Indonesia into a top-four global economy by 2045.

He is constitutionally barred from running for a third term but enjoys approval ratings of 80 per cent, a public mandate he lent to Prabowo's campaign.

"Jokowi has been very good for the economy and we should continue that. I would vote for him again if I could," said 27-year-old Muhammad, who declined to give his full name. "Prabowo has

promised to maintain [Widodo's] policies; that's why he is my choice."

But political analysts have warned that Prabowo could test Indonesia's hard-won democracy, which was established in 1998 after bloody unrest that unseated autocrat Suharto, his former father-in-law.

Prabowo was discharged from the military the same year after being accused of ordering the kidnapping of more than two dozen pro-democracy activists, many of whom are feared dead. He has denied the allegations.

Widodo has faced criticism from activists and allies for engineering the nomination of his son as Prabowo's running mate, drawing accusations that the outgoing president was trying to establish a political dynasty.

Additional reporting by Diana Marischa in Jakarta

Investment Nickel critical to Jakarta's reinvention of economy

A ANANTHA LAKSHMI — JAKARTA
ANDY LIN — HONG KONG

Over the past decade, Joko Widodo reinvented Indonesia's economy to make it one of the world's most attractive investment markets.

Indonesia's president, who took office in 2014, wielded the country's nickel deposits — the largest in the world — to upgrade a domestic mineral processing industry and bring in foreign investments, while shifting a long-standing current account deficit into surplus.

The transformation is not yet complete: the furniture maker turned politician has set an ambitious target for Indonesia to become one of the world's five biggest economies by 2045.

Under Widodo, who is popularly known as Jokowi, Indonesia's economy has grown about 5 per cent every year, except during the coronavirus pandemic years of 2020 and 2021.

While growth on average has been slower under Widodo's tenure than the previous decade — in part because of lower commodity prices — economists said the stability had bolstered investor and consumer confidence.

Gross domestic product per capita has also climbed and is approaching a sweet spot of \$5,000, which would bolster the middle class and trigger a wave of discretionary spending, said Henry Wibowo, head of Indonesia research and country strategist at JP Morgan. It is an important growth driver and it's going to create a lot of new sectors."

But some economists cautioned that Indonesia should be growing at a faster rate to meet its goals.

Chatib Basri, a former finance minister and a senior lecturer at the University of Indonesia, said the economy needed to expand at a rate of 6 to 7 per cent until 2050 to avoid getting stuck in the tiers of middle-income countries.

One critical driver of growth has been Indonesia's reserves of nickel, an important element of electric vehicle batteries. Widodo banned exports of nickel ore in 2019, part of a strategy to cultivate a domestic EV supply chain.

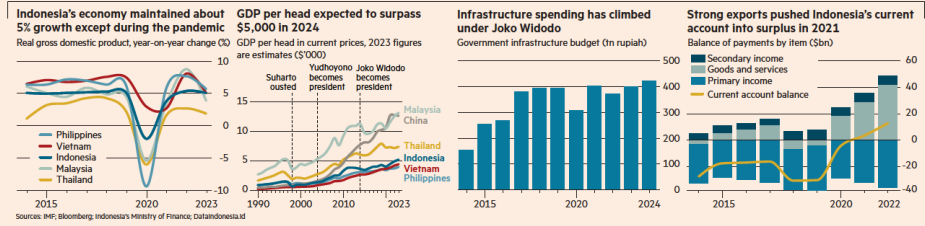
The move invigorated the metals and mining industry by forcing refiners and battery makers to set up shops.

Foreign direct investment has poured in, with companies such as Ford, Hyundai, Tsinghan Holdings and BYD committing billions of dollars.

In 2023, investment grew 3.7 per cent to hit a record \$47.3bn, after jumping 46.6 per cent in 2022. About a third of FDI, predominantly from China, went into the metals and mining industries.

Widodo's implementation of a job creation law has also fuelled investment, introducing reforms to cut red tape and opening up sectors previously closed to foreign funds.

His administration has spent more on infrastructure than predecessors, building roads, railways, dams and ports across the archipelago of 17,500 islands.



National polls

India opposition alliance fractures as support for Modi soars

JOHN REED AND JYOTSNA SINGH
NEW DELHI

India's best chance of challenging Narendra Modi is disintegrating months before national elections, as a broad but fragile opposition coalition breaks down over internal rivalries, defections and arrests and intimidation by law enforcement.

The alliance of centre-left and regional parties, unveiled last July under the banner of the Indian National Developmental Inclusive Alliance, or INDIA, presented itself as a unity front to prevent India's powerful prime minister and his majoritarian Hindu Bharatiya Janata party from coasting to a third term in power.

But seven months later, talks among INDIA's more than two dozen parties on seat-sharing — tactical agreements to avoid competing in some constituencies — have made little headway, while Modi has enjoyed a surge of support after he inaugurated a sprawling Hindu temple complex at Ayodhya in the north-east.

The opposition has also suffered the desertion of two critical figureheads. Mamata Banerjee, head of the All India Trinamool Congress, said last month that her party would independently field candidates, and Nitesh Kumar, the chief minister of Bihar, India's third most populous state, jumped ship to ally with the BJP.

Elsewhere, officials have been targeted by raids, arrests and corruption probes that the opposition says are politically motivated.

"The INDIA alliance is collapsing very

rapidly," said Neeraj Chowdhury, a political analyst and contributing editor with the Indian Express newspaper.

"The BJP have a formidable election machinery unlike any in the world, a popular leader who has been 10 years in power, and most importantly, they have a hunger for power."

India does not publish reliable opinion polls and its electoral commission has not set a date for the election, expected to take place in April and May.

But the weakened opposition appears to be heading for a third election loss to an emboldened BJP and its powerful leader, who has built a mass following on religious nationalism.

Modi last week told parliament that his party and its allies were aiming for 400 seats in the forthcoming election — a "supermajority" that would give the BJP a historic opportunity to shape Indian politics and life — and that the ruling party alone would target at least 370 seats, up from 290 now.

"The INDIA alliance is over, it's obliterated, it's finished," said Rajiv Pratap Rudy, the BJP's national spokesperson.

Rahul Gandhi, standard bearer for the Indian National Congress, the largest opposition group, has drawn crowds on a cross India walk, his second, suggesting the opposition is spent force.

But most analysts share the ruling party's prognosis. The BJP was "coming back to power", Chowdhury said, pointing to Modi's consecration last month of the Ram Mandir temple, built at Ayodhya on the site of a mosque that was razed in 1992, which was widely celebrated among India's majority Hindus.

Opposition figures argue that their travails are due to a repressive government bent on debilitating its political rivals, often with the use of the state's powerful enforcement agencies.

Several senior members of the Trinamool Congress have been summoned by police or subject to raids by the Enforcement Directorate, according to party officials. The Aam Aadmi party, which controls governments in Delhi's national capital region and the northern Punjab state, is also in disarray, its leaders jailed over accusations of receiving kickbacks and offering special favours to companies awarded lucrative liquor licences, which they deny.

Arvind Kejriwal, the AAP's head, said this week that the party planned to contest all 13 of Punjab's lower house seats alone, in effect ruling out a poll alliance with its INDIA partners in the state.

"Over the past 10 years, the Modi government has unleashed federal agencies,



Narendra Modi has built a mass following on religious nationalism

especially the ED, on opposition leaders using a draconian money-laundering law," said Saket Gokhale, an MP with Banerjee's party. Its activity has "only gotten more active in the last two months," he added.

In India's eastern Jharkhand state, former chief minister Hemant Soren, whose party leads the local government in coalition with Congress, was jailed last month in connection with multiple corruption probes, including allegations of illegally acquiring land while in office.

Modi's party denies using law enforcement to target the opposition, maintaining the agencies' independence. "Corruption is corruption, whether it is a chief minister or a common person," said the BJP's Rudy. But veteran observers of Indian politics said that weaponising the legal system by the party in power was a recurring theme. Under Congress governments, its opponents, including Modi, referred to India's Central Bureau of Investigation as the "Congress Bureau of Investigation".

"There is a well-documented history of ruling parties, including Congress during its time, of using all levers in their power to tilt the playing field in their favour," said Milan Vaidyanathan, director of the Carnegie Endowment's South Asia programme. "It is a tried and true tactic."

Gokhale said: "A third term for Modi will finish off whatever semblance of democracy is left in India. These elections are existential, not only for opposition parties, but also for Indian democracy itself."

Diplomacy

Republican hawk on China leads US trip to Taiwan

DEMETRI SEVASTOPOULOS — WASHINGTON
AND KATHRIN HILLÉ — TAIPEI

Mike Gallagher, head of the US House China committee, will visit Taipei next week with other lawmakers to support Lai Ching-te ahead of his May inauguration as the president.

The hawkish Wisconsin Republican would arrive in Taiwan on February 21, said three people familiar with his plan, including two Taiwanese officials who expect him to lead a delegation of seven US lawmakers.

The visit comes a month after the election victory by Lai, the Taiwanese vice-president who Beijing denounces as "dangerous separatist."

Washington has warned China not to engage in aggressive activity towards Taiwan in the run-up to the inauguration, when Lai will succeed Tsai Ing-wen. China in turn has repeated that the US should not meddle in Taiwan, over which it claims sovereignty.

China cut communications between the US and Chinese militaries in 2022 after Nancy Pelosi, then House Speaker, visited Taiwan. Beijing agreed to reopen channels after President Joe Biden and Chinese President Xi Jinping held a summit in San Francisco in November.

Gallagher's delegation is expected to meet Lai in addition to Han Kuo-yu, the newly elected legislative speaker from the opposition Kuomintang, a party Beijing is more comfortable with as it views Taiwan as part of a Chinese nation.

Gallagher's office did not comment, but he confirmed in a recent podcast that he planned the visit this spring following a return trip to Taipei.

Gallagher and his committee, which was formed a year ago to intensify the focus on threats from China, have been vocal in supporting Taiwan, particularly as the Chinese military has maintained its assertive stance around the island. Beijing is likely to oppose the visit.

Last week, Gallagher announced he would not seek re-election, in a move welcomed by some US companies increasingly anxious about becoming a committee target. The China panel has in recent months stepped up scrutiny of US financial groups and other entities with operations or interests in China.

After the election, Mike Johnson, the US Republican Speaker, said he would ask the Republican chairs of several congressional committees to visit Taiwan and underscore US commitment to Taiwanese "security and democracy".

The Chinese embassy in Washington said Beijing "firmly opposes the US having any form of official interaction with Taiwan and interfering in Taiwan affairs in any way or under any pretext".

Liu Pengyu, the embassy spokesman, said: "The US needs to exercise extreme prudence in handling Taiwan-related issues, and must not obscure and hollow out the one-China principle in any form or send any wrong signal to Taiwan independence separatist forces."

INTERNATIONAL

Conflict

Four die in tit-for-tat fire at Lebanese border

Latest clash between IDF and Hizbollah claims lives of soldier and civilians

RAYA JALABI — BEIRUT
MEHUL SRIVASTAVA — LONDON

Three Lebanese civilians were killed yesterday as Israel retaliated with air strikes for a suspected Hizbollah rocket barrage that killed an Israeli soldier and injured several civilians.

A woman and her two children were killed when shelling struck her home in the village of al-Sawahin, Lebanon's National News Agency said. More than 10 people were also hurt in the strikes,

according to local authorities who said the damage was "immense". Hizbollah, the powerful Lebanese militant group, said a strike on another town also killed one of its fighters.

The Israeli military identified a 20-year-old female staff sergeant as having been killed in the rocket attack. At least eight others, said by Israeli media to be soldiers, were wounded. An Israel Defense Forces spokesperson did not reply to messages seeking confirmation. The Hizbollah barrage also targeted a military base in Safed, about 20km from the border, the deepest any of its rockets has penetrated into Israeli territory in recent weeks.

The incidents came amid an uptick in

crossfire between Israel's military and Hizbollah, which has engaged in tit-for-tat attacks since the war between Hamas and Israel erupted on October 7.

Herzi Halevi, Israel's military chief of staff, told mayors of towns close to the Lebanon border that "This is not the point to stop. There is still a long way to go." He added: "The next campaign will have a very strong offensive and we will use all our tools and capabilities".

The almost daily clashes, and targeted assassinations by Israel of senior figures in Hamas and Hizbollah, have fuelled concerns of a broader regional conflagration, and led to the mass evacuation of civilians on both sides of the frontier.

Those fears grew in recent weeks as

assaults on both sides have become more brazen. Over the weekend, an Israeli strike hit the town of Jadr, 30km south of the Lebanese capital Beirut.

The fighting has killed more than 200 people in Lebanon, the majority of them Hizbollah fighters, as well as several Israeli troops and some Israeli civilians.

Israel's military said yesterday it had identified "numerous launches" over the border, including strikes on a military base, without identifying which one. Safed, one of the towns that was struck, is home to Israel's northern command. A senior Hizbollah figure said Israel's attacks "cannot pass without a response".

In Gaza, the Israeli military has

ordered thousands of people taking refuge in the strip's last big medical facility to leave after weeks of fighting around Nasser hospital brought Israeli troops to its gates.

Hundreds of displaced Palestinians yesterday began leaving the hospital at the southern edge of Khan Younis, carrying their few belongings. The Israel Defense Forces said the evacuation order did not apply to patients or staff.

Nasser is the last remaining large hospital in the Gaza Strip after the IDF besieged, then raided, al-Shifa hospital in central Gaza, underneath which the Israeli military claimed to have found evidence of a tunnel complex used by Hamas militants.

In Gaza, the Israeli military has

Middle East. Humanitarian crisis

Israel 'chokes off' Gaza supplies as famine looms

Inspections and diversions slow deliveries to Palestinians also facing destitution and attack

FT REPORTERS

The aid shipment that could have fed 1mm starving Palestinians for a month languished at the Israeli port of Ashdod for weeks. Then Israeli authorities said the supplies could not be released.

The shipment of rice, flour, chicken, sugar and cooking oil, donated by Turkey, was one of many held up outside the Gaza Strip even as UN agencies warned that at least a quarter of its besieged people face famine.

Gazans are "starving death in the face. They have little to eat, hardly any access to medical care, nowhere to sleep, nowhere safe to go," Martin Griffiths, UN humanitarian chief, said on Tuesday. "No amount of dedication and goodwill is enough to keep millions of people alive, fed and protected while bombs are falling and aid is choked off."

Israel's four-month war on Hamas has brought devastation to the enclave, where basic supplies are running out and the health system is near collapse.

Israel, which controls access to Gaza and imposes a strict inspections regime, is under mounting global pressure to allow more supplies through, but UN officials and western diplomats say the flow is still far below Gaza's needs.

Before the war began in October, 500 trucks crossed into Gaza daily, but since then the average is just over 100, the UN said. Israeli authorities have this month allowed in small loads of fuel to enable water supplies. Daily truck traffic has occasionally topped 200 but queues kilometres long still form outside Gaza.

Shortages of food, clean water and medical supplies are contributing to a brutal winter. In Rafah, the southern city crowded with 1.5m displaced people and facing Israeli attacks, Ibrahim Bakr, who lives in a tent, said his seven children cry at night for their father. "The UN gives us something different each time," Bakr said. "Last week it was six cans of beans. Today it is just two cans of chickpeas. It is not enough for one person, let alone a family."

Most aid trucks enter through the Kerem Shalom crossing with Israel, but others that use the Rafah crossing with Egypt have to diversify to Israel, and after inspection, then return to Egypt.

At the border, goods are reloaded on



Truck stop
Inspection forces at the Kerem Shalom crossing guard aid supplies bound for the Gaza Strip last week
Helen Huxford/ANP

to Palestinian trucks. "It is a long and complicated process which delays the delivery of aid," said Neel Farsakh of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society.

Under UN pressure, Israel opened the Kerem Shalom crossing in December to increase aid deliveries, but tightening protesters have in recent weeks sought to block them, arguing aid should be withheld from Gaza until Hamas releases hostages still held.

Israel says its inspections are intended to deny Hamas certain goods but humanitarian officials say its long list of banned items and inspection regime act as a bottleneck. If inspectors reject one item, say aid officials, the entire process must start again.

The World Food Programme said rejected items deemed to be "dual use" — with potential military applications — had included generators, crutches, field hospital kits, water tanks, wooden boxes of toys and oxygen tanks.

Cogat, the Israeli military body responsible for humanitarian affairs in Gaza, says aid agencies are the barrier.

"Even if the amount of aid doubled they wouldn't be able to receive, store and distribute it all," Colonel Elad Koren

of Cogat said last month, calling for better logistics. "There is no starvation in Gaza. Period," he added.

Yet once aid has crossed the border, the challenges are just beginning. UN agencies acknowledge their capacity to deliver aid in Gaza has been limited. There are not enough trucks to distribute aid, while convoys have been shelved even after routes were co-ordinated with Israeli forces, said aid officials, and the Israeli military often blocked access. The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs said in January that Israel had facilitated 10 of 61 planned aid missions to north Gaza, 54 were denied access. More convoys reached central and southern Gaza. Some were cleared to travel but the routes were impassable, it said.

Hamas fighters and looters target loads along roads often littered with debris and unexploded ordnance, while relief workers try to co-ordinate deliveries amid communications blackouts. Israeli curbs on satellite equipment compound the problem. "You cannot send a driver to the field in the middle of a war where trucks take hits without comms," an official said.

'We give the children all the food we get, and I eat just enough to have the strength to stand up'

At a shelter in Rafah, Om Alasa said he did not produce enough milk to feed her infant because she did not have enough to eat. "We give the children all the food we get, and I eat just enough to have the strength to stand up," she said.

The broader picture across Gaza is one of devastation. Israel's offensive has killed more than 28,000 people, say Palestinian authorities, more than 85 per cent of the population is displaced, many of their homes are destroyed.

There is little evidence of change in the two years since the International Court of Justice ordered Israel to take "immediate and effective measures to enable the provision of urgently needed basic services and humanitarian assistance" in the Gaza Strip.

