

## Identity geopolitics and its forgotten wars

GIDEON RACHMAN, PAGE 15

## China's problem with zombie car factories

INSIDE BUSINESS, PAGE 5

### Fraud case Trump's bond cut to \$175mn

Donald Trump with his attorney in a New York courtroom yesterday, where a judge denied attempts by the former US president to delay a criminal trial on charges that he falsified business records to disguise hush money paid to a porn star before the 2016 election.

Trump received a reprieve yesterday in another case in New York after an appeals court cut the size of a bond due yesterday from \$464mn to \$175mn.

In a win for the Republican presidential candidate, Trump said he would abide by the ruling, in which five justices gave him 10 days to find the sum.

The attorney-general's office said yesterday that Trump was "still facing accountability for his staggering fraud", adding: "The \$464mn judgement — plus interest — against Donald Trump and the other defendants still stands."

Bond victory page 6  
Big Read page 13



Brendan McDermid/Reuters

# Boeing chief Calhoun to step down in shake-up after door panel safety crisis

● Rejig includes chair and unit heads ● Quality control overhaul continues ● Customers welcome changes

SYLVIA PFEIFER — LONDON  
CLAIRE BUSHEY — CHICAGO

Boeing's chief executive and chair are both leaving the struggling US aircraft manufacturer as it attempts to draw a line under a safety crisis after a door panel fell from a plane mid-flight.

David Calhoun will step down as chief executive at the end of the year, while Larry Kellner will step down as board chair after Boeing's annual meeting in May, the company said yesterday. Kellner will be replaced by ex-Qualcomm chief executive Steve Mollenkopf, who will lead a search for Calhoun's successor. Stan Deal, head of the commercial aircraft division at the centre of the door incident, is also retiring immediately. He will be replaced by chief operating officer Stephanie Pope.

The management shake-up caps weeks of turmoil for the group after a door panel blew out during an Alaska Airlines flight in January. The accident, which involved Boeing's 737 Max 9, is being investigated by the US Department of Justice, the National Transportation Safety Board and the US Federal Aviation Administration.

The company has had to slow production of the 737 Max as it seeks to resolve manufacturing flaws and some airlines

have had to amend flight schedules because of delays in aircraft deliveries. Last week, Boeing warned it would burn more cash in the first quarter than previously expected because of the crisis.

Boeing shares were up 1.7 per cent at midday in New York yesterday. They have fallen 23 per cent in the wake of the door panel incident, giving the company a market value of \$116.8bn.

Robert Stallard, an analyst at Vertical Research Partners, said the changes were "probably a wise move by the Boeing board of directors... [given that] many of its customers, suppliers and other stakeholders have arguably lost faith in the company".

In an internal memo sent to employees yesterday, Calhoun, 66, described the January accident as a "watershed

moment". Boeing "must continue to respond to this accident with humility and complete transparency", he said.

Calhoun had been "considering for some time... the right time for a CEO transition at Boeing", he said, adding: "I will only feel the journey has been properly completed when we finish the job that we need to do." The decision to retire was "100 per cent" his, Calhoun told CNBC, adding he was in his fifth year at Boeing and getting "close to 68".

The shake-up was "a partial step towards changing [Boeing's] culture to underscore safety and rebuild investor confidence", said TD Cowen analyst Cai von Rumohr. The fact the board has until the end of the year to find a new chief executive was "a plus" because "it provides leadership continuity".

Boeing's biggest airline customers had criticised the manufacturer's production problems and quality lapses following the Alaska Airlines accident. Several airline chief executives had requested meetings with Boeing's board this week. Mollenkopf would now attend those meetings, said people familiar with the situation.

Ryanair chief executive Michael O'Leary, who has an order book of 400 Boeing aircraft, welcomed the changes, which he hoped would help to "eliminate Boeing's delivery delays".

Southwest Airlines said it was "committed to working with Boeing's new leadership team" and Delta Air Lines pledged to "remain closely engaged".  
Union seeks board seat page 8  
Lex page 16

## UN demands immediate ceasefire in Gaza after US abstains on resolution

FELICIA SCHWARTZ — WASHINGTON  
MEHUL SRIVASTAVA — TEL AVIV

The UN Security Council has passed a resolution demanding a ceasefire in Gaza after the US abstained, leading Israel to cancel a high-level visit to Washington.

In the first such demand since the war began in October, the resolution called for an immediate cessation of hostilities for the holy month of Ramadan, of which the first day begins tomorrow.