Israel saw requests for increased aid mainly through the prism of possible diversion to Hamas, one diplomat said. "We've seen marginal changes. We've seen goods that were refused now allowed in, but compared to the list of goods that are not allowed in, there's not a lot of progress."

Heba Saleh in Cairo, Neri Zilber in Tel Aviv, James Shoter in Jerusalem, Mai Khaleel in Rafah and Andrew England in London

South America

Guyana accuses Venezuela of troop build-up along border

JOE DANIELS — BOGOTA

Guyana has accused Venezuela of violating international law in a dispute over oil-rich territory by expanding its military presence on its border despite pledging not to use force.

"This is not the first time Venezuela has adopted a military posture that appears to be threatening," said Hugh Todd, the Guyanese foreign minister.

Venezuela recently beefed up its military presence on the border of the Essequibo region, which makes up about two-thirds of Guyana's territory but has long been claimed by Caracas.

The move followed a December referendum in Venezuela in which voters backed making the region a Venezuelan state, a development regarded by Guyana as a prelude to annexation.

Irafaan Ali, Guyana's president, and Nicolás Maduro, his Venezuelan counterpart, subsequently signed a declaration agreeing not to use force to settle the dispute. But satellite images published last week by the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a Washington think-tank, appeared to show a

deployment of light tanks and armed patrol boats at Anaco Island on the border of the Essequibo region, where Venezuela is expanding a military base to house up to 300 troops. The country's armed forces have also posted videos of military exercises on Anaco.

The International Court of Justice, the UN's top court, is reviewing the dispute and in November told Venezuela not to take action that would alter the status quo, though a final ruling is years away.

"We are following the rule of international law, Venezuela is violating it," Todd said, adding that Maduro was trying to compel Guyana to settle the dispute rather than going through the ICJ.

He accused Maduro of "double standards" and of seeking to impress voters ahead of elections, expected later this year, at a time when Venezuela remains mired in a humanitarian and economic crisis.

"[Venezuela has] argued it is committed to the region remaining a zone of peace and that it will not use force against Guyana. However, we've seen time and time again that back home the military posture does not conform with the diplomatic stance," he said.

Caracas has long disputed an international arbitration tribunal decision in 1899 to award Essequibo, an area roughly the size of England and home to 125,000 people, to the then colonial British Guiana. It has escalated its claims since ExxonMobil of the US made large oil discoveries off the region's coast in 2015.

'We are following the rule of international law, Venezuela is violating it'

Hugh Todd, foreign minister

The finds in the offshore Stabroek block are transforming Guyana's economy. Gross domestic product expanded by 63 per cent in 2022 and 38 per cent last year, according to the IMF. It is expected to grow 20 per cent a year on average from 2024-28.

Venezuela's foreign ministry said Guyana and ExxonMobil, which plans to drill in waters off the disputed area, were in breach of international law and "seeking to destabilise the region".

Todd said Venezuela's stance would not affect Guyana's energy sector, adding: "We have assured the multinational companies operating in Guyana that we're on the right side of international law, and we're working on exploiting our true economic potential".

ExxonMobil has pledged to continue its expansion in Guyana. Alistair Routledge, president of the company's operations in the country, said last week: "We're getting on with development and activity within acreage that is clearly Guyana's territory. Where there's controversy over the borders, that's for the governments to resolve".

However, Lloyd's Market Association, which represents global insurers, last December placed Guyanese waters on the same risk level as the Red Sea, where Houthis rebels have attacked shipping.

If conflict were to break out, Guyana's armed forces, with 4,070 active personnel and reserves, would face Venezuela's 351,000-strong military. Todd said Guyana was "not building any capacity to fight Venezuela" and its defence strategy continued to be based on co-operation with allies including the US and UK.

Debt crisis

Ghana sacks finance minister who secured \$3bn IMF bailout

AAMU ADEOYE — LAGOS

Ghana has removed its finance minister who led IMF bailout talks and was in negotiations to restructure the country's debts with commercial creditors.

Ken Ofori-Atta, who had been in office since 2017, was replaced yesterday as part of a cabinet reshuffle that analysts linked to elections at the end of the year.

The former investment banker is synonymous in Ghana with the \$3bn deal struck with the IMF in December 2022 and the country's decision the same month to default on its foreign debt. Ofori-Atta has been leading efforts to clean up Ghana's finances, negotiating a domestic debt exchange scheme and the agreement reached last month with bilateral creditors, including the Paris Club of lenders and China, to restructure \$5.4bn of external debt.

The final plank of the debt restructuring was a reworking of \$13bn in eurobonds owed to creditors that Ofori-Atta had hoped to conclude by March.

Tax income

West Bank threatened by revenue seizures, say Palestinians

JAMES SHOTTER — RAMALLAH

The Palestinian Authority will be forced to "stop and reconsider everything" it does in as little as two to three weeks if Israel continues to withhold its revenues, the Palestinian finance minister has warned.

Under the Oslo Accords — interim peace agreements signed in the 1990s — Israel collects various taxes on behalf of the Palestinians and transfers them each month to the PA, which exercises limited self-governance in the occupied West Bank.

But since the war with Hamas erupted in October, Israel has sharply increased the amounts it deducts from those transfers, crippling the PA's finances and prompting warnings from diplomats that it is undermining the stability of the West Bank.

"Israel has distorted this arrangement into yet another tool of occupation of equal importance and value to them as the Israel Defense Forces," Shoukry Bishara, the finance minister, said in an interview. "I do not want to be a prophet of doom — but unless there is a major breakthrough, then we will have to stop and reconsider everything... I would say the time horizon is the next two to three weeks."

Shoukry said that in November and December Israel had deducted \$660mm (\$164mm) a month of the \$b750mm in revenues to be transferred, after hardliners in Benjamin Netanyahu's far-right government demanded Israel stop transferring the portion of the money that would have paid salaries and pensions to PA officials in Gaza.

The total deductions in 2023, he added, amounted to 25 per cent of the PA's revenues. "I do not know of a single entity that is a non-profit entity that can survive with this sort and magnitude of abusive deductions," he said. "We are talking about approximately \$1.5bn of cash siphoned away from the Palestinian economy [in total in 2023]."

Western and Arab officials have also criticised the Israeli deductions, which come as countries including the US have been looking for ways to bolster the PA so that it can play a role in the postwar governance of Gaza as well as the West Bank.

Diplomats also see strengthening the PA as crucial to containing unrest in the West Bank. Last year was the deadliest in the territory since the UN began collecting data in 2005. The instability was compounded by a spike in attacks on Palestinians by Jewish settlers.

Antony Blinken, US secretary of state, said last year that the PA was "doing everything it can to keep security and stability in the West Bank", but that its lack of resources was "another aspect of the problem".

In recent weeks, diplomats have been attempting to find a way to break the deadlock, such as by transferring the money to Norway, but the negotiations have so far failed to bear fruit.

Bishara said that if Israel continued to withhold the funds, the PA would be forced to reduce the salaries it pays to roughly 144,000 people. It December, it paid just 60 per cent of salaries. The International Labour Organization estimated in December that the West Bank suffered economic losses of \$500mm a month in October and November.

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Nikkei SDGs Forum Symposium

The Winter 2023 Nikkei SDGs Forum Symposium was held in Tokyo on December 5 and 6. Presenters and panellists offered a range of perspectives on the actions required right now to achieve the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by the target year of 2030.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS



TALK SESSION Rise to the challenge: Turning adversity into action



Megumi Matsumoto, Representative Director, Star Compass; Director, Matsumoto Kosan



Natsuki Suganuma, CEO, bactecna



Moderator Norichika Kanai, Professor, Graduate School of Media and Governance, Keio University

Japan leads the world in SDG awareness, but trails Europe in SDG action. How can Japan's leadership foster the S-curve of transformative change the country now needs? Breaking down barriers to participation can help. By prioritising employee wellbeing and adopting a contemporary tone on social media, Matsumoto Kosan has cultivated a workforce that is 50% female and significantly younger than the industry average. Biotech company bactecna

offers a flexible work environment to women with scientific and medical expertise who had to change jobs or leave the workforce due to life stage changes. Both panellists agreed that the SDGs were a powerful common, even global, language. However, SMEs struggle to sustain SDG efforts as they are seldom a profit centre. Integrative governmental policies and support could improve this situation.

TALK SESSION SDGs, lifestyle, and wellbeing



Moderator Yuki Takahashi, Executive Vice President, CVO, and CLO, Bears



Saori Shinoda, COO, CoCooking



Moderator Mariko Ushikubo, President and CEO, Meridian Promotion

Wellbeing is an often-overlooked factor in SDG efforts. As panellist Yuki Takahashi noted, people are reluctant to commit to the cause if their own needs are going unmet. Takahashi founded housekeeping service Bears to realize a wellbeing society in which both workers and clients are happy by providing a new infrastructure for life in Japan, proposing new ways of living, and creating new employment. Shinoda's company, CoCooking, connects

restaurants and consumers to tackle food waste as a structural issue rather than a moral failing. This aligns with the growing tendency toward interpreting consumer choices as "votes" that should take perceived social contribution into account. For both panellists, the goal is to create a culture where people think differently and recognise wellbeing not only as a good in itself but as a necessity for achieving the SDGs.

PRIVATE SECTOR

Serving society through urban design



Takashi Ueda, President and CEO, Mitsui Fudosan

Resolving social issues through urban development is Mitsui Fudosan's goal as a "platform" or "industry developer." Its Nihonbashi redevelopment project is one example. Nihonbashi has been a pharmaceutical hub for centuries, and today is home to countless life sciences companies. However, local subdivisions have hindered communications between fields. Mitsui Fudosan worked with academia and industry to launch the Life Sciences Innovation Network Japan (LINN-J). The company also runs programs to support and unite people in the field and offers laboratory and office space for rent. By providing community space, and funding, Mitsui Fudosan is fostering a local life sciences ecosystem.

Building a renewable energy business to reduce carbon emissions



Hiroshi Sato, Deputy President, Director and Executive Officer, Tokyo Century

Renewable energy is a growing business for Tokyo Century. The company's solar power assets already have an installed capacity of over 750 megawatts, and if capacity from projects currently under construction is included, that figure reaches around 1 gigawatt. Tokyo Century has plans to expand this business in many directions, from large-scale battery technology that will help renewables to play a larger role in the grid to specialist asset management offerings for partners with their own facilities. Not only will this help Tokyo Century achieve its goal of reducing its own effective carbon emissions to zero by 2040, it will also aid the global transition toward renewable energy.

The future of forestry and green innovation



Kazuhiko Kamada, Director of the Board and Senior Executive Officer, Oji Holdings

Healthy forests are essential to Oji Holdings as a global paper and pulp producer. The company views forests from three perspectives: sustainability, profitability, and green innovation. On the sustainability front, Oji Holdings supports conservation and education in local communities across Japan and around the world, including projects to protect specific endangered species. Its approach to profitability seeks to maximize the multifaceted value of forests as both resources and sites of biodiversity and cultural activity. Finally, Oji Holdings' green innovation efforts are exploring new uses for sustainable forest-derived materials such as hemlocktissue, which has medical applications in everything from anticoagulants to animal anti-inflammatories.

Achieving true sustainability through growth investment



Takashi Kuribe, Managing Executive Officer, CFO, and Director Responsible for Global GRC Division, Toppan Holdings

Toppan seeks to create the innovation needed to achieve the SDGs by actively pursuing growth investment in the spirit of venture capital. Between 2023 and 2025, Toppan will invest more than ¥400 billion in growth investments centred around digital transformation, sustainable transformation, and promising new business areas such as health-care, sensor technology, carbon neutrality, and the metaverse. As a result, funds equivalent to 52% of operating profits, rather than the current 19%, will be invested in growth areas. These efforts, pursued alongside intensive development and nurturing of the company's human capital, will allow Toppan to build a business portfolio supporting true sustainability.

Hopes for the future: Celebrating the joys of life



Junko Ishizaki, Head of Human Resources Department, Human Resources and Interpersonal Relationships Development Department and Well-being Promotion Department

Daiwa House founder Nobuo Ishibashi spoke of the importance of celebrating the joys of life for the future. Today, Daiwa House has an ambitious plan to realise a future where all can celebrate the joys of life by the company's centenary year of 2055. This means both establishing a culture of wellbeing within and finding like-minded partners to maximise social and business value. One example is the Livness Town Project, in which Daiwa House revitalises the "neopolises" built in the post-war decades in consultation with residents and other stakeholders. Through these and other initiatives, Daiwa House is working to make its hopes for the future reality.

Enriching the world with the power of "Sho-Sho-Sei"



Yasuhiro Ogawa, Global President, Epson; CEO, Seiko Epson Corporation

Since its founding on the shores of Lake Suwa in 1942, Epson has created new value and changed everyday life with the power of "Sho-Sho-Sei"—efficient, compact, and precise technology. This ideal also drives the company's sustainability efforts, which combine business innovation with social problem-solving. Epson's original inkjet technology reduces the environmental footprint of printing, while co-creation projects with a wide variety of partners bring the benefits of inkjet to a diverse range of applications. At the same time, other partnerships are exploring the potential of fibrous materials that could replace plastic and sensors that can detect issues with dams to prevent flooding. Meanwhile, as part of its efforts to achieve decarbonisation, Epson transitioned to 100% renewable electricity across its global operations in 2023.

Nature-positive initiatives built on the power to connect



Nanae Saishoji, Managing Executive Officer and CFO, KDDI Corporation

KDDI's nature-positive initiatives support its mission of connecting people's lives, hearts, and minds. The company's approach is balanced between addressing risks and seizing opportunities. On the risk side, for example, KDDI takes care when laying undersea cable to route around coral reefs and avoid construction during sea turtle spawning season. Turning to opportunities, the company pursues a variety of joint initiatives in areas such as IoT-based smart farming, where sensors visualise the condition of crops, preserving the surrounding ecosystem. KDDI's power to connect and collaborate with partners is where it makes its greatest contribution to nature-positive change.

Integrating sustainability into management to boost business and social impact



Atsushi Katsuki, President and CEO, Asahi Group Holdings

Asahi's approach to sustainability is based on maximising positive impacts and minimising any negatives. This requires quantification of those impacts and their origins. As an example, Asahi Group company Asahi Biocycle has developed a new agricultural material from beer yeast cell walls, which were formerly discarded after brewing. The material helps farmers grow crops in adverse conditions, reducing water usage and greenhouse gas emissions. It can even help with turf management on baseball fields and golf courses. By quantifying and visualising the positive impacts of this and many other sustainability initiatives, Asahi can more securely integrate sustainability into its management and operations.

Responding to demand for urban housing



Kotaro Wakabayashi, Senior Managing Director and CFO, Open House Group

Freestanding house construction is the Open House Group's primary business, and the Group's comprehensive solutions in this field—from purchasing land to designing, building, selling, and managing houses—support its mission of "leaving a Japan for the next generation where working people can afford houses in urban areas." A sustainable society is essential for Open House's own development, and Open House contributes to sustainability in areas such as regional revitalization, renewable energy, and diversity. As the Tokyo metropolitan population continues to rise, Open House helps to address many social issues via innovative solutions, from wooden construction for lower environmental impact to earthquake- and fire-resistant renovations that increase resiliency.

The role of asset management in cultivating human capital



Hiroyasu Koike, Representative Director, President, and CEO, Nomura Asset Management

Employee wellbeing is linked to corporate success. This makes effective human capital management essential, as evinced by new disclosure requirements focusing on employee wellbeing. But "decent work," as SDG No. 8 puts it, is only part of the equation. Surveys have found that a solid majority of working people are uneasy about their financial future, undermining job commitment and engagement. In response, Nomura Asset Management is working with a range of partners to raise awareness and understanding of investment options that can provide financial security and peace of mind for working people, ensuring that the investment chain supporting a prosperous society continues to function.

A comprehensive nature-positive green strategy



Takayuki Furuya, Senior Managing Executive Officer, Member of the Board, CFO, Chief Sustainable Development Officer (CSDO), Marubeni Corporation

Marubeni aims to be a forerunner in green business. To this end, it deploys its expertise and global partner network to strengthen its green businesses and promote "greening" across all of its business domains. Notable recent projects include an offshore wind farm project in Akita Prefecture with an installed capacity of 140 MW and a reforestation initiative in the Philippines built on collaboration between industry, academia, and government to restore biodiversity, sequester carbon, and create local employment. Nature-positive initiatives like this can leverage Marubeni's strengths as a Global crossvalue platform to help regreen the world while creating sustainable prosperity for all.

Engineering a more sustainable world



Masakazu Sakakida, Chairman of the Board, President, and CEO, Chiyoda Corporation

Since its founding, Chiyoda Corporation has used engineering to meet society's needs in energy and other areas. Now, with an eye to 2030, it has begun an ambitious project to transform its business portfolio and create new engineering value in four business domains: low carbon and carbon recycling technology, hydrogen and ammonia, energy management, and life sciences. Concrete contributions already made by the company in these areas include projects like a "cleaner LNG" plant in Qatar and a battery storage system in Toyotomi, Hokkaido. By combining engineering expertise with DX in all four domains, Chiyoda Corporation will continue contributing to global progress toward the SDGs.

Aligning sustainability with business growth



Akira Oyama, President and CEO, Ricoh

Ricoh regards sustainability and business growth as two fundamentally aligned rather than disparate goals. ESG initiatives are positioned as investments in future growth. The company's focus on resolving social issues through business has allowed it to develop innovative solutions such as IT services that help small and medium enterprises embrace digital transformation and thrive even as Japan's labour pool shrinks, and the new AS Colour MFT Series, designed to deliver high environmental performance over its usage lifetime and made of 50% recycled materials. Ricoh continues to find new ways to support customers through its Mission "Fulfillment through Work" in this era of rapidly changing working environments and employee attitudes across the world.

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Companies & Markets

Uber rewards investors with plan for \$7bn share buyback

Capital returns follow first profits
Tech group unveils growth strategy

CAMILLA HODGSON — SAN FRANCISCO AND TIM BRADSHAW — LONDON
Uber unveiled an inaugural \$7bn share buyback programme yesterday, days after reporting its first full year of operating profit, making it the latest Silicon Valley company to step up its returns to shareholders.

The move by the San Francisco-based group comes after Facebook parent Meta announced its debut dividend earlier this month, triggering a record leap in its stock price, while home rental site Airbnb expanded its buyback programme by \$6bn on Tuesday.

Uber revealed its plans to repurchase up to \$7bn shares as part of a closely watched investor update that also outlined important details about its growth strategy and financial goals for the next three years.

Uber's shares were up over 11 per cent at noon in New York yesterday. The stock has more than doubled over the past year, pushing the company's market capitalisation to more than \$150bn.

The buyback represented a "vote of confidence in the company's strong financial momentum", said Prashanth Mahendra-Rajah, Uber's finance chief.

The capital return announcement coincided with a wave of planned strikes by delivery workers in North America and the UK yesterday, as couriers for services including Uber, Just Eat Takeaway, Deliveroo and DoorDash push for higher pay and more transparency.

Tech companies such as Uber, which had been notorious for prodigal spending to grab market share during the 2010s, have been forced to refocus on

profitability over the past two years as interest rates rose and it became harder to raise capital. Many cut thousands of jobs in order to streamline.

As well as returning a portion of those newfound profits to investors, buybacks allow tech companies to counterbalance the issue of new shares to employees as stock awards vest. Equity incentives remain a vital component of staff remuneration and talent retention in Silicon Valley.

"We will be thoughtful as it relates to the pace of our buyback, beginning with actions that partially offset stock-based compensation, and working towards a consistent reduction in share count," said Mahendra-Rajah.

Uber last week hailed 2023 as an "inflection point" in its history and signalled that it could return capital to shareholders. It had come under pressure from investors about whether it could deliver sustainable profits after racking up more than \$30bn in losses since it was founded in 2009.

Over the next three years, Uber said it expected gross bookings growth — which accelerated to 24 per cent in the final quarter of 2023 — to be in the mid to high teens, while growth in adjusted earnings before interest, tax, depreciation and amortisation would range from the "high 30s to 40 per cent".

"A majority of our top markets are profitable, and have increased profitability in the last two years," said Uber.

The use of generative artificial intelligence would help boost margins, by making some areas such as customer support more efficient, Uber said.

With Scandinavian rival Höegh Autoliners and Japanese group NYK Line, MOL and K Line, WW dominates an industry that transports cars built in Japan, South Korea and China to markets in Europe and North America.

Uber, like rival Lyft, has worked to cut costs, drive efficiencies and bolster margins. It has pushed into businesses beyond its core ride-sharing and restaurant delivery segments, including grocery delivery and advertising, which has boosted margins.

See Markets and Lex

Buoyant Car carrier Wallenius Wilhelmsen in record profits amid China EV export surge



The Torrens, a WW vessel, at Bremerhaven. Net profit for the Norwegian business increased 22% — Alex Krauß/Bloomberg

ROBERT WRIGHT — LONDON
Wallenius Wilhelmsen, the biggest operator of car-carrying ships, has reported record annual profits as growing exports of Chinese electric vehicles helped drive demand.

The Norwegian company is the biggest participant in a corner of the shipping industry with different dynamics from container lines, which have excess capacity.

After scrapping vessels during the pandemic, car-carrier operators are expected to receive few new ships until next year.

With Scandinavian rival Höegh Autoliners and Japanese group NYK Line, MOL and K Line, WW dominates an industry that transports cars built in Japan, South Korea and China to markets in Europe and North America.

WW said yesterday that its net profit rose 22 per cent to a record \$967m

last year as revenues climbed 2 per cent to \$5.15bn.

Lasse Kristoffersen, chief executive, said the results for its core shipping services segment were "very much" driven by China.

"That's Chinese exports increasing generally, of which electric vehicles are the strongest growing element," he said.

Faced with slowing domestic demand, Chinese carmakers have set their sights on expanding in Europe and the US. China's car exports in the final quarter of last year were up 17.7 per cent on the same period in 2022, a jump WW said was driven by sales of battery-electric vehicles.

Overall demand to move vehicles by sea was up 11.8 per cent in the quarter. Rising exports from China come as car-carrier operators face a lack of capacity after scrapping a significant number of vessels during the pandemic. There are no significant ship

deliveries due before 2025. WW operates 125 vessels, of a worldwide car-carrier fleet of 767 ships.

Oslo-based WW predicted that its results for 2024 would be "somewhat stronger" than those for 2023, despite what it described as "uncertainties" over the Red Sea trading route after attacks on ships by Yemen's Houthis.

Since December, WW has been diverting ships that would normally sail via the Suez Canal via the Cape. The diversion adds about a week to Asia-to-Europe journey times.

While WW reported record profits for last year, its earnings before interest, tax, depreciation and amortisation for the shipping services segment for the fourth quarter were down 8 per cent from a year earlier to \$392m, while revenues slipped 9 per cent to \$961m.

The company blamed port congestion, the Cape diversions, and the end of one ship's lease for the declines.

Bezos sells \$4bn worth of Amazon stock in one week

CAMILLA HODGSON — SAN FRANCISCO

Amazon's billionaire founder Jeff Bezos has sold another \$2bn worth of the company's stock, bringing the total value of shares he has off-loaded in the past week to \$4bn, according to regulatory filings.

An Amazon filing showed that Bezos, who stepped down as the Seattle-based company's chief executive in 2021 but remains executive chair, sold 12mm shares for about \$2bn between Friday and Monday.

That follows earlier sales of about 12mm shares, also totalling about \$2bn, last week, filings show.

Amazon said in February that Bezos — who is among the world's richest people with a net worth of \$190bn, according to Forbes — planned to sell up to 50mm Amazon shares via broker Morgan Stanley by the end of January 2025.

Bezos remains Amazon's largest shareholder, with a stake of about 9 per cent even after the recent sales, data from S&P Capital IQ indicates.

Shares in Amazon, which were largely unchanged yesterday afternoon, have soared more than 50 per cent over the past 12 months. The rally has sent Amazon's share price close to its all-time high, and pushed the company's market capitalisation to \$1.75tn.

Amazon declined to comment.

Bezos, who founded Amazon in 1994, has taken a step back from running the company to pursue other ventures, including his space group Blue Origin.

"Blue Origin needs to be much faster. And it's one of the reasons that I left my role as the CEO of Amazon a couple of years ago," he told researchers and podcast host Lex Fridman in December.

Blue Origin has trailed behind Elon Musk's SpaceX. In 2022, a Blue Origin rocket not carrying passengers failed shortly after its launch, after which the company suspended launches.

Last year, Blue Origin announced that Amazon's outgoing head of devices, Dave Limp, would take over as chief executive, and the company completed a successful space mission in December.

Bezos, who also owns the Washington Post newspaper and runs the Bezos Earth Fund philanthropic group, has also recently drawn attention for reportedly relocating from Seattle to Miami, and for a lifestyle of yachts and private jets that contrasts with the more frugal profile he maintained while overseeing Amazon's rapid expansion.

Start-ups fear Brussels is denying access to Big Tech's deep pockets

INSIDE BUSINESS
EUROPE



Brussels has stepped up its fight against any anti-competitive behaviour by Big Tech giants but the response from some in the European start-up community might not be what regulators have been expecting.

Last month, Amazon abandoned its ambitions to buy Roomba maker iRobot for \$1.45bn after it was facing a veto on the deal in Europe and a likely similar fate in the US.

Amazon executives were quick to point out that their ditching of the deal would be bad for consumers and innovation. David Zapolsky, Amazon's senior vice-president, warned: "This outcome will deny consumers faster innovation and more competitive prices."

But there was also criticism from the start-up community. Some entrepreneurs are concerned that if Amazon cannot buy a maker of vacuum cleaners, it sends a signal that it will be difficult for Big Tech to buy anything at all — and that might be a blow for their exit strategies and for innovation as a whole.

Stefan Moritz, secretary-general of lobbying group European Entrepreneurs, which represents 2.4m companies employing more than 20m people across all EU member states, is worried.

"It's a bad sign if the EU intervenes so heavily," he said, referring to the iRobot deal. "In the long run nobody will want to be an entrepreneur, many companies

will shut down or be bought if they have any remaining valuable assets."

European start-ups have traditionally looked at Big Tech's deep pockets as a way to maximise their growth plans.

Examples include Microsoft's acquisition of Luxembourg-based video chat app Skype for \$8.5bn in 2011 and Apple's purchase of UK-based music recognition app Shazam for \$400m in 2018.

Still regulators have been seen to increase their scrutiny on seemingly small tech deals because of concerns that they have waded through acquisitions in the past that perhaps they should not have, such as Facebook's takeover of Instagram and WhatsApp and Google's purchase of online ads network DoubleClick — deals that expanded the market power of some companies more than expected.

Oliver Guersent, director-general of the EU's competition unit, said the concerns in Brussels about iRobot rested on worries that Amazon would favour Roomba sales on its platform over competing products. "We think we had a very good case for this," Guersent said at a trade conference in Brussels. "A lot of evidence. And we actually think that this is why Amazon decided to drop the case rather than take a negative decision or challenge it in court."

Amazon's deal is not the only one to have taken a hit. Last year, the EU blocked US online travel site Booking Holdings's €1.65bn acquisition of Irish travel group on competition concerns. And last month Adobe abandoned its proposed \$20bn acquisition of software company Figma as the deal faced a veto.

Margrethe Vestager, the bloc's competition commissioner, insists the market should not jump to the conclusion the EU will start vetoing a flurry of tech deals. "Every case is specific," she said at a recent press conference. Vestager pointed to Google's \$2.1bn acquisition of fitness tracker Fitbit as a deal that was cleared but with commitments made by the search giant to allow other wearable devices to access Google's ecosystem.

"So I think you'll see all those three situations some [deals] where we don't have concerns, some where we have deep concerns that may lead to a prohibition and some where things can actually be remedied."

But some believe the signals sent by Brussels will inevitably mean fewer mergers and acquisitions. "European start-ups being bought by Big Tech companies just became a less viable path," said a seasoned adviser to Big Tech groups in Brussels.

Andreas Schwab, the parliamentarian who steered the debate on the bloc's flagship tech rules, also sees the risks to innovation when it comes to big players but thinks there is a silver lining for European entrepreneurs. He said: "It's good for the economy that start-ups should not rely on a few Big Tech players but that we push innovative companies with new products to penetrate the market by themselves, thereby diversifying institutional channels."

But if not Big Tech, then who should invest in the technology leaders of the future, critics of the actions by Brussels wonder. One option discussed by regulators is to look at how to encourage investment groups to increase funding of the bloc's start-ups. Given the dominance of venture capital by US groups, this might increase investments of these mostly large American institutions — possibly not what the EU wants.

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THE ARTISAN OF EMOTIONS - SINCE 1860

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Wave of Permian Basin deals heralds next phase in the shale oil revolution

Diamondback's \$26bn move on Endeavor is part of consolidation that will drive costs down further

MYLES MCCORMICK — HOUSTON

The shale revolution that began about 15 years ago saw a proliferation of thousands of small-time drillers turn the global energy order on its head and restored the US to the status of world's biggest producer.

Today, as a multibillion-dollar wave of consolidation washes over the Permian Basin — the engine room of America's oil industry — that landscape has been transformed. A handful of heavy hitters is now firmly in control.

Diamondback Energy's \$26bn deal for rival Endeavor Energy this week brought to almost \$180bn the value of an oil and gas dealmaking spree that has reverberated across the US shale patch since the beginning of last year as big, publicly listed players swallowed rivals.

Just 10 companies will now control more than 6.4m barrels of oil equivalent a day of the Permian's 12.1m boe/d of overall output, according to Wood Mackenzie, a consultancy. Six companies will each produce more than 700,000 boe/d — more than some Opec member countries.

Half of the sought-after Midland sub-basin, which makes up the eastern part of the Permian, will be bought by just two companies: ExxonMobil and Diamondback.

"It's now a story of bigger companies — not smaller companies," said Dan Pickering, founder of Pickering Energy Partners, a consulting and investment group. "And that just has a much different cadence and tenor to it."

In the past four months alone, Exxon has announced a \$60bn deal for Pioneer Natural Resources, the biggest producer in the Permian; Occidental has agreed to snap up CrownRock for \$12bn; and Diamondback announced its purchase of privately held Endeavor. (Another piece of the supermajor shale assets in the vast Bakken oilfield of North Dakota.) The action pushes the Permian into a new era where drilling focused on growth at all costs, while elsewhere the country's most prolific oilfield, has come to an end.

"It does feel like another turning of the page where shale has gone from an exploratory expansionary phase to a not declining but managed phase," said Andrew Dittmar, senior vice-president at consultancy Enverus.

Over the past five years, under pressure from Wall Street, publicly owned companies have pulled back from the costly pursuit of volumes and sought to channel cash back to shareholders.

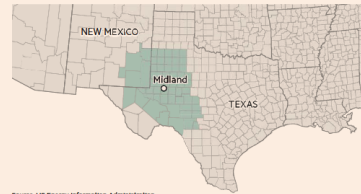
Private operators — less constrained by market demands — drove much of the Permian basin's growth, responding to higher prices by rapidly raising production. Now, as those companies are absorbed by larger public rivals, the potential for surges has faded again.

Diamondback said it would remove drilling rigs from the field's "mature acquisition, while insisting it could keep gradually growing output regardless.

"There is no way the US rig count grows after the recent wave of consolidation by Exxon, Chevron, Diamondback and Occidental," said Conrad Gibbs, co-head of the upstream Americas

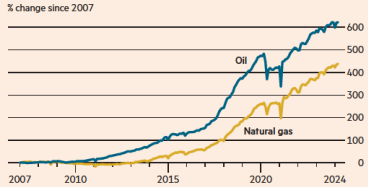


Permian is engine room of US sector



Source: US Energy Information Administration

Output in basin has risen sharply



Maturing: the Permian Basin began with a rush of smaller companies but consolidation is paring the number of operators

business at Jefferies. "That points to one thing, which is we're headed towards higher oil prices. It's not a question of if, it's a question of when."

That adherence to strict exploration plans suggests the US shale energy industry will shift further away from its role as a swing supplier, able to quickly turn up the production dial to douse price rises as it did early in the boom.

"If Exxon, Chevron, Oxy, Diamondback, etc. are going to have a programme that they just plough through and execute on, they are less likely to accelerate when prices are high, they are less likely to slow when prices are low — and that translates to Opec being more important," said Pickering, referring to the oil cartel led by Saudi Arabia.

Consolidation will, however, enable producers in the Permian to remain profitable even during commodity slumps. Wood Mackenzie believes operators can shave about \$5 a barrel off the break-even costs of drilling, which sit at about \$30-\$35 a barrel in the basin. West Texas Intermediate crude

settled at \$78 a barrel on Tuesday. One way of driving down costs is by joining together nearby acreage, enabling companies to operate across large swaths rather than piecemeal parcels. They can extend the length of horizontal oil wells they drill and centralise their infrastructure above ground.

Midland, Texas-based Diamondback said it had about 100,000 acres that touch Endeavor's. It believes it can extend up to 175 lateral wells to overlap the two companies' positions, while achieving \$50m in annual cost savings. "In every deal we've ever done, we check our eggs at the door, we get in the room with the other side and figure out what's the best mousetrap on how to drill and complete wells in the space," said Kaes Van't Hof, Diamondback's chief financial officer.

"We're headed towards higher oil prices. It's not a question of if, it's a question of when"

would keep the company in Midland, where it also has its headquarters.

Exxon has said it will be able to drive \$2bn in annual synergies over the next decade through the Pioneer acquisition — largely by using technology to increase oil recovery but also with longer wells.

"I feel like we had reached a point maybe a year or two ago, before this wave kicked off, where it felt like this is as good as the Permian is going to get in terms of cost and supply break-even," said Alex Becker, research director at Wood Mackenzie. "But all these deals have validated that there's still a lot of efficiency improvements to go."

For now, companies are focused on getting their transactions over the line. Exxon, Chevron and Occidental's deals are being studied by US competition regulators. Analysts do not expect the Federal Trade Commission to block any of the deals. But at some point, said Becker, the continued concentration of control of America's oil heartlands could "raise red flags".

Oil & gas

Shell projects a rise in LNG demand of 50% by 2040

SHOTARO TANI — LONDON

Global liquefied natural gas demand is forecast to rise 50 per cent by 2040 as the world switches to cleaner fuel, Shell has said in its latest annual LNG outlook.

Demand for natural gas globally will then peak after 2040, although appetite for LNG will continue growing as China and developing Asian nations switch from dirtier coal to the comparatively cleaner fuel.

The growth forecast is slightly lower than predictions last year but energy majors still expect a strong rise in LNG demand as economies target net zero carbon emissions by 2050.

LNG has grown in importance since Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022 as the Kremlin slashed its pipeline gas supplies to Europe, prompting the region to secure the supercooled fuel to replace the lost volumes.

Appetite is expected to continue growing as China and other Asian nations switch to the cleaner fuel

"The global LNG market will continue growing into the 2040s, mostly driven by China's industrial decarbonisation and strengthening demand in other Asian countries," Shell said yesterday.

The oil major added that demand for natural gas "has peaked in some regions and globally is set to peak after 2040".

LNG is natural gas liquefied by cooling it to minus 162C. Like many other energy majors, Shell, the largest private LNG trader, is keen to position natural gas as a transition fuel as the world aims to decarbonise.

Although natural gas is cleaner than other fossil fuel alternatives, it still releases substantial amounts of carbon dioxide when burnt. Natural gas is also mostly composed of methane, which generates more warming than carbon dioxide but is shorter-lived.

Cutting methane emissions is regarded by scientists as among the cheapest and quickest ways to tackle global climate change.

Shell said LNG demand was expected to reach 625m to 685m tonnes in 2040, from 404m tonnes in 2023. This is lower than its forecast a year ago, when it predicted LNG demand to reach 650m to 700m tonnes.