Ron Dermer and Tzachi Hanegbi, members of Israel's war cabinet and confidants of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, had been due to travel to the US to discuss the looming invasion of Rafah, which Washington opposes.

But Israel called off the visit after the resolution was passed, the latest in a series of public rifts between the White

House and Netanyahu over Israel's military campaign against Hamas. "In light of the change in the American position, Prime Minister Netanyahu has decided that the delegation will not travel to the US," Netanyahu's office said.

Washington traditionally shields Israel from UN votes it opposes and had so far blocked efforts to call for an unconditional ceasefire. On Friday, Russia and China vetoed a US-sponsored resolution that linked "an immediate and sustained ceasefire" of at least six weeks to the release of the hostages.

In contrast, yesterday's measure demanded the immediate and unconditional release of all hostages held by Hamas but did not link that to a ceasefire, drawing condemnation from Netanyahu. "[This vote] gives Hamas hope that international pressure will allow them to accept a ceasefire without

the release of our abductees," he said.

Hamas is holding more than 100 Israelis captive after the Palestinian militant group abducted them on October 7 during a cross-border raid that sparked the war. Some 1,200 people were killed in Israel, according to local authorities, and at least 32,000 Palestinians — mostly women and children — have been killed in Gaza in five months of war, according to Palestinian officials.

Talks for a second round of Israeli hostage-for-Palestinian prisoner swaps have stalled, mainly over a disagreement on the duration of the ceasefire.

Hamas said it welcomed the call for an immediate cessation of hostilities, stressing "the necessity of reaching a permanent ceasefire".  
The White House said it did not see its abstention yesterday as a shift in policy.  
Draft exemption threat page 3



### Growing credit card debt becomes US election issue

Analysis ▶ PAGE 7

Country	RMBS30
China	RMBS30
Hong Kong	HK\$23
India	Rup220
Indonesia	Rp45,000
Japan	¥650 (inc. JCT)
Korea	₩4,500
Malaysia	RM150
Philippines	Peso 140
Singapore	S\$5.80 (inc. GST)
Taiwan	NT\$340
Thailand	Bht40

### Subscribe in print and online

www.ft.com/AsiaSubs  
Tel: (852) 5803 3388  
email: subsasia@ft.com

© THE FINANCIAL TIMES LTD 2024  
No. 41591 \*

Printed in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, Dublin, Frankfurt, Milan, Madrid, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Singapore, Seoul, Dubai



9 770307 178621

World Markets													
STOCK MARKETS	CURRENCIES						GOVERNMENT BONDS						
	Mar 25	Prev	%Chg	Pair	Mar 25	Prev	Pair	Mar 25	Prev	Yield (%)	Dtg		
S&P 500	5225.99	5234.18	-0.16	\$/£	1.084	1.082	£/€	0.923	0.925	US 2 yr	4.63	4.60	0.04
Nasdaq Composite	16411.87	16428.82	-0.10	\$/¥	1.284	1.290	€/¥	0.791	0.794	US 10 yr	4.25	4.22	0.03
Dow Jones Ind	39382.34	39475.98	-0.23	\$/HK\$	0.857	0.858	€/€	1.167	1.165	US 30 yr	4.42	4.38	0.03
FTSE100	2000.89	2019.64	-0.06	\$/K\$	151.425	151.355	\$/HK\$	164.107	163.705	UK 2 yr	4.18	4.13	0.05
Euro Stoxx 50	5046.29	5031.15	0.30	\$/INR	191.469	190.746	€/INR	82.479	82.841	UK 10 yr	4.09	4.03	0.06
FTSE 100	7917.57	7930.92	-0.17	\$/R\$	0.973	0.972	\$/R\$	1.136	1.132	UK 30 yr	4.47	4.43	0.04
FTSE All-Share	4312.78	4322.51	-0.22	\$/C\$	0.73	0.72	\$/C\$	0.20	0.20	JPN 2 yr	0.20	0.20	0.00
CAC 40	8151.80	8151.92	0.00	\$/A\$	0.73	0.72	\$/A\$	0.20	0.20	JPN 10 yr	0.73	0.74	-0.01
Xetra Dax	18261.31	18205.94	0.30	\$/B\$	0.805	0.805	\$/B\$	0.31	0.31	JPN 30 yr	1.81	1.81	0.01
Hkex	40414.12	40608.43	-1.16	\$/INR	898.255	871.970	\$/INR	3.61	3.61	GER 2 yr	2.88	2.81	0.07
Hong Kong	16473.84	16469.47	-0.16	\$/AUD	3576.33	3452.70	\$/AUD	3.58	3.58	GER 10 yr	2.37	2.32	0.05
MSCI World \$	3428.12	3434.69	-0.19	\$/NZD	0.97	0.97	\$/NZD	0.20	0.20	GER 30 yr	2.52	2.49	0.04
MSCI EM \$	1039.32	1040.34	-0.88	\$/CAD	0.73	0.72	\$/CAD	0.20	0.20				
MSCI ACWI \$	781.32	783.34	-0.26	\$/CHF	0.83	0.83	\$/CHF	1.49	1.49				
FT Wilshire 2500	6758.55	6773.91	-0.23	\$/SEK	86.58	86.43	\$/SEK	1.25	1.25				
FT Wilshire 5000	52617.70	52746.60	-0.24	\$/SGD	2171.80	2171.50	\$/SGD	0.05	0.05				