China was likely to dominate LNG demand growth this decade, while over the following decade, south-east Asia and south-east Asia would drive sales as they increasingly needed fuel to power their gas-fired power plants, Shell added.

The company went on to point out that LNG continued to play a "vital role" in Europe's energy security last year, with imports remaining at similar levels to the record highs in 2022 following Russia's invasion of Ukraine, despite an overall decline for gas demand in the region.

The global gas market remained structurally tight, owing to the lack of Russian pipeline gas supply to Europe, Shell said.

Interview. Ilkka Paananen

Clash of Clans maker seeks next billion-dollar hit

Chief at Supercell ready for further risk-taking to repeat successes despite revenue fall

RICHARD MILNE
NORDIC AND BALTIC CORRESPONDENT

Supercell, the Finnish mobile gaming group, will take more risks and explore new genres in an attempt to beat the multibillion-dollar successes of Clash of Clans and Hay Day, according to its chief executive.

Ilkka Paananen told the Financial Times that there was pressure on the Tencent-owned group after Clash of Clans brought in more than \$10bn in revenues in the past decade, akin to a hand creating a "massive hit" and finding "everything you do is compared to the previous one".

Speaking in a rare interview, he said: "We want to create something better and bigger than Clash of Clans. That won't happen unless we take even more risk... All kinds of risks. We shouldn't be stuck in previous genres, we should try new genres and invent new ones."

Supercell, founded in Finland in 2010,

is one of the most successful mobile gaming groups and was valued at \$10bn when it was bought by China's Tencent in 2016.

But its most successful games have more than a decade old and it has released only five in total, each of which has earned at least \$1bn in revenues. It faces a competitive mobile gaming market where global tech groups such as Microsoft, through its \$75bn acquisition of developer King's owner Activision Blizzard, are investing heavily to try to stay on top.

However, the market is in decline for the first time since the smartphone era. Gaming data company Newzoo said global sales from mobile games fell in 2023 to \$92.2bn, down 7.3 per cent from a year earlier.

The last game Supercell released worldwide was *Brave Stars* in 2018 while *Clash Mini* is still in beta testing despite being available in some countries since 2021. The company became famous for using "cells" of only about 10 workers on each game and celebrating killing off games that did not meet its high quality standards.

Paananen said that despite the new game drought he had "never been as

excited as I am right now". He restructured the company last year, splitting the creation of new games, where the cells are still kept small, from the further development of existing titles, where *Clash of Clans* now has a workforce of 100.

"Would I have liked to have seen a new game go out in 2020? Yes. Am I proud that our teams kept the bar high? I'm really proud," he said.

He added that the one thing that defined Supercell was that it only put

out games that met its high quality standards.

"What is the price we are willing to pay for a value?" said Paananen. "Somebody told me a value is not a value unless it hurts sometimes. Quality at Supercell means we kill games that many companies would launch. It absolutely hurts and it's sad."

He said he had spoken openly within the company: "It really comes down to the question, are the best days behind or ahead of us? I absolutely believe they are

ahead. I want to build something like Nintendo that lasts 100 years. We are still early in the journey."

His comments came as Supercell reported a 4 per cent decline in revenues last year to €1.7bn, and an 8 per cent fall in earnings before interest, tax, depreciation and amortisation to €590m. Both figures were below the record levels of €2.1bn and €917m in 2016. It hired 156 people last year, taking its total to 240 workers.

Paananen said the mobile gaming industry should not make excuses for its lack of growth in recent years as there had not been any big innovative releases. "I don't subscribe to the idea that there's a glass ceiling and the best days are behind us," he said, adding that Supercell had seen "good momentum" with revenues increasing in each quarter last year.

Asked about Tencent's ownership, the Supercell chief said it had sought a guarantee of complete operational independence from its previous owner, Japan's SoftBank, and that continued with the Chinese group. "It is the number one thing we cared about... through them we get a lot of help in China," he added.



The long game: Ilkka Paananen wants to build a business that lasts 100 years

Contracts & Tenders

PROCEDURE FOR THE SELECTION OF A SUITABLE PARTY FOR THE ACQUISITION AND ENHANCEMENT OF THE SANTA CHIARA MONUMENTAL COMPLEX IN PISA'S HISTORICAL CENTER
Financieri Infrastruttura Sociali S.p.A. ("Finso"), along with its partners Consorzio Integra Soc. Coop., CMB Soc. Coop e CMSA Coop, announces the launch through the company Nuovo Santa Chiara Hospital s.c.r.l., which they have engaged as promoter, of a private international procedure for the selection of a party for the acquisition and enhancement of the Santa Chiara Monumental Complex in Pisa's historical center. The Notice for the receipt of expressions of interest is published on the website www.supercell.com/italiana.

Legal Notices

THE HIGH COURT
ROOFTOP DEVELOPMENTS (IRELAND) LIMITED
IN THE MATTER OF THE COMPANIES ACT 2004
TAKE NOTICE that, by order of the High Court made on the 13th day of February 2024 upon the petition of PPS Credit Services (Ireland) Limited ("PPS Credit"), it was ordered that the Company be wound up pursuant to the Companies Act 2004 and by way of such proceedings in accordance with Article 3(1) of the Regulation (EU) 2015/848 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 20 May 2015 on Insolvency Proceedings and the Memorandum of Understanding between PPS Credit and the Members of the Board of Directors of the Company. The date of the winding up of the Company is 13 February 2024. The liquidator is Arthur Cox LLP, Solicitors in the Profession, 10 Earlsfort Terrace, Dublin 2, Ireland.

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Derivatives. Climbdown

Brussels scales back ambitions for post-Brexit land grab in clearing



Backlash from financial groups and Franco-German tensions undermine the initial plans

NIKOU ASGARI — LONDON
PAOLA TAMMA — BRUSSELS

EU plans to finance derivatives trades through its own markets are unlikely to wrest a significant slice of the lucrative clearing business away from the City of London after a climbdown by the bloc's lawmakers, according to analysts and people involved in the negotiations.

The business of validating financial transactions has become a political battleground since the UK's 2016 vote to leave the EU as the bloc seeks to chip away at London's overwhelming dominance in euro-denominated derivatives clearing and bolster the resilience of its own financial markets.

But rules agreed last week, following years of wrangling, are widely seen as Brussels backing down from earlier ambitions for a more substantial land grab after being undermined by Franco-German tensions and a backlash from the finance industry.

The deal "is relatively soft and is not going to lead to a significant shift in activity" out of London, said William Wright, founder of think-tank New Financial.

In terms of addressing financial stability concerns, the EU "can just about claim that this achieves that", he added. Clearing houses are a low-profile but vital piece of financial market plumbing. By standing between a buyer and seller in a trade, they are designed to cut risk by stopping defaults cascading through the system.

London — Europe's pre-eminent financial centre — has long dominated the business with its large clearing

houses. London Stock Exchange Group's LCH, able to enjoy economies of scale, which helps attract customers.

Even in euro-denominated derivatives, a market totalling €172tn last year, according to Clarus Financial Technology, LCH handles more than 90 per cent of trades. LCH estimates that about 50 per cent of its business in this market comes from the EU.

Under the new rules, EU-based banks and other financial institutions must open so-called active accounts at a clearing house in the bloc, which will handle categories of derivatives that regulators consider systemic.

The minimum threshold of trades that must be cleared through the EU will be set at five trades for each relevant category of derivative and also depend on the value of deals done, which could result in as many as 900 trades a year, according to officials.

Firms trading more than €100bn annually will have to fulfil that quota every six months while firms trading €5bn to €100bn must do so every month, the people said.

Those pushing for more clearing to be done in the EU had hoped for more

trades to be routed through the bloc.

"It's a bit of a disappointment, really," said one person involved in the negotiations of the agreed levels. "The expectation is not really that high that this could actually make a difference."

Previous proposals had included percentage thresholds of trades that should be cleared through the EU but such measures were dropped.

The agreement is "not as ambitious as we wanted, that's very clear," said a senior EU official.

Ambitions for a land grab in clearing date back to the Brexit referendum. Just days after the 2016 vote, then French president François Hollande said the City of London should no longer be able to clear euro-denominated trades.

However, the French position has changed markedly, creating tensions with Germany. That follows pressure from French banks and asset managers while some believe another factor was the likelihood that Germany's Deutsche Börse, which owns the Eurex clearing house, would be the main winner of clearing business moving to the bloc.

Markus Ferber, a German member of the European parliament, accused France of torpedoing a more far-reaching deal by serving the interests of its banking lobby, which worried about the potential higher costs of shifting clearing away from London.

"It's really disappointed," he said, adding that the deal "is a missed opportunity to strengthen our clearing houses, strengthen our systems. The French government in particular has once again not thought in the European interest but has shown itself to be the best ally of the major US banks."

One person involved in the discussions said France was "more interested in avoiding" a shift in clearing activity to Frankfurt than in bringing it to the EU.

Sitting pretty: the City of London has long dominated the business of clearing as Europe's pre-eminent financial centre

PHOTO: AP/WIDEWORLD

The French finance ministry did not respond to a request for comment.

Clearing is the only area where the EU has granted London temporary regulatory "equivalence" since Brexit, lasting until June 2025, allowing the City's clearing powerhouse to continue handling euro-denominated derivatives trades.

EU financial services commissioner Mairead McGuinness has pledged not to extend access after then but market participants believe access will continue to be granted.

"It's very unlikely" that equivalence will not be extended, said a person close to Europe's clearing houses, adding that "it'd be extremely expensive" for banks to move their trades to the bloc.

Banks, asset managers and brokers had fervently objected to forcing clearing away from London, arguing that separation would raise their costs and make them less competitive, but have welcomed the new rules, which are less onerous than they feared.

"We're really quite happy," said Susan Yavari, senior regulatory policy adviser at the European Fund and Asset Management Association, whose members were worried by plans for higher volumes to be sent to EU clearing houses.

She added: "We've landed in as good a place as we could expect given that this was so much a political decision ultimately."

LSE welcomed the proposals but added that EU firms were still concerned about the need to open accounts in the bloc.

Ian White, analyst at Autonomous Research, said the EU had "stopped short" of forcing trades through the bloc, adding: "This might be quite a good win for London and maybe starts to present some stability for market participants who like using London."

London dominates euro derivatives clearing

Annual notional volume cleared in euro interest rate swaps and overnight index short-term rate swaps (€tn)



Source: Clarus Financial Technology

"We've landed in as good a place as we could expect, given that this was so much a political decision"

Regulation

EU open to telecoms mergers for investment boost

JAVIER ESPINOSA — BRUSSELS
YASEMIN CRAIGS MERSINOGLU — LONDON

Brussels has signalled that it is open to European telecoms mergers to help fund the rollout of 5G and update ageing networks — in what is likely to be seen as a softening of approach after regulators quashed several potential deals in recent years.

Europe's biggest telecoms groups have been calling on the European Commission to help them invest billions in the rollout of 5G and full-fibre networks, including through in-market consolidation and demanding that Big Tech groups pay a "fair" contribution for using their networks.

According to a draft white paper seen by the Financial Times, the commission found that "fragmentation [of the sector] could impact the ability of operators to reach the scale needed to invest in the networks of the future, in particular in view of cross-border services".

The regulator said it recognised that, while a competitive telecoms market was a benefit to consumers, "industrial competitiveness and economic security" should be taken into account when looking at sector consolidation.

The highly anticipated report on digital infrastructure, which will set out Brussels' thinking on how to build resilient digital networks, is expected to be published next week and is under review by the EU executive.

While its recommendations will not be legally binding, telecoms operators said Brussels' comments signalled it was willing to consider more mergers in the sector to bridge a funding gap.

It comes after the commission said last year that it had been told by telecoms groups they would need to spend up to 50 per cent of their annual revenues over the next five years to invest in areas such as infrastructure.



Brussels says it wants to encourage cross-border telecoms consolidation

"Creating a true single market for telecommunications services requires a reflection on encouraging cross-border consolidation," Thierry Breton, the EU's commissioner responsible for the single market, told the FT.

"Scale is key to deliver on the massive investments needed to build the cutting-edge digital infrastructure Europe needs for its competitiveness. Too many regulatory barriers to a true telecoms single market still exist," he added.

People with knowledge of the EU's thinking said the paper would reignite the debate about telecoms consolidation after years of concern about tie-ups leading to rising prices for consumers.

Brussels has previously blocked big deals, including CK Hutchison's €10.5bn attempt to buy O2 in 2016.

The commission is preparing to announce as early as next week its decision on whether the proposed €18.6bn Orange and MasMovil joint venture in Spain can go ahead.

The ruling has been closely followed by the industry as a test case for further consolidation in the bloc.

Europe's biggest telecoms groups have also called on the EU to compel Big Tech to pay a "fair" contribution for using their networks.

The chief executives of 20 companies including BT and Deutsche Telekom last year signed a letter to be sent to the commission and members of the European parliament about the initiative.

In the draft paper, Brussels said it might need to act to ensure that all players, including large technology companies, paid for the use of the infrastructure they use, "to ensure a regulatory level playing field and equivalent rights and obligations for all actors".

Submarine connectivity and cables also posed a "challenge to EU resilience", the commission said in the draft paper.

It added that incidents such as in the Baltic Sea — appearing to reference a leak in a gas pipeline and a break in a data cable between Finland and Estonia last year — demonstrated the bloc's vulnerability.

From October, a new directive will require member states to adopt policies related to the cyber security of infrastructure such as submarine cables and to ensure the protection of "vital security interests" from sabotage and espionage, according to the draft.

The "NIS 2" directive is also set to apply to other entities that may operate submarine cables, such as cloud or data centre services providers.

Equities

Heineken says higher prices hit demand for its brands

MADELEINE SPEED — LONDON

Heineken, the world's second-biggest brewer, has tempered expectations for annual profit growth, saying higher prices hit demand last year.

In its latest results published yesterday, the Amsterdam-listed group said it expected operating profit growth of between low and high single-digits in 2024. Analysts had forecast a figure of 9.9 per cent.

Shares in the company, which owns brands including Amstel, Birra Moretti and Red Stripe, dropped 7 per cent by the close of trading.

Volumes fell 4.7 per cent last year, more than analysts had expected, after Heineken increased prices 10.2 per cent on average.

Chief executive Dolf van den Brink told the Financial Times that Heineken had added the low single-digit to the range because of uncertainty about the economic and geopolitical outlook.

"It's still a broad range that includes mid- to high single-digits," he said, adding that he was "cautiously optimistic".

Equities

Lyft shares go on wild ride after earnings release error

TABBY KINDER — SAN FRANCISCO

Shares of Lyft soared more than 60 per cent late on Tuesday before falling back sharply after an error in the ride-hailing company's quarterly earnings release exaggerated the outlook for margin growth in 2024 by 10 times.

The company reported that it would improve adjusted earnings margins by 500 basis points, or 5 percentage points, in 2024 compared with the previous year.

Lyft stock surged in the minutes after the announcement to just over \$20, the highest since August 2022.

The shares then retreated to a gain of about 15 per cent after chief financial officer Erin Brewer said on a call with investors and analysts that the increase would in fact be 50bp, or 0.5 percentage points.

"This is actually a correction from the press release," Brewer said. In mid-morning trading yesterday, Lyft shares were up about 31 per cent.

The mistake adds to years of woes for Lyft's shares, which have lost about 80 per cent of their value since its initial public offering in 2019.

The erroneously strong prediction was taken as a sign by investors that the company's efforts to challenge much-rival Uber under chief executive David Risher, who took over less than a

"In 2024, we will prove that Lyft's customer obsession will drive profitable growth"

year ago, had started to pay off. The company has invested millions of dollars to attract new drivers to its platform but has failed to significantly narrow the gap with Uber on the number of users.

Lyft's gross bookings increased 17 per cent to \$3.7bn in the quarter compared with a year earlier, according to its latest earnings.

It reported adjusted earnings of 18 cents a share in the quarter, more than the 8 cents a share analysts had forecast. Revenue of \$1.2bn aligned with analysts' expectations. Net losses narrowed to \$26.3mn.

For the first quarter of 2024, Lyft forecast gross bookings in the range of \$3.5bn to \$3.6bn and adjusted earnings before interest, taxes, depreciation and amortisation of \$50mn-\$55mn.

Lyft said it expected to generate full-year positive free cash flow for the first time in 2024.

Risher said: "In 2023, the Lyft team set ambitious goals and the results speak for themselves. We reached the highest level of annual riders in our history, delivered over 700mn rides, and helped drivers take home over \$8bn..."

In 2024, we'll prove that Lyft's customer obsession will drive profitable growth."

Uber last week cheered investors after reporting its first annual profit. It said gross bookings in the final quarter of 2023 had increased 22 per cent to \$37.6bn compared with the previous year.

See Lex

Our global team gives you market-moving news and views, 24 hours a day
ft.com/markets

COMPANIES & MARKETS

The day in the markets

What you need to know

- Lower than expected UK inflation boosts gilts and FTSE 100
- Treasuries reverse part of steep sell-off in previous trading session
- Europe's stocks and benchmark debt also attract buyers

Global stocks and bonds rose yesterday as lower than expected UK inflation helped soothe recent concerns over persistent global price pressures. Wall Street's benchmark S&P 500 was up 0.4 per cent by early afternoon in New York, led higher by industrial stocks, while the tech-heavy Nasdaq Composite added 0.5 per cent.

Yields on two-year Treasuries, which are particularly sensitive to interest rates, fell 8 basis points to 4.58 per cent while those on benchmark 10-year Treasury bonds were down 5bp to 4.27 per cent as investors bought the debt.

The moves reversed part of a steep sell-off in the previous trading session that came after surprisingly hot inflation figures from the US prompted investors to push back their bets on interest rate cuts.