## MONOCLE The Chiefs Conference

Tyler Brûlé and the Monocle team host  
The Chiefs

Hong Kong  
27—28 March 2024

The Chiefs is an international gathering of leaders in marketing, branding, design, government, hospitality and more. Join us for a sharp series of discussions, debates and dinners hosted by Monocle's editors and correspondents.

More information and tickets at [monocle.com/events](http://monocle.com/events)  
All FT readers receive 10 per cent offer with the code 10FT

HOST PARTNER  
THE FULLERTON  
OCEAN PARK HOTEL • HONG KONG



INTERNATIONAL

Russia

Macron in Putin plea over Moscow atrocity

French president and EU urge war restraint after Kremlin blames Ukraine

HENRY FOY — BRUSSELS
LEILA ARBOUD — PARIS
POLINA IVANOVA — BERLIN
CHRISTOPHER MILLER — KYIV

Paris and Brussels have called on Russian President Vladimir Putin not to use a terror attack on a Moscow concert hall, which has been claimed by the Isis militant group, as a pretext to expand the war in Ukraine.

French President Emmanuel Macron said yesterday it would be "cynical and counterproductive for Russia itself and the security of its residents to use this context [of the attack] to turn against

Ukraine". Putin has claimed that unidentified people on "the Ukrainian side" were preparing to help the fleeing gunmen escape across the border of the two countries after they killed at least 137 people on Friday.

Jihadist group Isis has claimed responsibility and shared photographs of the attackers, who appeared in court on Sunday and were placed into pre-trial custody.

Macron said "the information available to us, to our [intelligence] services, as well as to our main partners, indicates indeed that it was an entity of the Islamic State that executed this attack".

Ukrainian officials have called Putin's insinuations absurd and vehemently denied any involvement in the attacks. President Volodymyr Zelenskyy said

this was a ruse by the Russian leader to create a pretext for escalating his war. In Brussels, officials said they were concerned by Putin's attempts to establish a link between Kyiv and Friday's events.

'The information available to us indicates it was an entity of the Islamic State that executed this attack'

lish a link between Kyiv and Friday's events. "There is no proof whatsoever that Ukraine was in any way linked to this attack," said Peter Stano, European Commission foreign policy spokesperson. "We call on the Russian government not to use this terrorist attack in Moscow as a pretext or as motivation to

increase the illegal aggression against Ukraine, nor to use it as a pretext for the increase of internal repressions."

Three of the suspects were identified as citizens of Tajikistan, the former Soviet republic that borders Afghanistan. Tajiks make up a large share of Isis-Khorasan, or Isis-K, according to experts who monitor the group.

The attack has raised concerns over a potential resurgence of Islamist terrorism in Russia, which prior to the launch of Moscow's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 had been the most critical domestic security threat for the country's intelligence services.

"Let me recall one thing: this is not the first terrorist attack on Russian soil. So far, none of the major terrorist attacks in Russia have been clarified, investigated

properly," Stano said. "So this leaves a lot of questions open, also about the attitudes of the authorities."

Russian foreign ministry spokesperson Maria Zakharova said the US had "driven itself into a trap" with what she described as "stories" that the attack was perpetrated by Isis. Writing for the Komsomolskaya Pravda newspaper, Zakharova said Washington was trying to "shield itself and the Zelenskyy regime" behind the "scarecrow" of Isis.

Russia meanwhile continued its air offensive on Ukraine, with Kyiv rocked by explosions from air defence missiles intercepting Russian ballistic missiles. The attack was the fourth in the capital in the past five days. Kyiv also stepped up its drone attacks deep inside Russia.

See FT View and Opinion



Awaiting trial: the four suspects accused of taking part in the concert hall attack that killed 137 people have been detained by the Russian authorities

Nato. Eastern flank

Baltic leaders call on Europe to adopt cold war stance

Latvia and Estonia urge higher defence spending and possible conscription to deter Russia

RICHARD MILNE AND BEN HALL — RIGA

European countries should do more to prepare for a possible armed confrontation with Russia by looking at everything from conscription and a special defence tax to greatly increasing military spending, two Baltic presidents say.

Latvia's Edgars Rinkēvičs said Europe needed to return to "cold war era spending" levels and should discuss the return of compulsory military service to boost defence forces' manpower.

"There is a need for serious discussion about conscription," Rinkēvičs insisted. Western officials have warned in recent months that Moscow might challenge the military alliance's mutual defence clause with hybrid or military attacks on Estonia, Latvia or Lithuania, the Baltic states on Nato's eastern flank,

in the coming years, following Russia's 2022 full-scale invasion of Ukraine.

Rinkēvičs acknowledged that military chiefs preferred to have fully professional forces and that compulsory service might prove unpopular. But armed forces across Europe faced recruitment difficulties and conscription would help build up more capable reserve forces to deter Russia, he added.

"Nobody wants to fight," Rinkēvičs said. "The problem is, nobody wants to be invaded as well. And nobody wants to see Ukraine happening here". Estonian President Alar Karis said that a special tax to fund military purchases was worth considering, while Europe should aim to match US defence spending at a minimum; implying a more than doubling of current levels.

The three Baltic nations have rapidly boosted their own defence spending in recent years, after repeatedly warning the rest of the west about Russian aggression for the past two decades. All three countries spend more than the Nato target of 2 per cent of gross domes-

tic product on defence and are aiming to reach 3 per cent.

Rinkēvičs said: "Here in this part of Europe and the world, we understand that we need to get to 5 per cent... For most Nato allies, we must be honest: we have to go back to the cold war-era spending. And that was for many more than 2 per cent."

Karis pointed out that the US

'Nobody wants to fight. The problem is, nobody wants to be invaded'

Edgars Rinkēvičs, Latvia president

accounted for 68 per cent of all defence expenditure within Nato, spending \$860bn last year versus \$404bn for European members and Canada.

"We have to do something. At least have it 50-50 [between Europe and the US]. It would be better for us," he said.

The Estonian government has floated the idea of a hypothecated "defence tax"

to fund an increase in military spending to 3 per cent of GDP, although it is unlikely to come into effect before 2026.

"It's one way to directly put money to defence, and people understand where this money goes," Karis explained.

He added that former US president Donald Trump was right to call for Europe to spend more. "It is our defence, and we should do it for ourselves," he said.

Conscription is returning in Europe: Latvia restarted it last year and Lithuania and Sweden did so recently. Estonia, Finland and Norway have not stopped imposing compulsory military service since the cold war, while Denmark proposed last month to extend it to women along with men.

In the US, General Patrick Sanders, chief of general staff, in January called for a "citizen army", although the British government said there were no plans to bring back the draft.

Of Latvia's own return to military service, Rinkēvičs said: "It was for two reasons: one, trying to train more peo-

ple was really important as we entered this kind of geopolitical turbulence; two, there is a huge issue of demography in many of our countries."

Baltic leaders have been strong proponents of tougher sanctions against Russia, but they are also facing scrutiny over their enforcement of EU-agreed trade curbs.

Exports from the three states to central Asian countries have drastically increased since the Ukraine war, amid suspicions the goods are in fact destined for Russia.

Rinkēvičs said more action was needed at an EU level to ban certain goods and enforce sanctions, rather than at a national level. "I would say that a more centralised EU supervisory mechanism would be very much welcome," he added.

He also went on to point out that the bloc should consider imposing so-called secondary sanctions on third countries or their businesses that refused to comply with current EU bans on exports to Russia.

Political feud

Polish central bank chief seeks truce with premier Tusk

MARTIN ARNOLD AND RAPHAEL MINDER WARSAW

The head of Poland's central bank is to write to Prime Minister Donald Tusk in an effort to end an increasingly bitter feud that he warns is hurting the country's international image.