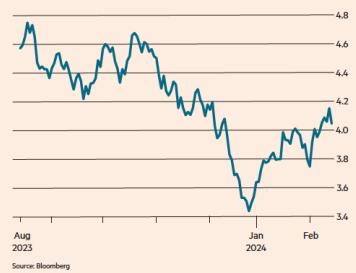
The rebound was particularly strong in the UK. Consumer price inflation data prompted traders to bring forward bets on rate cuts from the Bank of England.

The UK's annual rate of inflation was unchanged month on month at 4 per cent in January, below economists' expectations of 4.2 per cent.

This will be taken as good news by those looking for rate cuts sooner rather than later," said Neil Barrett, chief investment officer at Premier Miton Investors.

London's FTSE 100 gained 0.8 per cent. Yields on rate-sensitive two-year gilts

UK government bonds bounce back



Source: Bloomberg

slipped 12bp to 2.56 per cent while those on benchmark 10-year bonds fell 10bp to 4.05 per cent, reflecting higher prices.

The pound edged 0.4 per cent lower against the euro to £1.17.

The region-wide Stoxx Europe 600 equities index added 0.5 per cent, Paris's CAC 40 rose 0.7 per cent and Frankfurt's Xetra Dax gained 0.4 per cent.

Yields on 10-year German Bunds — the benchmark for the eurozone — fell 5bp to 2.34 per cent.

Markets were largely unmoved by comments from European Central Bank vice-president Luis de Guindos, who insisted the central bank needed more time before it could start cutting rates.

"Wage pressures remain high and we do not yet have sufficient data to confirm they are starting to ease," de Guindos said in a speech in Split, Croatia.

He warned that "profit margins could also prove more resilient than anticipated", while "heightened geopolitical tensions, especially in the Middle East, could raise energy prices and disrupt global trade".

In Asia, Hong Kong's Hang Seng index gained 0.8 per cent on the first day of trading following an extended break for the lunar new year holidays but markets in mainland China remained closed.

Tokyo's Topix and Seoul's Kospi both retreated 1.3 per cent. Stephanie Stacey

Gen AI is set to shake up asset management

Mohamed El-Erian
Markets Insight



There is little doubt that generative AI is a massively disruptive innovation that will bring both job destruction and enhancement. The balance between the two is now a hot topic where asset management increasingly finds itself, albeit unwittingly, serving as a "natural experiment".

How the generative AI revolution, or Gen AI, is being deployed in the industry shines a spotlight not only on the job debate but also on broader organisational and regulatory issues that will impact the rest of finance, health and well beyond.

One of the most striking aspects of the Gen AI revolution is that it is just getting started. Its main drivers — computing power, data, talent and funding — are compounding at a scale and speed that will accentuate its disruptive forces. No wonder it has risen to the top of the agenda of CEOs in an ever-increasing number of companies and sectors.

Asset management is one of the sectors where Gen AI offers great promise, pointing to a series of changes on how the industry operates and is organised. Already, it is being used by the most agile companies to improve operational efficiency and communications and better protect against cyber attacks. And this is just the start.

Investment and client-facing teams can now prepare presentations with incredible ease to convey capabilities and justify new trade ideas. The communication of returns and performance attribution to clients, a critical and time-consuming obligation, is done more quickly and accurately. And the tech teams have more tools at their disposal to combat the growing number of hacking attempts.

In every one of these cases, Gen AI is labour-enhancing. It augments what employees can do, helping them move up the value-added curve.

While there will be job losses among routine-based, low-skill tasks, the overall impact on labour is positive, especially as more engineers are hired. Knowing how to talk to AI engines becomes an essential skill for both new and much of the existing staff.

Now look forward. It is not difficult to envisage a world where Gen AI engines are an integral part of all the higher-skill tasks of asset allocation, model portfolios, security selection and risk mitigation.

Mid-sized managers and the Gen AI-lagging firms will be pressured to consolidate or atrophy

These engines will be trained on the enormous data sets that reside in the sector that are grossly under-exploited.

Given advances elsewhere in tech, it is also not difficult to imagine Gen AI tools helping to create and structure new asset classes, trained in this case by a combination of actual and virtual data.

With time, the most dynamic and successful parts of the asset management will combine Gen AI-enabled tools with new capabilities that, importantly, are Gen AI native. With that comes the ability to personalise in a much more refined manner individual investment accounts to meet clients' risk tolerance and behavioural inclinations.

Yet the road ahead will also be bumpy. Existing capabilities are far from flawless and talent is not evenly distributed.

Their application is subject to biases. There are still no good answers as to who will internally police the AI and what broader set of domestic and, potentially, international regulations will govern it.

And the increasing fragmentation of the technology stack between China and the US, a phenomenon that will only deepen, is making those living in the in-between particularly uncomfortable.

This is also a road that will see major disruptions to the structure of the industry. Those lagging in understanding the disruptive power of AI and its potential applications — particularly on account of talent, management agility and data organisation — will find it increasingly hard to catch up.

The gap will only grow if they fail to take advantage of the leapfrogging opportunities that are only likely to be available early on.

Put together, this dynamic will further push the industry trends towards a structure of a handful of very big firms and a larger number of much smaller niche players. Mid-sized managers, those with \$100bn to \$500bn of assets under management, and the Gen AI-lagging firms will be pressured to consolidate or simply atrophy. This is where the job destruction occurs.

What asset management faces will be repeated in different ways elsewhere, including the rest of finance and health. It is a phenomenon that firms can ignore only at their peril. It is also one that will pressure those regulators who, having focused too much on banks, are already behind in their understanding and supervision of non-banks.

Mohamed El-Erian is president of Queens' College, Cambridge, and an adviser to Allianz and Goldman

Markets update

	US	Eurozone	Japan	UK	China	Brazil
Stocks	S&P 500	Eurofirst 300	Nikkei 225	FTSE100	Shanghai Comp	Bovespa
Level	4965.50	1921.15	37703.32	7588.40	2865.90	127044.56
% change on day	0.25	0.48	-0.69	0.75	1.28	-0.76
Currency	\$ index (DXY)	\$ per €	Yen per \$	\$ per £	Rmb per \$	Real per \$
Level	104.839	1.072	150.625	1.255	7.194	4.966
% change on day	-0.15	0.00	0.02	-0.37	0.00	0.23
Govt. bonds	10-year Treasury	10-year Bund	10-year JGB	10-year Gilt	10-year bond	10-year bond
Yield	4.256	2.339	0.755	4.222	2.482	10.373
Basis point change on day	-1.560	-5.300	3.040	-10.000	0.000	-0.500
World index, Commods	FTSE All-World	Oil - Brent	Oil - WTI	Gold	Silver	Metals (LME)
Level	488.77	82.54	77.21	1996.10	22.87	3595.70
% change on day	0.25	0.52	-0.46	0.95	0.20	0.25

Main equity markets



Biggest movers

	US	Eurozone	UK
Up	Uber 11.39	Vopak 10.04	Coca-cola Hbc Ag 7.98
	Charles River Laboratories Int 8.37	Cap Gemini 6.80	Persimmon 3.08
	Davita 8.18	Freseniusmedicare 4.50	Fraser's 2.88
	Ixvia Holdings 8.03	Schindler 4.12	Rentokil Initial 2.83
	Welltower 6.18	Thales 3.93	JD Sports Fashion 2.69
Down	Mgm Resorts Int -7.88	Thyssenkrupp -9.45	Enfain -4.15
	Akamai -7.27	Heineken Holding -6.51	Fresnillo -1.12
	Invesco Ltd -6.17	Hessle -5.71	Endeavour Mining -1.08
	Kraft Heinz (the) -4.02	Ab Inbev -2.31	Centrica -0.85
	Airbnb -3.81	Casino Guichard -2.20	Bp -0.68

Equities

Thyssenkrupp's shares retreat 10% on cut to sales and profit guidance

German industrial conglomerate Thyssenkrupp has cut its full-year sales and profit guidance and written down the value of its steel business for the second time in three months amid weak demand from European carmakers.

Thyssenkrupp said yesterday that it expected sales of €37.5bn in 2024, roughly the same as last year. It had previously forecast a slight increase.

Thyssenkrupp shares fell about 10 per cent and have lost more than a quarter of their value in the past six months.

The company also cut its previous guidance of net income "in the low to mid three-digit million euro range", saying it now expects to break even.

It wrote down its steel business — Germany's largest — by a further €200mn, adding to the €2.1bn writedown that it booked in November because of high prices for gas and other raw materials.

Chief financial officer Klaus Keysberg said demand for steel from European carmakers had not yet recovered from the pandemic. "Compared with [before the pandemic], we still see a gap and this is where we are," he added.

In 2022, just under 3.5mn passenger cars were produced in Germany, according to the most recent data published by industry group VDA, compared with 5.7mn in 2017.

Asked from the pandemic, car production in Germany has not fallen below 3.5mn since the energy crisis in the 1970s.

Thyssenkrupp has been struggling for more than a decade to reduce its reliance

on steel and switch to other industrial products.

It has also been under pressure to reduce debts that it amassed partly because of a 2005 investment in a Brazilian steelmaking business that cost the company €8bn in losses.

In 2019, shareholders pushed the company into selling its lucrative lifts and escalators business to private equity groups for €17bn. It has since closed or sold several other smaller units, including its mining equipment division.

Chief executive Miguel López joined the company last year after his predecessor, Martina Merz, was pushed out by the board because of slow progress in the company's efforts to spin out its steel and marine line businesses.

Thyssenkrupp also said there was no update on ongoing negotiations to sell half its steel business to Czech energy tycoon Daniel Křetínský.

See Lex

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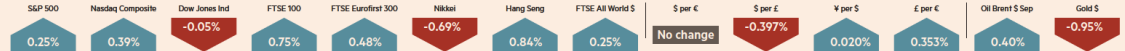
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MARKET DATA

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

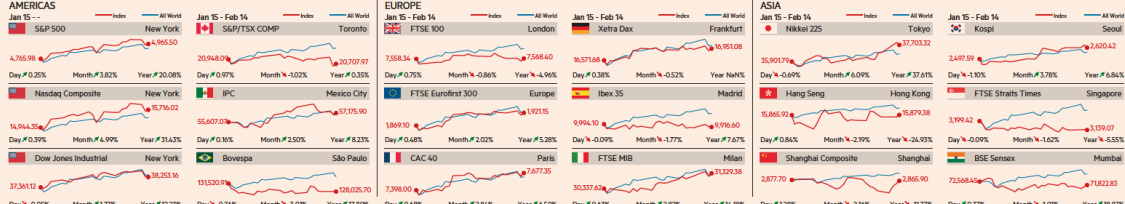


Table listing various stock indices with columns for Country, Index Name, Last Price, and Change. Includes indices like Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, etc.

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STOCK MARKET: BIGGEST MOVERS

Table showing top gainers and losers in various stock markets including AMERICAS, EUROPE, ASIA, and UK MARKET WINNERS AND LOSERS.

Based on the constituents of the S&P 500. Based on the constituents of the FTSE 100 index. Based on the constituents of the FTSE Eurofirst 300 European index. Based on the constituents of the Nikkei 225 index.

CURRENCIES

Table showing currency exchange rates for various currencies including Dollar, Euro, Pound, and others.

FTSE ACTUALLY SHARE INDEX

Table showing FTSE ACTUALLY SHARE INDEX data for various countries and indices.

FTSE 100 INDEX

Table showing FTSE 100 INDEX data including components like FTSE 100, FTSE 250, FTSE 350, etc.

FTSE GLOBAL EQUITY INDEX SERIES

Table showing FTSE GLOBAL EQUITY INDEX SERIES data for various regions and indices.

UK STOCK MARKET TRADING DATA

Table showing UK STOCK MARKET TRADING DATA including turnover, volume, and other metrics.

UK FIRMS OFFERS

Table showing UK FIRMS OFFERS data including company names, offer amounts, and dates.

UK COMPANY RESULTS

Table showing UK COMPANY RESULTS data including company names, earnings, and dividends.

UK CENTURY EQUITY ISSUES

Table showing UK CENTURY EQUITY ISSUES data including company names, issue amounts, and dates.

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MARKET DATA

FT500: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table with columns: Stock, Price, Change, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists major UK companies like AstraZeneca, BP, BT Group, etc.

Table with columns: Stock, Price, Change, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists major European companies like ASML, SAP, Siemens, etc.

Table with columns: Stock, Price, Change, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists major Asian companies like Alibaba, Tencent, Microsoft, etc.

Table with columns: Stock, Price, Change, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists major US companies like Apple, Amazon, Google, etc.

Table with columns: Stock, Price, Change, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists major Australian companies like BHP, Rio Tinto, etc.

Table with columns: Stock, Price, Change, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists major Japanese companies like Toyota, Sony, etc.

FT 500: TOP 20

Table with columns: Stock, Price, Change, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists top 20 UK companies.

FT 500: BOTTOM 20

Table with columns: Stock, Price, Change, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists bottom 20 UK companies.

BONDS: HIGH-YIELD & EMERGING MARKET

Table with columns: Bond, Coupon, Maturity, Yield, Spread, Volatility. Lists high-yield and emerging market bonds.

BONDS: GLOBAL INVESTMENT GRADE

Table with columns: Bond, Coupon, Maturity, Yield, Spread, Volatility. Lists global investment grade bonds.

GLTS: UK CASH MARKET

Table with columns: GLT, Rate, Maturity, Yield, Spread, Volatility. Lists UK cash market instruments.

GLTS: UK FTSE & CASHUARIES INDEXES

Table with columns: Index, Price, Change, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists UK FTSE and cashuaries indices.

INTEREST RATES: OFFICIAL

Table with columns: Country, Rate, Change, Maturity, Yield, Spread, Volatility. Lists official interest rates for various countries.

BOND INDICES

Table with columns: Index, Price, Change, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists various bond indices.

BONDS: BENCHMARK GOVERNMENT

Table with columns: Bond, Coupon, Maturity, Yield, Spread, Volatility. Lists benchmark government bonds.

VIOLATION INDICES

Table with columns: Index, Price, Change, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists violation indices.

GLTS: UK CASH MARKET

Table with columns: GLT, Rate, Maturity, Yield, Spread, Volatility. Lists UK cash market instruments.

GLTS: UK FTSE & CASHUARIES INDEXES

Table with columns: Index, Price, Change, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists UK FTSE and cashuaries indices.

COMMODITIES

Table with columns: Commodity, Price, Change, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists various commodities.

BONDS: INDEX-LINKED

Table with columns: Bond, Coupon, Maturity, Yield, Spread, Volatility. Lists index-linked bonds.

BONDS: TEN YEAR GOV SPREADS

Table with columns: Bond, Coupon, Maturity, Yield, Spread, Volatility. Lists ten-year government spreads.

VIOLATION INDICES

Table with columns: Index, Price, Change, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists violation indices.

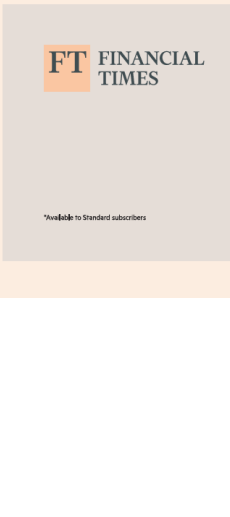
GLTS: UK CASH MARKET

Table with columns: GLT, Rate, Maturity, Yield, Spread, Volatility. Lists UK cash market instruments.

GLTS: UK FTSE & CASHUARIES INDEXES

Table with columns: Index, Price, Change, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists UK FTSE and cashuaries indices.

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ARTS

When a chorus called for change

THEATRE

Sarah Hemming



It takes gig theatre to a whole new level. **Just for One Day** celebrates the Live Aid concert of 1985, that extraordinary, mammoth event which raised £150m towards famine relief for Ethiopia. Even now it is hard to fathom that it happened: a star-studded line-up pulled together in little over a month; a concert that played out for 16 hours across two continents and that was watched, worldwide, by an estimated 1.9bn people.

That it worked was thanks to the galvanising drive and sheer bloody-mindedness of pop star Bob Geldof, and also to the countless backstage crew and even greater number of members of the public who gave and raised money. And it is them that this heartfelt, though flawed, musical from Luke Sheppard (direction), John O'Farrell (book) and Matthew Brind (musical arrangements) seeks to remember. It is staged like a gig with the band onstage and a terrific young ensemble delivering an Eighties playlist stuffed with bangers.

We meet some of the main players, such as Craig Els' enjoyable, irascible Geldof, Jack Shalloo's milder Midge Ure and Joel Montague's sceptical Harvey Goldsmith. But time goes too to Suzanne, who we see both as a teenage schoolgirl (Hope Kenna) in the fervour and as the older woman (Jack Chino) guiding us through events. It's a show that looks back partly to look forward and to pose the question: in the face of overwhelming problems what can ordinary people do? The

message is voiced in "Heroes", the David Bowie song that opens the show and which gives it its title: "We can be heroes, just for one day."

That title also contains difficult questions raised in the piece. How can one day prompt deeper, more lasting change? Might big charity events ease the conscience when what is needed is a fundamental rebalancing of the world? What role does celebrity play? These are urgent issues and the show feels timely: a blast of positivity for audiences confronted daily by grim news and divisive public discourse. (Ten per cent from the ticket sales will go directly to The Band Aid Charitable Trust.)

But as drama it struggles, weighed down by trying to outline the story

'Just for One Day' celebrates the Live Aid concert which raised £150m for famine relief

and emphasise its current relevance. It's important to bring in the shocking 1984 BBC report from Ethiopia and the Band Aid single "Do They Know It's Christmas?". But the script is often awkward and heavy with explanation, spelling out points that should just emerge from the story and saddling characters with lines like "It's time to step up again" or "But how did it really begin?". Meanwhile, both individuals and issues have little time to acquire any depth or subtlety.

What's not in doubt is the energy of Sheppard's staging and Ebony Molina's choreography, nor the skill of Brind's musical arrangements, with familiar songs often gorgeously recalled to work with the story. The Cars' "Drive" works as a desolate response to accounts of the famine; The Police's "Message in a Bottle" turns into an



Top: Jack Shalloo as Midge Ure in 'Just for One Day'. Above: Hannah Sinclair Robinson and Felipe Pacheco in 'Metamorphosis'

trapped or alienated and, with an additional revelation about Gregor's parentage, Sissy brings to the tale his personal experience of adoption. The show also speaks to the rise in mental health problems and the paucity of care available.