Adam Glapiński, who was appointed by the rightwing Law and Justice (PiS) party, told the Financial Times he had written to Tusk last October's election. Glapiński took up a second six-year term at the central bank in 2022 and considers PiS leader Jarosław Kaczyński a friend.

Tusk's attack on Glapiński is part of his broader drive to oust PiS loyalists from the state apparatus. Poland's constitutional court, which is entirely filled with PiS-appointed judges, ruled in January that Tusk's coalition lawmakers could not make the governor appear before a tribunal.

The prime minister has said that the ruling will not stop his coalition from pursuing the central banker. His lawmakers recently drew up charges against Glapiński relating to alleged wrongdoings including the unlawful buying of government bonds and misleading accounting. Glapiński denies all the charges.

Poland's central bank cut interest rates by 0.75 percentage points only a month before the October elections when inflation was still in double digits, a move the Tusk coalition has claimed was politically motivated.

"I understand that, for Tusk, the easiest way to manage the campaign was to accuse the government and the central bank of causing inflation because it was so high," Glapiński said. "But we are now after the elections. It is time to stop. We have common problems."

In response to claims that he was politically biased, Glapiński, who is also a professor at the Warsaw School of Economics, said: "I don't believe that someone in Poland could accuse the central bank of false monetary policy against inflation or purchases of bonds."

Some of the allegations were "idiotic",

he added, and they "have changed many times — there is nothing".

"I hope Mr Tusk will change his mind. He is not an economist. Inflation is now coming down to target. I will send a letter to Mr Tusk to say that there are so many misunderstandings and so many bad words, which were from both sides, that I think it is time to meet and talk."

The stand-off between Tusk and Glapiński has fuelled divisions within the central bank, with some senior policymakers turning on its governor. European Central Bank president Christine Lagarde has told the central banker he



Adam Glapiński: Donald Tusk claims central bank chief abused his powers

EU farmer protests

Caps on food imports from Ukraine risk longer war, warns Kyiv

ANDY BOUNDS AND ALICE HANCOCK BRUSSELS

A Franco-Polish push to expand curbs on Ukrainian food imports into the EU risks prolonging Russia's war in Ukraine, according to Kyiv's agriculture minister.

Mylola Solskyi told the Financial Times that the additional restrictions, subject of a fierce debate within the bloc and designed to placate farmers, would hit Ukraine's revenues and "increase the chances that the war will drag on".

Warsaw and Paris have led efforts to harden a provisional deal struck last week that would put caps on many Ukrainian imports in return for extending a tariff-free regime adopted after Moscow's full-scale invasion in 2022.

Farmers in Poland have blocked the border with Ukraine, while in France, anti-Ukrainian sentiment has been growing, increasing pressure on President Emmanuel Macron to back tighter curbs.

Ambassadors from the EU's 27 nations are set to meet as early as tomorrow to finalise the farm imports deal with Ukraine. Last week's provisional agreement included cuts with a total value of more than €400m over the next year. The Franco-Polish proposal would reduce the deal by another €800m as it would add Ukrainian cereal to the list of restricted imports and lower caps on poultry, eggs, sugar, oats, maize, groats and honey.

Solskyi said it was not Kyiv's fault that bumper harvests in the US and Latin America had depressed prices. "Eighty per cent of the problems that are usually connected to Ukrainian exports do not exist. They are imaginary."

He said more protectionism and subsidies were not the solution for Europe's farmers and that they needed to become more efficient to compete in global markets. "With the help of subsidies alone, we will not be able to compete effectively," Solskyi said. "Competition is always more important for development than subsidies."

The EU's €60bn-a-year Common Agricultural Policy should be targeted at innovation and smaller farms should be encouraged to form co-operatives to scale up, he said. "Sooner or later" the EU would have to decide whether "not to use subsidies any more", he added.

Solskyi will attend a meeting today of EU agriculture ministers, where they are due to approve proposals that would significantly loosen environmental rules for the bloc's farmers. These include deterring requirements for farmers to set aside arable land to lie fallow and exempting farms of less than 10 hectares from having to comply with any environmental standards to receive CAP funds.

A senior EU diplomat said the measures, which the European parliament has agreed to fast track, were backed by a majority of member states.

"They have been put forward as a sop to farmers who have been protesting across the bloc since the start of the year. Further demonstrations were planned in Brussels today."