But these innovations come at a price. The potency of Kafka's original lies partly in its concision, partly in its ambivalence: the mysterious nature of Gregor's disturbing transformation has allowed for multiple interpretations. By expanding the narrative, this version loses that potency, while some of the ambiguity disappears. The repeated sequences begin to drag on the drama, and some points are hammered home.

That said, director Scott Graham and the Frantic Assembly company bring their customary physical eloquence to the piece. Felipe Pacheco's Gregor is a marvel, his precise body language first expressing his growing unease and then skilfully suggesting both physical transformation and emotional distress. He hangs upside down from the light shade, clings to the picture rail, lies with his feet scrabbling in the air – a beetle on its back; a man struggling to find a foothold.

Around him, there are rich, physically expressive performances from Louise Mal Newberry as the fretful Mrs Samsa, Troy Glasgow as the tightly clenched Mr Samsa and Hannah Sinclair Robinson as Gregor's sister Grete, caught up in her own metamorphosis into a young woman. Even so, this is all feels rather heavy-handed.

From bugs to frogs and another revered physical theatre company, Spymonkey, maestros of the absurd, now sadly reduced to two original members following the death of Stephan Kreiss and the departure of Petra Massey, embark on a contemporary response to Aristophanes' *The Frogs*. The ancient Greek comedy follows – broadly – the travails of the god Dionysus and his servant Xanthias as they journey to the

Just for One Day
Old Vic, London
★★★★★

Metamorphosis
Lyric Hammersmith, London
★★★★★

The Frogs
Kiln Theatre, London
★★★★★

underworld to retrieve deceased playwright Euripides with the intent of saving Greek drama which, in Dionysus's view, has gone to the dogs.

Today, 2,500 years on, the in-jokes have aged somewhat, so the challenge for Toby Park (Dionysus) and Aitor Basauri (Xanthias), along with new cast member Jacoba Williams, is to channel the meta-theatrical playfulness of the original into a contemporary version. In Carl Grose's adaptation, they pick up the gauntlet by introducing another layer of complexity where they're also playing themselves measuring up to this sizeable task and wondering aloud whether this ancient satire can still be funny.

That's tricky, as the results here are best described as mixed. Park and Basauri have funny bones and a lovely rapport with the audience, and their chaotic road trip through the underworld is punctuated by absurd encounters with singing frogs in fluorescent rain capes and multicoloured monsters. Park staggers around in ridiculous wigs and a pair of authentic but impractical shoes; Basauri tapdances and launches into a scene from *A Streetcar Named Desire*; Williams appears in an eye-wateringly accurate naked male bodysuit as Heracles (Lucy Bradridge's costumes are great).

Some of this is funny, some less so, and as the structure becomes increasingly complex, it all begins to feel rather effortful. Meanwhile the serious point of the piece – the company's deep grief over Kreiss and soul-searching about continuing – gets lost in the melee. They're not the first to come a bit unstuck in the underworld; I hope they'll be back.

To March 2, kilntheatre.com



Toby Park and Jacoba Williams in Spymonkey's *The Frogs*

FT LIVE

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SPOTLIGHT ON LATIN AMERICA

Closing the region's infrastructure gap to harness growth

18 March 2024
Dinner Briefing | Palacio de López, Asunción

This high-level briefing in Paraguay will focus on closing the region's infrastructure gap to enhance regional collaboration, drive economic innovation, and empower people-centered transitions, positioning Latin America as an integrated, efficient, and competitive global player.

Speakers include:



Héctor Santiago Peña
President
Paraguay



HE Simone Nassar Tebet
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Brazil



Antonietta Cristina Perez
Chief Country Officer
Citi Paraguay



Sergio Diaz-Granados
Executive President
CAF – Latin American
Development Bank



Mauricio Ramos
CEO and Chairman
of the Board
Millicom Tigo



Michael Stott
Latin America Editor
Financial Times

Find out more at
spotlightlatinamericaparaguay.live.ft.com



On a mission to rule the waves

GAMING

Skull and Bones

PS, PlayStation 5 and Xbox Series X/S
★★★★★

Chris Allnut

Imagine, for a moment, the perfect pirate game: picking a crew of rogues, deftly manipulating the complexities of sail and ship's wheel, grappling your way on to brigantines, swashbuckling with whoever gets in your way and scouring the hold for treasure before you make your dramatic escape into the wind. Now hold that thought, because almost none of this features in *Skull and Bones*, Ubisoft's long-awaited, all-action pirate adventure released this week.

Things are rather more formulaic in this stretch of the 17th-century Indian Ocean: blow boats up from a distance until their cargoes emerge gleaming and intact amid the waves, sell them to the highest bidder, buy bigger cannon, rise and repeat. Such is the life of your aspiring pirate after a British attack leaves them with shark-infested waters to navigate and an even longer slog to the top of the freebooting food chain.

This rather thin plot perhaps betrays the equally tortuous journey of the game's development: originally envisaged as an expansion for Assassin's Creed IV: *Black Flag* back in 2013, *Skull and Bones* became its own project with gameplay shown off as long ago as 2017.

Since then, however, its release date has been pushed back at least six times and its budgets, according to video game website Kotaku, have struggled to hold water. Even questions as fundamental as "Do you play as a pirate or do

you play as a boat?" apparently long remained unanswered.

Clearly no one could agree because the answer appears to be both. There's a rudimentary character creation screen, the results of which you'll see in third person when staggering rather imprecisely around camps and settlements on land. But you're also the collective crew of your vessel; its armaments for fighting, its crew's nest for scouting, its galley to ensure everyone has the energy to keep going – running your ship is all down to you, rather than sharing jobs with friends like in 2018's *Sea of Thieves*.

There's no avoiding *Skull and Bones'* multiplayer elements: at any given time you're sharing the (admittedly expansive) world with half a dozen others. But this leaves your personal goal to rule the seas a little confused: rather than conjuring an air of competition, it reminds you that you're only a drop in the ocean, fighting the same enemies and doing the same quests as everyone else.

Meanwhile, none of the supporting

characters possesses a great deal of personality beyond feisty pirate clichés. When it comes to your end of the conversation, you're left with lines such as "I want to be an infamous pirate" and "There is no room for shame in piracy" – which make you feel less like a blood-thirsty buccaneer and more like you found some prompts in a pocket of your fancy-dress costume. The usual trappings of modern, always-online titles – an in-game store, a premium currency, seasonal paid-for content – don't help with immersion either.

Other details speak to a vision of what could have been: your crew on deck in the twilight, singing shanties as you cast off into the gloom; the gradual recognition of locals as your infamy increases; the heft with which your ship is slammed from wave to wave in a storm. But it's hard not to see *Skull and Bones* as a tempest-tossed vessel of its own, pulled in too many directions and ultimately exploring none of them in any real depth.



'Skull and Bones', Ubisoft's long-awaited pirate adventure

FT BIG READ. DEFENCE

A €100bn fund is the centrepiece of Berlin's new muscular approach to national security as it hopes to build Europe's largest army. But concerns are growing over what happens when the money runs out.

By Guy Chazan and Sam Jones

Germany's unfinished military upheaval

Holzard military base was once the pride of Communist East Germany, a strategic linchpin for the Warsaw Pact countries who opposed Nato. Now it is being remade as one of the west's biggest bulwarks against Russia.

The base's runway is being expanded, so that any plane in the Nato arsenal can land there. Soon it will take possession of 60 new Chinook heavy-lift helicopters and the Arrow air-defence system from Israel, capable of shooting down intercontinental ballistic missiles before they enter the Earth's atmosphere.

"Over €500mn will be spent on new infrastructure here – hangars, maintenance bays and new flight operations areas," says Colonel Christian Guntisch, the German military staff officer in charge of the expansion plan.

But the arrival of the Chinooks will be the "crowning glory" of the transformation, he says. They will replace Germany's lumbering Sikorsky CH-53 choppers that have been in use since 1972, and are so old that the army has struggled to find spare parts when they break down.

The Chinooks and Arrow interceptors are being paid for out of a new €100bn debt-financed fund for the Bundeswehr, the German armed forces, that has become the centrepiece of Berlin's new, more muscular approach to national security.

The investment fund highlights Germany's goal of becoming Europe's biggest military spender and providing its largest conventional army – a power capable of deploying huge resources at short notice to fight a potentially brutal land war on its doorstep.

Chancellor Olaf Scholz unveiled the cash injection just three days after Russia embarked on its full-scale invasion of Ukraine, in a speech to the Bundestag that described the war as a "Zeitenwende" – a watershed moment – in Germany's modern history.

The commitment allowed Scholz to fulfil one of his key pledges: that Germany would dedicate 2 per cent of its gross domestic product to defence, a Nato goal it signed up to in 2014 and had, until this year, never achieved.

Germany will spend nearly €72bn on defence this year, more than it has ever done in the history of the Bundeswehr. Some €25bn will come from the regular budget and €19.8bn from the investment fund.

"The transformation we've seen since January 2022 has been revolutionary, compared to the policies Germany pursued in the past," says Claudia Major, a defence analyst at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs.

But concern is growing about what will happen after 2027, when the fund has dried up.

Experts believe the country will then have to stump up an additional €25bn-€30bn a year out of the general budget to meet the 2 per cent goal – an eye-watering sum that could require swinging cuts in welfare spending if the country is to balance the books.

"We need a broader discussion about where the additional €30bn are going to come from," says Christoph Heugens, the longtime foreign policy adviser to former chancellor Angela Merkel and now head of the Munich Security Conference, the "Davos of defence", which opens this week.

"There is going to have to be a big debate about resources, and how they're allocated," he says. "And my impression is that the government is scared to have this discussion, and is just delaying it."

There is one person in the government who has openly addressed the problem – Boris Pistorius, the popular defence minister.

He has argued that the absence of a long-term perspective makes it next to impossible for the Bundeswehr – and the arms manufacturers that supply it – to plan for the future.

Speaking to the Bundestag in late January, he said that defence required "a reliable, sustainable, and yes, a rising [military] budget".

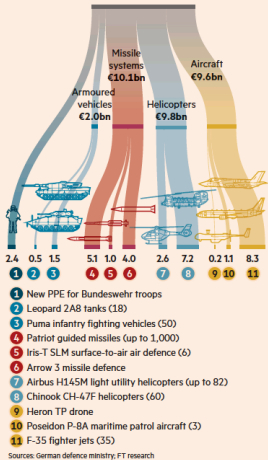
"The €100bn fund was an important first step," he told MPs. "But we must start thinking today about how we want to adequately equip the Bundeswehr even after the fund has been fully spent."

The appeals for more money have been backed up by an escalation in rhetoric that Pistorius himself admits is designed to "shake the Germans



Days after the full-scale invasion of Ukraine, Chancellor Olaf Scholz pledged to boost funding for Germany's depleted armed forces. Below: Lieutenant Colonel Sascha Bleibohm and Colonel Christian Guntisch at Holzard military base

Big ticket procurements made possible through the €100bn investment fund for the Bundeswehr



Sources: German defence ministry, FT research

awake". He said last month, for example, that Putin could attack a Nato member state "within five to eight years". "We have a threat level in Europe the likes of which we haven't seen in 30 years," he told the newspaper *Tagespiegel*.

Such fears are now being compounded by the spectre of a second Donald Trump presidency – and a new era of American isolationism that could presage. Last Saturday, Trump declared that his administration would "encourage" Russia to attack any Nato member that failed to spend enough on defence – a comment widely condemned in Germany. Scholz said any attack on Nato's principle of collective defence was "irresponsible and dangerous and solely in Russia's interests".

In the past few years, Europe has committed to taking on a greater share of the burden of collective defence. But that commitment is predicated on German military spending remaining at its current record levels – and that might be a piped hope.

MPs from the three parties in Scholz's coalition government dismissed the growing fears about the army's long-term financing. They quote finance minister Christian Lindner, who assured the Bundestag's defence committee in late January that the 2 per cent goal was safe.

"He said the finance ministry is starting to prepare for this in its medium-term financial planning," says Marie-Agnes Strack-Zimmermann, chair of the Bundestag's defence committee.

Anyway, she adds, all three parties in the government, as well as the opposition Christian Democrats (CDU) and its Bavarian sister party, the CSU, were committed to the 2 per cent goal.

"The chancellor stands by it, as do the finance, foreign and defence ministers... and the CDU/CSU tell us they do too," she says. "So regardless of who's in power after the next election, everyone should feel responsible for implementing it."

But privately, no one in power seems to know how the target can be reached – especially considering the tight constraints on the German budget. Germany is one of the few countries to have a curb on new borrowing inscribed in its constitution, the so-called debt brake.

With such a straitjacket, plugging the Bundeswehr's funding gap could prove difficult. "Will we have to cut the welfare budget? Abolish the debt brake? Raise taxes?" asks one minister. "We're putting off the decision – but the something is going to have to give. The sums just don't add up."

Scholz's *Zeitenwende* speech finally recognised a truth that had long been evident to Germany's generals – that the country's military capabilities were dangerously depleted.

At the end of the cold war, the Bundeswehr had half a million troops, making it one of Europe's most formidable fighting forces. But between 1990 and 2003, manpower fell by 60 per cent.

The army became a kind of orphaned child, starved of funds. Military hardware was either mothballed, sold off or scrapped. One study by the German Economic Institute (IW) found the army had been underfunded relative to Nato standards by at least €394bn between 1990 and the early 2020s.

Scholz called time on this era of parsimony. In late 2022, he boasted that Germany would soon have "the biggest conventional army" of all the European member states in Nato.

Pistorius has gone even further, saying in an interview last November that Germany must become "brigadised" – a word that means "ready to wage war and capable of doing so".

It drew howls of protest from the pacifist wing of his Social Democratic party.

The shift in rhetoric has been astonishing to some. "Five years ago, people would have called Pistorius crazy for using that word," says Heugens. "Now he's Germany's most popular politician."

But some are still disappointed. "It's the tragedy of the *Zeitenwende* transformation," says Major, the defence analyst. "Despite all our efforts, it's just not enough."

Part of the problem is that despite all the new money, the Bundeswehr is in many ways even less well equipped than it was before the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Germany has given a lot of its best kit to Kyiv. And it is still not clear how and when the gaps will be filled again.

For example, Germany donated 14 armoured howitzer 2000s, one of the most advanced systems of its kind in the world. But, under current contracts, only 10 of them will be replaced. A defence ministry spokesman said there was an option to buy 18 more for the army – "funding permitting".

Meanwhile, plans to swap the five Mars II rocket artillery systems supplied to Ukraine for five Israeli-made "Puls" multiple rocket launchers are moving at a snail's pace, with the Bundestag still to approve the purchase. It could also take years before the Bundeswehr gets replacements for the 18 Leopard 2 A6 battle tanks it gave to Kyiv.

A potentially larger problem, though, is the long-term funding issue. "We are starting a lot of procurement projects that won't be completed by the time the €100bn has been used up," says Johann Wadepuhl, the CDU's spokesman on defence and foreign policy. "We'll have to pay for part of the F-35 fighter jets, part of the infantry fighting vehicles, part of the new ships, but not all. That's why the financing must be continued."

The lack of clarity on financing is a big drawback for arms manufacturers, who are reluctant to invest in new production capacity without an assurance of future orders. "Industry needs to know it has buyers – say a five or 10-year plan with guaranteed offsets," says Strack-Zimmermann.

"We have to be honest: in terms of materiel and personnel, Germany is lagging behind"



"We have to cut the welfare budget? Raise taxes? The sums just don't add up"

"That's especially important for the Mittelstand [small and medium-sized enterprises] who need certainty when they're hiring more people or increasing capacity," she adds. "But right now there's no long-term offset capacity in the system."

Military procurement also remains a problem. Scholz's government has pushed through new measures to speed up and simplify procedures, for example by restricting the right of losing bidders to legally challenge the results of tenders. Pistorius boasts that 55 orders for military equipment priced at €25mn and above – a record number – were presented to the Bundestag defence committee last year. This year, he predicts, it will be even more.

"We're really stepping on the gas," he told German TV last month.

But critics say the system is still too slow. "Don't forget that a year after the *Zeitenwende* [speech], industry was saying that virtually no additional contracts had been signed," says Ulrike Franke, senior policy fellow at the European Council on Foreign Relations.

"Somehow we are still caught in this bureaucratic procurement nightmare." Meanwhile, Pistorius – who so far has the strong backing of the chancellor – is still encountering resistance in the system. "Sometimes it seems like he's tilting at windmills," says Franke. "He asked for €10bn extra for the 2024 defence budget and got €1.7bn. The reality does not match the rhetoric."

There is also a question mark over one of Germany's most ambitious plans – the stationing of a 5,000-man brigade in Lithuania that will be the country's first permanent foreign deployment since the second world war.

Experts say it is still unclear how it will be formed. Potential recruits have no sense yet of where their families will be accommodated, where their children will go to school or where their partners can work.

"You can't fulfil your promise of sending an operational armoured brigade... to Lithuania without additional personnel and materiel," Markus Grübel, a CDU MP, told Pistorius in a parliamentary debate last month. "The brigade is so far not backed up with sufficient means. This promise, too, risks being broken."

That goes to the heart of one of Pistorius's biggest challenges – personnel. Germany's defence ministry plans to expand the army from 183,000 active servicemen and women to 203,000 by 2031. But that will be a gargantuan task, especially considering Germany's ageing population and deepening shortage of skilled workers.

Even now, 20,000 vacancies must be filled every year as professional soldiers and voluntary conscripts leave the service or long-serving officers retire. Statistics show the number of applicants for jobs in the armed forces is declining.

Yet calls on the Bundeswehr are only expected to grow. Last year, Germany offered to provide Nato with 50,000 troops and 85 aircraft and naval vessels within 30 days of any large conflict, under the alliance's New Force Model. But finding enough people to fulfil that pledge will, according to Wadepuhl, be "extraordinarily difficult".

Meanwhile, Russia has shown throughout the Ukraine war that it can draw on vast – though not infinite – resources of manpower.

"We have to be honest: in terms of materiel and personnel, we are lagging behind," he says.

Holzard provides a striking visual metaphor of the personnel shortage, and the scale of the task facing Germany's military. At one end of the 2.5km airstrip, a single construction worker, clad in bright orange overalls that mark him out against the dark-grey Brandenburg sky, toils with a shovel shifting hard earth into a pile.

Holzard's commandant, Lieutenant Colonel Sascha Bleibohm, has no illusions about the challenges the federal government faces in reshaping Germany's armed forces. But he is confident Berlin will stay the course.

"We see from the political side how much will there is to make this success, I have to say," he says. "That's one thing the troops also all recognise."

For Col Guntisch, the *Zeitenwende* means that "we are finally being put in a position to fulfil our mission – now but also in the future". But his optimism is tinged with a warning: "Security does not come for free."

Data visualisation by Ian Bott

The FT View



FINANCIAL TIMES

"Without fear and without favour"

A flawed vote in Pakistan

The shocking poll result is a repudiation of military control

With Imran Khan in prison and his party barred from contesting, Pakistan's powerful military thought it had orchestrated last week's election in its favour. It was wrong. On Friday, Khan — the populist former prime minister and national cricket captain — used an AI-generated video to deliver a victory speech from his cell. Independent candidates loyal to his Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf party won just over a third of the 265 seats, in the deeply flawed vote. Although rival parties have now agreed to form a coalition, PTI's success against the odds sends an emphatic message from Pakistani citizens: they are tired of being led by self-serving political elites and the military's arbitration. The shock result comes as Pakistan is mired in an economic crisis. Last

month, annual inflation hit 28 per cent. The country's debt burden has risen rapidly, and it narrowly avoided a default last year thanks to a \$3bn bailout from the IMF. The country's 44m people need structural reforms to reap its economic potential, with close to 40 per cent of its population living in poverty. But inept, corrupt and unstable leadership has hindered that. The meddling military has in part meant no Pakistani prime minister has yet served a full five-year term. Terrorist attacks have made it even more difficult to govern. Pakistanis voted against this ongoing economic and political malaise. The number of seats won by Khan's loyalists, despite the impediments they faced, is a measure of the people's disgruntlement. Khan's imprisonment since last August — on charges ranging from leaking state secrets to marrying illegally — was part of a crackdown by the military, judiciary and other political parties on the PTI, in which its staff and supporters were roundly detained and harassed.

The election itself was marred by irregularities including a delay in publishing a final tally and mobile service blackouts. PTI says it would have otherwise won a majority. The US and EU are right to call for an investigation into claims of interference. Khan is no purist. His rise to the premiership in 2018 was aided by the army. He also demonstrated a demagogic bent while in office, using corruption claims to jail and harass rivals. His flip-flopping on economic policy — such as backtracking on cutting energy subsidies — has also exacerbated the country's pain. Yet, with alternatives including the Pakistan Muslim League-N party, led by three-time former leader Nawaz Sharif, and the Pakistan People's party, whose president is Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, son of slain premier Benazir Bhutto, Khan's loyalists remained the vote for change. Indeed, the PML-N and PPP have proved more pliable to the military. The PML-N and PPP are set to form a government with Sharif nominating his

Although rival parties have agreed to form a coalition, PTI's success against the odds sends an emphatic message from citizens

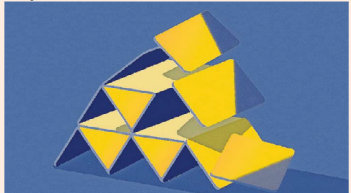
brother, and former premier, Shehbaz Sharif to be prime minister. The PTI has shown no interest in creating a coalition itself, and instead vowed to contest the results, prove its majority and overturn the charges facing Khan. The election's outcome ultimately makes the country even less governable. The coalition will struggle for legitimacy. That is especially problematic as Pakistan is likely to need new IMF loans when its support expires in April, which would warrant painful and unpopular reforms if it is to avoid flirting with default yet again. Protests over the botched election will not go away either. There are no easy fixes for Pakistan's long-standing economic and security troubles, regardless of who is in power. But empowering voters to hold leaders accountable through truly free and fair elections — without the military's stranglehold — would be a start. With this stunning election result, a long-term reckoning over how Pakistan ought to be governed has begun.

ft.com/opinion

Opinion Politics

Elections threaten to upset the EU's centrist apple cart

Natalie Bergatta



Tony Barber

Since 1979, the year of the first direct elections to the European parliament, supporters of closer EU integration have demanded more powers for the assembly to improve the bloc's effectiveness and democratic accountability. Successive reforms, culminating in the 2009 Lisbon treaty, granted the parliament a bigger role in EU policymaking. It lacks the all-round powers of national legislatures in democracies around the world, but it enjoys considerable sway over virtually all EU activities. Now, with the 10th elections to the assembly four months away, it looks as if the parliament could turn for the first time into a hindrance to the EU's ambitions rather than a vehicle for advancing them. At a time when Europe is grappling with Russian hostility, tensions with China and the pos-

have increasingly borrowed hard-right themes of national identity and sovereignty in an attempt to shore up their electoral support. Co-operation between the hard and more moderate right will not amount to a formal alliance. But it is likely to coincide with a more prominent representation of the hard right in the EU's two other major decision-making bodies: the executive European Commission and the European Council, which groups national governments. The larger the hard right's gains in the EU elections, the stronger its claim will be to several portfolios in the new commission, which will be appointed after the vote. In the council, hard-right parties are already a force in or behind governments in Hungary, Italy and Sweden, with the Netherlands soon to follow and probably Austria, too, after its elections later this year. The EU has drifted towards tougher migration and asylum policies since the refugee and migrant crisis of 2015-2016, but this trend will surely be amplified after the June elections. On the rule of law, it may be harder to find a majority in the EU assembly for a forceful line against a government perceived as a democratic backslider such as Viktor Orbán's Hungary. Climate change, on which the EU likes to portray itself as a world leader, will also become a hotly contested area. Laws adopted over the past five years under the EU's Green Deal are unlikely to be reversed, but the expected shift to the right in the EU legislature may delay or derail the next steps needed to reach the bloc's net-zero goals. In a sign of the way the wind is blowing, Brussels made concessions this month to protesting farmers on pesticide use, nature conservation and targets for cutting agricultural emissions. Another area to watch is trade, where a long-planned deal with the South American bloc Mercosur, already in trouble, may be paralysed by a more right-wing EU legislature. It will be no easier to make progress on the far-reaching institutional and budgetary reforms required to make a reality of EU enlargement to the east. Hard-right politicians dislike a Franco-German initiative to expand majority voting in foreign policy and the budget as it would reduce national veto powers. From the eurozone debt and migration crises to the Covid pandemic and Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the EU has fought hard and with some success in the past 15 years against a tide of events that threatened to overwhelm it. The difference this time is that, after June, the centrist, integrationist consensus that underpinned the EU's efforts to meet these challenges will be much weakened.

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Letters

Europe's antitrust record is a matter of embarrassment, not pride

Rana Foroohar makes the point that there is an ideological disagreement between European competition enforcers and those in the US ("The great US-Europe antitrust divide", Opinion, February 5). In Europe, enforcers mostly think they've done a fine job. The director-general of the Directorate General for Competition, Olivier Guersent, argued in a follow-up letter (February 7) that no "radical revolution" was necessary in Europe, because in "digital and tech we are by some distance the antitrust enforcer that has been acting for the

longest, and doing the most. The Digital Markets Act is the latest example." But the EU's long track record of enforcement with few actual accomplishments should be a point of embarrassment, not pride. That failure is why the EU enacted the Digital Markets Act. US enforcement since the early 2000s has been weak. But in the US, enforcers are changing their philosophy: Donald Trump initiated antitrust suits against Google and Facebook. Senator Elizabeth Warren proposed the break-up of Big Tech, and

agencies under President Joe Biden, as well as private litigants and Republican state officials, are trying to do just that. EU enforcers "explicitly" reject this new approach. In 2019, Margrethe Vestager, the EU antitrust chief, expressed shock at the idea of breaking up private property, would be very far-reaching. Similarly, the chief economist for the competition agency in Europe, Pierre Régibeau, dismissed Federal Trade Commission chair Lina Khan as a "Don Quixote" style radical doomed to failure.

Unfortunately, the Digital Markets Act may not change much. Régibeau acknowledged enforcers would be short-handed for the first few years of its implementation. Already Apple has complied in a manner that maintains its ironclad lock on its app store. You can't change anything if you don't learn from your mistakes. In the US, we're trying to learn. European competition thinkers less so. And that's too bad. Matt Stoller, Director of Research, American Economic Liberties Project, Washington, DC, US

Brussels and Washington at ideam fighting Big Tech

Contrary to the opinion expressed by Rana Foroohar (Opinion, February 5), the US and the EU are both working to tackle the excess power of large companies in tech and other sectors. For many decades, the EU has used regulation to great effect to tackle market failures and protect consumer interests in such areas as telecoms and card payment charges. The EU has led the world in terms of tackling the excess power of big tech companies with its groundbreaking General Data Protection Regulation, Digital Markets Act and Digital Services Act, soon to be followed by the Artificial Intelligence Act. In antitrust policy, the EU and its member states, free of the restrictive US focus on consumer prices, have adopted trailblazing decisions against the likes of Google, Amazon, Meta and Apple, which are now the subject of actions by other jurisdictions. The EU's guiding principle across the board has been to uphold a competition enforcement standard based on broader values including



consumer choice, innovation and quality rather than simply price. While greater focus should continue to be placed on effective enforcement of the laws we have, it is encouraging that the US and the EU are now moving in the same direction to make markets work

for all of us and address the big societal and economic questions that are affecting consumers and citizens on both sides of the Atlantic.

Monique Goyens, Director General, The European Consumer Organisation (BEUC), Brussels, Belgium

Could Nato bar President Trump as a security risk?

In view of Donald Trump's statement, warning Nato allies that he would encourage Russia to do "whatever the hell they want" if alliance members failed to meet defence spending targets, might Nato member states not be justified in barring him, if he is elected president, from entering their countries — as a security risk? Not only might this further their own security, it might also send a useful message to US voters who still have their eyes tightly shut and their fingers jammed into their ears. Thus, come November, this might help staunch the damage to global security already created by Trump's comments. Richard Wolfram, Old Greenwich, CT, US

Environmentalists and farmers both need a say

Your leader on agriculture and climate change "The rise of agricultural populism" (FT View, February 6) appropriately addresses the role of the far right in stoking recent protests but doesn't look at the role of the Green movement in creating the conditions for protests in the first place. The headline push for sustainability has focused on the environment, while little or no attention has been given to those who pay the price. For too long the challenges and solutions have been defined as "us vs them" or "urban vs rural". Sustainability in agriculture should be built on three pillars — the environment, food supply and rural communities. EU politicians must balance the demands of the environmentalists with the needs of farming communities. Only then can governments build a united front to tackle the challenges of climate change. Robert McLeod, Principal, McLeod Consult, Brussels, Belgium

OUTLOOK

ASIA

Why Hong Kong's cinema has gone quiet

The mere fact that the most discussed television show about Hong Kong this year is a US production starring Nicole Kidman speaks volumes. Amazon Prime's *Expat*, which contains scenes recreating the financial hub's 2014 pro-democracy protests, is not even available to viewers living in the Chinese territory, sparking censorship concerns. And *Blossoms Shanghai*, the newly released series from the Hong Kong filmmaker Wong Kar-wai, who made his mark with *Chungking Express* and *In the Mood for Love*, is largely a mainland Chinese production that premiered on state TV. What happened to the days of iconic Hong Kong films and pop culture influence, when the likes of Chow Yun-fat and Leslie Cheung appeared on local and international screens? There have been some decent domestic films in recent months. I enjoyed *The Goldfinger*, a thriller loosely based on one of the financial hub's largest corporate scandals set in the glitzy 1980s. Yet, the buzz it generated is far from that of many of its Hollywood counterparts. Cantopop — a music genre sung in Cantonese originating from Hong Kong — has also struggled to expand its audience recently. Spotify's Top 200 charts for Hong Kong users saw the proportion of Cantopop songs dip from almost 80 per cent in mid-2022 to about half by the end of 2023 — though still higher than before 2019.

by Chan Ho-him

Meanwhile, the rapidly expanding Asian film, TV and pop culture markets in South Korea, Japan and Thailand have outshone Hong Kong, and mainland China has been fostering its own new generation of superstars. There's debate over Hong Kong becoming less international as it grows more dependent on Beijing, and Xi Jinping's political clampdown in the wake of the 2019 protests hardly helps its global cultural influence. "Where is the uniqueness that we can hold our heads up and offer to the world?" Tenky Tin, a veteran film producer and actor, asked me this month. The golden era of Hong Kong films and Cantopop was in the 1980s and 1990s, when directors such as Wong Kar-wai and actors like Tony Leung and Jackie Chan took to western theatres while superstars such as Leslie Cheung and Anita Mui led the region's pop culture. Last year, the Christmas holiday slump for Hong Kong films sent a worrying signal, with a 20-year box office low. One reason is a surge in Hongkongers travelling again after three years of Covid. Border reopening also means more choices for pop culture in the city. But with the sweeping national security law imposed by Beijing in 2020 that cracked down on civic freedoms and silenced dissent and another new security law in the brewing, the long shadow on Hong Kong's creativity remains. Domestic films have been barred from public

screening locally under a 2021 film censorship law. Over the past months, two of Hong Kong's most prominent lyricists have moved abroad. And earlier this month, a leading performing arts academy in Hong Kong abruptly cancelled a scheduled drama performance of the Nobel literature prizewinner Dario Fo's *Accidental Death of an Anarchist*, citing "legal risks". Even Amazon's *Expat* was attacked by Beijing loyalists over the support it received from the Hong Kong government during its filming in the city. Officials defended their decision of allowing Kidman to skirt the city's tough Covid quarantine rules in 2021. But Dominic Lee, a pro-Beijing lawmaker, said, "There is no way that this reflects on Hong Kong positively," referring to scenes of the 2014 pro-democracy movement recreated in the series. In comments that also conjure up a parallel universe, top Hong Kong officials repeatedly rejected concerns that censorship has restricted creative freedom. Meanwhile, young filmmakers and the domestic creative industry were striving to "keep their momentum", said Kenny Ng, a film academic at Hong Kong Baptist University. A new code is needed for Hong Kong's emerging generation of filmmakers and pop stars. But uncertainties lingering over the city's future cast doubt on what that code should and can be.

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Opinion

The grip of America's geriatrics

POLITICS

Edward Luce



Here is one measure of America's democratic pickle. The third-party candidates lining up to challenge the creaking two-party straggle are almost the same age as the incumbents. Joe Biden is 81. Donald Trump turns 78 in June. Their potential rivals are all 70 or above. Robert F Kennedy Jr, 70, Joe Manchin, 76, Jill Stein, 73, Marianne Williamson, 71, and Cornel West, 70, are each thinking about entering the fray as independents in one form or other. The old ways have failed America, these boomers are saying. Here are some alternative old ways that you should consider.

Or take Capitol Hill. The median age in the US Senate is 65, which is the birthday at which American airline pilots must retire. The Senate majority leader, Chuck Schumer, is 73. His minority leader, Mitch McConnell, is 81. McConnell's most senior colleague, Chuck Grassley, who is 90, recently put his name down to run again in 2028. That means he is keeping the option open of going on until he is 101.

People are still stunned, meanwhile, that Mitt Romney, 76, has chosen to retire in the prime of his career. The Senate standard-bearer of the US left remains Bernie Sanders, who is 82. His former rival, and sometime ally, is Elizabeth Warren, who is 74. Who says Biden is an outlier?

At 58, the House of Representatives' median age is slightly below that of America's population as a whole. But it is still badly out of whack. Just 7 per cent of members of the US Congress are below the age of 40. America's median age is 38.9, which means that half its people are younger than that.

There are questions – as there ought to be – about the poor representation of US minorities in America's

most powerful bodies. Nothing is quite so glaring, however, as the age mismatch between America's leaders and its voters.

It is as though America went to sleep and suddenly awoke in Leonid Brezhnev's Soviet Union. The former Soviet leader was 75 when he died.

What explains the grip of the old on a nation that is so young at heart? Part of it is the comfort of incumbency. There are French civil servants with less job security than US legislators. Because of gerrymandering and ideological sorting, Capitol Hill has a shrinking share of seats that are open to contest. In most cases, the only way of ejecting incumbents is by a challenge from within their party.

The more venerable the figure, the

bigger the reputational risk to the aspiring Brutus. That is why no one dared take on the ailing Dianne Feinstein, the Democratic senator from California, who died in office last September aged 90. She was a political legend. It would have seemed cruel to point out her memory lapses in the twilight of her life.

Telling the old and experienced that their time is up takes gumption. Still, there are millions of liberals who wished they were a little more insistent that Ruth Bader Ginsburg, the Supreme Court justice, had retired after she was diagnosed with cancer. Had she bowed out when Barack Obama was still president, the Supreme Court tilt would now be 5:4 against liberals, rather than 6:3. She died at 87 with just a few weeks left of Trump's presidency.

Should Biden lose to Trump a fortnight shy of his 82nd birthday in November, he will turn into the ultra-Ginsburg of American history. It is hard to think of a parallel of an ageing politician wagging his vigour on such huge stakes.

To be sure, Trump is also old and

mentally less sharp. If the choice is between two old men, one of whom supports democracy while the other openly threatens it, then it is no choice at all. But there are larger forces at work here. It is no accident that the age cohorts most sceptical of democracy are the youngest. Millennials and generation Z are the least pro-democratic generations in US history, according to the polls.