Irish climate minister Eamon Ryan said that if the proposals "undermine or stop the ambition on climate, the people worst affected... will be the farmers".

Advertisement for Financial Times subscription, featuring 'MAKE A WISE INVESTMENT' and 'Subscribe today at ft.com/subscribe2024'.

Financial Times contact information and distribution details, including addresses in London, New York, and other global locations.

Advertisement for FT Weekend, featuring 'MAKE A WISE INVESTMENT' and 'Subscribe today at ft.com/subscribe2024'.



INTERNATIONAL

# Army exemption for ultraorthodox students poses threat to Netanyahu

Divisive issue lays bare tension in Israeli coalition as Supreme Court presses for arrangement's end

JAMES SHOTTER — JERUSALEM

Yitzhak Yosef's weekly sermons rarely make waves outside the cloistered world of Israel's fervently religious ultraorthodox community. But when the chief Sephardic rabbi addressed the faithful this month, he touched off a political firestorm.

Yosef said ultraorthodox Jews, known as Haredim, would leave the country if the government began to conscript them. The sermon added fuel to an escalating debate about a decades-old exemption from service for religious students that has opened rifts in Benjamin Netanyahu's rightwing coalition.

"If they force us to go to the army, we'll all move abroad," said Yosef, who wields significant influence within the ultraorthodox Shas party, the second biggest party in the coalition. "All these secular people don't understand that without [religious schools], the army would not be successful... The soldiers only succeed thanks to those learning Torah."

Even before the war with Hamas, the almost complete absence from the military of the fast-growing Haredim community — which makes up an eighth of Israel's population and is expected to account for a quarter by 2050 — had long been a point of contention among the rest of Jewish Israeli society, where at least 24 months of obligatory military service is a rite of passage.

But with Israel fighting its longest war since its foundation in 1948, Yosef's comments sparked criticism from allies and opponents alike, and laid bare the simmering tensions over the issue in Netanyahu's coalition, which contains both ultraorthodox parties such as Shas and hawkish former soldiers determined to abolish the exemption.

"The government has a truly stable coalition of 64 [seats in Israel's 120-seat Knesset] and none of its members has an immediate interest in bringing it down, because there is nothing positive waiting for them [in an election]," said Yohanan Plesner, head of the Israel Democracy Institute. "But if there is one issue that can bring down the government, this is it."

The arrangement allowing young Haredim to avoid conscription if they attend a *yeshiva*, or religious school, dates to a compromise thrashed out under the nation's founder, David Ben Gurion, in 1948, which exempted 400 young ultraorthodox men from service.

The compromise has become increasingly divisive as the number of Haredim affected has soared, thanks to a 1977 decision to expand the exemption, and the growth of the ultraorthodox population, whose families, on average, have seven children each.

In 2017, Israel's top court found the arrangement unconstitutional. Now, after years of failed attempts to find a solution, the court has ordered the government to explain by tomorrow why the exemption should not be scrapped by the end of the month, raising the prospect that the *yeshiva* students could be conscripted from April onwards.

For many Haredim, that represents a fundamental threat to their way of life. Over 75 years they have built a world far removed from Israel's mainstream, living in their own districts, studying in



**Differing views: Israeli police remove ultraorthodox Jews protesting last week in Jerusalem against the draft, while below, a rally at the Supreme Court last month demanded equal conscription**

AP/WIDE WORLD; GETTY IMAGES; GARY IMAGES



AP/WIDE WORLD; GETTY IMAGES

their own schools, and abiding by values including strict rules against the mixing of men and women, and tougher kosher requirements than less religious Jews.

"We understand that we are part of a bigger picture and that we should contribute too because we are also benefiting from it. But the army is a red line," said David Menahem, a Shas activist. "The army would like men and women to serve together. But we think a married man and a married woman serving in a tank together for 12 hours — it's not correct. It's forbidden according to the Torah."

Analysts say that while the military will need Haredim in the longer term, in the short term, drafting Haredi youths would have little impact on Israel's mili-

tary capabilities. The time required for training means they would be unlikely to play significant combat roles in the current conflict.

But for many secular Israelis, the exemption is a lightning rod for broader resentment about the position the Haredim enjoy in society, with generous subsidies allowing about half their men to devote their lives to religious study rather than joining the labour force.

The government last year increased funding for *yeshivas* to 1.7bn shekels (\$467m), up from 1.2bn shekels, and opposition leader Yair Lapid hit back at Yosef's comments by pointing out that he received a state salary. "His words are a disgrace and insult to soldiers who sacrifice their lives for the defence of the country," Lapid wrote on X.