This is not typical of the young in previous eras, who agitated for more democracy, not less. Gen Z and younger millennials are far likelier to question America's global military role, yet far more comfortable with globalisation. They are much more worried about climate change and far more welcoming of diversity. They are also least likely to believe in US exceptionalism. It is fashionable to joke about the young's technology-added attention spans. The observation may be fair. But it is no joke. They have something to say. Their minds urgently need to be engaged.

There is no need for the Fed to delay cutting interest rates

Claudia Sahm

Consumer prices in the US rose more than expected in January, largely owing to shelter costs. And while the Federal Reserve's preferred inflation metric should be more benign, this was a reminder that the path back to low inflation remains a bumpy one.

But creating bigger bumps in the rest of the economy and financial markets would be a mistake that the Fed must avoid this year.

The good news is inflation has cooled over the past months and is moving rapidly toward the Fed's 2 per cent target, the last month notwithstanding. So, the question is when and how much the Fed will cut its policy interest rate.

As is often the case, the central bank has been intentionally vague. In an interview, Fed chair Jay Powell said his team needed to see "more good data... it doesn't need to be better than what we've seen, or even as good." But how good is good enough? Powell implied that May was the earliest that the Fed would even consider a rate cut. We can expect them to want several more months of good inflation data, then, on top of several months of good inflation data. Clearly, the bar is high.

The Fed is weighing rate cuts against the backdrop of a strong economy. Inflation-adjusted gross domestic product rose 3 per cent in the fourth quarter of 2023 relative to a year earlier, far above the Fed's forecast this time last year of basically no growth. The unemployment rate has been below 4 per cent for the longest stretch since the 1960s. And all with substantial disinflation.

Keeping them high until the labour market cracks is not acceptable

Some think this strong growth means the Fed should not cut. But that relies on the dubious Phillips curve that says to get inflation down, unemployment must rise. The economy in 2023 showed that was wrong; instead, high inflation was largely due to Covid-related disruptions that are unwinding. Plus, 2019 had similar growth and unemployment along with less than 2 per cent inflation. Finally, the Fed has a dual mandate of low inflation and low unemployment. Keeping rates high until the labour market cracks is not acceptable.

At the end of last year, the Fed disavowed the need for below-trend growth to get inflation down. Now, the central bank views that strength as giving it the "luxury of time" to build confidence in inflation. The logic is different but risks a recession, which is what pro-Phillips curve commentators think we need.

The risks are real. The federal funds rate is up 5.25 percentage points within two years, and that has put pressure on the housing market. In fact, the Fed is pushing up home prices, because the people who have low, fixed-rate mortgages are unwilling to sell. So new homebuyers are grappling with higher mortgage rates, high home prices and a lack of homes to buy. So far, the rest of the economy has been able to keep the weakness in housing from spreading, but that is not guaranteed to continue.

Another risk is financial markets. The Fed's rapid, large and unexpected rate rises since 2022 have strained credit markets and banks. So far, borrowers and lenders have navigated them. But, as the dramatic failure of Silicon Valley Bank shows, this environment punishes bad or even unlucky business decisions. It's hard to say where the pockets of weakness are now, but the longer rates stay high, the more the Fed risks seriously damaging the economy.

Several officials have said the "worst possible outcome" would be for the Fed to start cutting and then have to raise rates if inflation picks back up. It's an odd, albeit unsurprising, worry, since the Fed has a history of "policy adjustments". The world changes and so does policy. But the world has changed with notable disinflation, and the Fed is not changing its policy.

From its start, this cycle has had little to do with the Fed. We are so close to unwinding the final Covid disruptions. Now it is not the time for the central bank to drag its feet on rate cuts. It is the time for the Fed to get out of the way.

The writer is a former Federal Reserve economist

Tories have been servants to statism

BRITAIN

Robert Shrimmsley



Britain's Conservatives have always had a complex relationship with civil liberties. On the one hand they talk loudly about individual freedom and rail against the nanny state. On the other, they cheerfully wade through intrusive or illiberal policies.

Thus the party of personal freedom has in recent years introduced sweeping restrictions on the right to protest and a progressive ban on adult smoking.

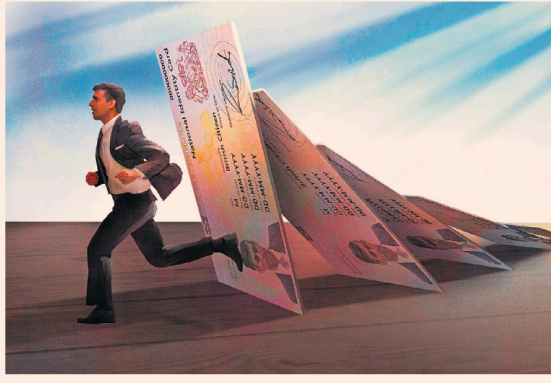
In part this reflects a deeper divide between what was once described as traditional liberalism and the more paternalistic or authoritarian Toryism. A happy compromise has tended to be that Conservatives are comfortable banning or regulating activities that are unlikely to involve them but take a dim view of bureaucrats intruding into their own lives. They do not mind curbs on eco-protesters they are unlikely to attend but do not wish to be ordered to lose weight or buy an electric car.

For many critics, the Covid lockdowns destroyed any Tory reputation on civil liberties. But regardless of whether one shares that critique of the response to an exceptional crisis, the pandemic cast a long shadow on the balance between the

individual and the state nudging the dial towards those who look to government to tackle social problems. This has reinforced those figures on both sides of the political divide, such as Tony Blair and Michael Gove, who talk about the need for a strategic or active state. One example is the way the pandemic is used to justify greater NHS harvesting of patient data. Other former ministers demand action to tackle obesity.

The coalition of Brexit. Tories assembled by Boris Johnson was not built on the promises of a smaller state, for all the free-market dreams of a Singapore-style median age is slightly below that of America's population as a whole. But it is still badly out of whack. Just 7 per cent of members of the US Congress are below the age of 40. America's median age is 38.9, which means that half its people are younger than that.

There are questions – as there ought to be – about the poor representation of US minorities in America's



while also allowing the government better use of data.

Yet whatever the arguments for or against, what is striking is just how much a government that is publicly and definitively opposed to a national ID card scheme has done to ease the country towards its introduction.

Recent Tory measures have included compulsory voter ID at polling stations and immigration laws that demand employers complete onerous checks on entitlement to work, a requirement which would be instantly eased by a national ID scheme. The plan by Prime Minister Rishi Sunak to progressively ban smoking means even middle-aged adults will eventually need to prove their age when buying cigarettes. More rigorous age verification for online sites

looms. Throw in the desire to clamp down on illegal migrants and the argument becomes stronger.

The prospect of these plans can be debated. The point, however, is that the Conservatives are steadily and unintentionally eroding their own arguments against a single recognised form of ID available to all.

Whether by physical card or digital format, a national ID scheme seems increasingly inevitable. Labour's Yvette Cooper has previously ruled out an ID card as part of the party's immigration policy, but more recently the party has been non-committal.

Similarly on health, if a Tory leader can ban adults from smoking it is not hard to see Labour pushing forward with sugar taxes or bans on special deals on junk food.

Such erosion of small-state ideals is one reason why the otherwise comical launch of Liz Truss's Popular Conservatism party matters more than might appear. We are watching the real-time realignment of the Tory party as economic liberals try to find common

For good or ill, the party has let the pendulum swing away from the freedom caucus

Wiping out bad data will not solve China's economic woes

Eswar Prasad

China's economy remains in a rough patch, with deflation becoming entrenched, the stock market cratering and capital flowing out of the country. Deteriorating animal spirits are making things worse and the government seems to have decided it needs to control them – by eliminating data that paint a bad picture and by squelching negative commentary and analysis.

At a time when the biggest problem facing the economy is lack of confidence in the government, such actions are likely to backfire and make things worse. Unrelentingly positive rhetoric, which is at odds with the realities that Chinese households and businesses are experiencing, is hardly the solution to China's economic difficulties.

At the end of 2023, President Xi Jinping gave a speech explicitly

acknowledging the difficulties that enterprises and households were facing. He indicated that the government would take resolute measures to revive growth and ensure economic and financial stability. This speech generated hope that the government understood the seriousness of the challenges the economy faced and would take strong actions to stem the rot.

But then the drumbeat of bad economic news continued amid a tepid policy response. Worse yet for China, this was all happening at a time when the US economy keeps firing on all cylinders.

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to send a message that the economy's growth momentum had stabilised, any risks were manageable and the country remained welcoming to foreign businesses and investors. These words have done little to improve sentiment, either in China or outside it.

This comes on the heels of measures to suppress data that convey bad confidence and financial markets have also been subject to blackouts.

Of course, every government tries to spin economic data in a positive light. Still, wiping out bad data, along with censorship and repression of any negative sentiments about the economy, is hardly likely to inspire confidence. This approach even engenders doubts about ostensible good news. When Li Qiang announced at Davos that China's economy had exceeded the 5 per cent growth target for 2023, it was met with scepticism.

The government's attempts to send a positive message while simultaneously taking heavy-handed measures to limit the downward economic and financial spiral are further hurting confidence. Curbing short selling in stock markets, restricting capital outflows, and sacking officials hardly address the fundamental problems responsible for the economic malaise and might only exacerbate panic.

To turn things around, China would do well to revive a playbook it has used in the past – announcing a reform framework and then acting on it. Some

of these frameworks, including making the renminbi a major international currency and the common prosperity initiative, have been derided as ambitious but empty slogans.

But they did encompass measures that were positive for China's economy and pointed to a clear direction for policy, something that has been missing of late. Given how far confidence in the government has slumped, a lot more will be needed now – not just a clear articulation of the government's intentions but also concrete actions such as fiscal support for the economy, especially directed towards households, and a downpayment in the form of immediate policy changes bolstering private enterprises.

Stalling bad news and trumpeting only positive rhetoric is no substitute for action in solving China's problems. It is time for the government to acknowledge the difficult realities and respond with a clear policy agenda backed by forceful actions.

The writer is a professor at Cornell University and senior fellow at Brookings

Lex.

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Standard Chartered: drastic action needed

In Hong Kong, Standard Chartered's headquarters is squashed next to HSBC's. That reflects the bank's smaller stature against a rival 7.5 times its size in terms of market value. The London-listed lender has long targeted Asia's fast-growing economies – and long failed to live up to that high-growth potential. Its shares have trailed far behind those of other Asian banks. Since chief executive Bill Winters took over in June 2015, the stock is down 45 per cent.

The bank's 4.6 times price to forward earnings multiple reflects doubts about the bank's future profitability and, perhaps, its current structure.

Next week's earnings is the obvious moment for new chief financial officer Diego Di Girolamo to announce more drastic action. Something is sorely needed to unlock the latent value of a bank trading at half its net asset value.

Management changes are already afoot. The bank has begun a search to replace chair José Viñals in 2025. The Financial Times has reported possible candidates. Some – such as Charles Roxburgh, former UK Treasury mandarin and McKinsey partner – still reflect the bank's need to play nicely with regulators. Five years ago, the bank agreed to pay US and UK authorities \$1.1bn for clearing illegal transactions for Iran-based clients.

But the next chair needs much more than diplomatic polish. Viñals already has plenty of that as an ex-IMF man. His replacement will need to put far

more focus on reviving shareholder returns. StanChart's cost of equity is in the mid-teens but even optimists expect only low double-digit returns on its tangible equity. Repairing this profitability should be a priority.

Talk of restructuring its institutional banking division, to separate the financial trading unit from commercial banking, may yield some savings but won't obviously achieve much more. The ventures division, a questionable effort to back new business models such as digital bank Mox, seems ripe for attention. Simply breaking even could add more than \$400m to StanChart's full-year pre-tax profit, pointed out Jason Napier at UBS. But the unit isn't forecast to wash its face until 2027, according to Visible Alpha. Higher dividends – the bank yields less than 3 per cent – and more share buybacks would help. But with current common equity tier one capital ratio in the middle of its targeted range of 13 to 14 per cent, there is little excess capital to hand back to shareholders. Keeping regulators sweet still matters. But those most in need of sugar are the bank's return-hungry shareholders.

Lyft: small margin rise still counts as progress

A mere 50 basis points can be a pretty decent outcome, too. Shares of rideshare company Lyft jumped more than 30 per cent yesterday. The rise came after an embarrassing gaffe the previous evening, when a press release detailing fourth-quarter earnings shared 2024 guidance that originally included a forecast of its ebitda margin soaring by "500 basis points".

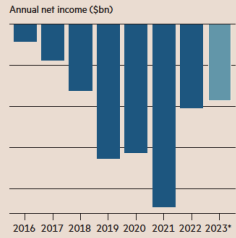
In after-market trading, Lyft shares quickly jumped more than 60 per cent. The company then backtracked, correcting the margin uplift to just 50bp, or a half percentage point. Administrative controls aside, Lyft may still be turning a corner. It has been badly outperformed by rival Uber, whose market cap has reached \$140bn (Uber yesterday announced a \$7bn buyback scheme, a figure exceeding the overall equity value of Lyft).

Lyft says that in 2024 it will reach a full year of positive free cash flow for the first time. If all goes according to plan, embarrassment should give way to some sense of triumph.

WeWork: Neumann's grand vision

Work-from-home policies have reduced demand for office space, leaving WeWork struggling with high costs and empty offices. Last year, it filed for bankruptcy. Rival IWG has also reported losses but claims rising demand for flexible workspace. The London-listed company says it has taken over some WeWork sites.

WeWork losses

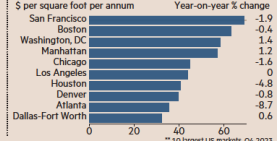


*12 months to September 30
FT graphic. Sources: Capital IQ/Company; LSEG via markets.ft.com; CBRE

Differing fortunes of similar businesses



Rents in selected US cities**



When office rental company WeWork filed for bankruptcy last year, founder Adam Neumann described its collapse as "hard to watch from the sidelines". He did not stay there for long. Neumann has plans to regain control of the company.

The poor state of the commercial property market does not inspire much hope for a turnaround. A recap Neumann founded WeWork in 2010 and turned it into a global brand with a \$47bn valuation. He was ousted in 2019 after a disastrous listing document that said the company would elevate world consciousness while revealing annual losses of \$1.9bn and future lease obligations of more than \$47bn.

Since then, Neumann's fortunes have eclipsed WeWork's. He departed with an exit package of about \$200m.

Careful observers might have clocked that the original 5 percentage point ebitda margin increase was entirely preposterous. As Lyft's current ebitda margin, as measured against total booking volume, is just 1.8 per cent. Even Uber's is just 3.4 per cent. These thin margins – a \$10 fare only results in 20 or 30 cents of company operating profit – demonstrate that the companies require a massive volume of rides to be profitable. Moreover, Lyft for now can only aspire to turn half of accounting-based ebitda into actual free cash flow. A smarter AI in the future will presumably beat algorithmic traders that if a press release looks erroneous, it probably is. For 2023, Lyft had gross rideshare

and created residential letting start-up Flow with backing from VC firm Andreessen Horowitz. WeWork went public via a Spac, reported ballooning losses, and filed for Chapter 11. Its equity is near worthless, and it is trying to wipe out over \$4bn of debt and jettison or renegotiate nearly all of its leases.

Founders who leave under a cloud can go on to win investor and market backing. Still, Neumann is an unusual case. He has a poor relationship with WeWork investor SoftBank, the company's biggest creditor. Sourcing investors for another shot at running the company will be difficult. The model for co-working has not yet been proved. Flux, remote working has curbed demand for office space. The IMF has warned that in the US, the largest commercial property

market, prices are down 11 per cent since interest rates started to rise in March 2022.

IWG, which also has a shared office brand called Spaces, has not reported positive net income for the past four years, though its shares have performed much better of late.

Cheaper rents and limited shared space might help WeWork break even post-bankruptcy. Lending the company's brand name and sharing rental income with landlords instead of leasing space – a capital-light structure – is another possibility.

But WeWork made its name with eye-catching city-centre offices, rapid expansion, and a goal of changing the way the world works. The prospect of a modest, slim WeWork is unlikely to sit well with Neumann's grand vision for himself or the company.

them. Something of an oddity in an industry beset by teething problems and shrinking forecasts, it does what it says on the tin.

Its first quarter, ended in December, showed deliveries on track, a growing order book, and an increase in the number of projects it hopes to capture. Not that it is making money yet. Thin margins and rising ramp-up costs contributed to operating losses, but these were widely flagged. Indeed, its results were a lone bright spot in Thyssenkrupp's challenging quarter.

What makes Nucera different? The first point is that – unlike smaller, flexible electrolyser – its hulking alkaline machines are designed for industrial applications such as refining and steelmaking. In its order intake, Nucera won contracts from Swedish producer H2 Green Steel, and from a Shell project in the Netherlands.

That is helpful. Green hydrogen's suitability for many applications is increasingly questioned. Yet in the industrial space – whether to replace existing hydrogen production or to provide feedstock for processes – its role is more secure.

Nucera's second advantage, in a nascent industry, is that it is emphatically not a start-up. While its alkaline electrolyser technology is new, it is rooted in the older, chlor-alkali chemical process, which still makes up almost 40 per cent of revenues.

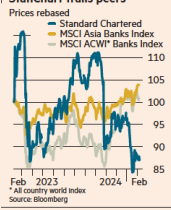
Similarly, while the group is newly listed, it has a pre-existing global manufacturing capacity of 1GW, out of about 8GW existing. That enabled it to secure the biggest hydrogen project in the world, Saudi Arabia's green Neom city, which accounts for more than 80 per cent of current revenues, according to Martin Wilkie at Citigroup.

Nucera's progress has been cold comfort for investors. The stock is down by a third since the IPO as excitement drained from the wider sector. Stricter conditions to access subsidies in the US, unveiled at the end of last year, have not helped.

However, in an industry likely to be buffeted for some time to come, Nucera is at least showing what might be left once the hydrogen hype subsides.

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StanChart trails peers



*All country world index
Source: Bloomberg

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