That sense of unfairness has been compounded by the war, which has prompted the military to seek to lengthen the time conscripts serve and expand the duties of reservists.

"This is one of the biggest... open wounds in Israeli society because it relates to the... question of who is prepared to risk their life to defend this threatened state," said Plesner. Some ultraorthodox think a compromise could be reached. Bezalel Cohen, an ultraorthodox rabbi, said one of the mistakes Israeli leaders had made was trying to corral even the most moderate members of Haredi society into accepting the draft. He argued the government should focus on the smaller,

**'If there is one issue that can bring down the government this is it'**

Yohanan Plesner, Israel Democracy Institute

more modern segment that might be open to change.

"Everybody who understands, realises that you need to deal with the 40 per cent and leave the 60 per cent alone," he said. "But in the end, what [politicians] do is always the opposite."

Moshe Roth, an MP from the ultraorthodox United Torah Judaism party, said the army could deal with its manpower needs without drafting *yeshiva* students. But he conceded a compromise whereby the most dedicated continued their studies, while others were conscripted, was conceivable.

When it comes down to the bottom line of being in opposition or being in coalition, then everybody will fall in line," he said. "Even though it's highly uncomfortable, politically speaking, there will be some kind of compromise where they will ask the court for some kind of extension, or there will be some kind of committee set up."

But others question whether playing for time will work again, particularly if the Supreme Court were to order the government to suspend subsidies for *yeshiva* students until legislation regulating conscription rules is passed.

"It would escalate the political crisis because it would mean stalling is no longer cost-free," said Plesner. "It would mean that every month of schooling is a month where the ultraorthodox parties are not getting the payments they are used to for their institutions. And this is something they will not accept."

Data breach

## US and UK unveil curbs after China blamed for cyber attacks

LUCY FISHER — LONDON  
STEFANIA PALMA — WASHINGTON

The US and UK have unveiled sweeping measures against Chinese state-backed hackers, alleging that they launched extensive cyber attacks against targets across Washington and Westminster.

The US Department of Justice yesterday indicted seven Chinese nationals, all members of APT31, a Wuhan-based hacking group run by China's main spy service. The DoJ alleges that the group sent more than 10,000 "malicious" emails with hidden tracking links to officials across the federal government, businesses "of national economic importance" including in the defence sector, and Capitol Hill.

The UK, meanwhile, said the hackers were behind two separate malicious campaigns that targeted its elections watchdog and parliamentarians, and announced its own sanctions.

In the US, Merrick Garland, attorney-general, said Washington would "not tolerate efforts by the Chinese government to intimidate Americans who serve the public, silence the dissidents who are protected by American laws, or steal from American businesses".

China's embassy in Washington did not respond to a request for comment.

Oliver Dowden, UK deputy prime minister, told the House of Commons yesterday that the National Cyber Security Centre, a branch of signals intelligence agency GCHQ, had assessed that a China state-affiliated cyber entity was "highly likely" to have been responsible for an attack on the Electoral Commission between 2021 and 2022.

Dowden said the NCS had assessed it was also "almost certain" that APT31, had conducted reconnaissance activity against parliamentarians in a separate campaign in 2021.

Authorities in the US and UK said the politicians targeted were all critics of China.

Four British members of the Inter-Parliamentary Alliance on China, an international network of legislators hawkish on Beijing, were called in for a briefing with parliament's head of security yesterday. Former Conservative party leader Sir Iain Duncan Smith, former Tory minister Tim Loughton, Scottish National party MP Stewart McDonald and crossbench peer Lord David Alton were invited to the meeting about the attacks that had targeted them.

Duncan Smith urged the government to take tougher action on China and label it a "threat". Prime Minister Rishi Sunak warned that China was becoming "increasingly assertive", and reiterated the view that the country represented an "epoch-defining challenge".

UK foreign secretary Lord David Cameron said it was "completely unacceptable" that China state-affiliated organisations and individuals have targeted our democratic institutions and political processes.

Cameron added that he had raised the issue with China's foreign minister, Wang Yi.

The Chinese embassy in London said: "The so-called cyber attacks by China against the UK are completely fabricated and malicious slanders. We strongly oppose such accusations."

Bond restructuring

## Zambia closes in on default exit after debt deal

JOSEPH COTTERILL — LONDON

Zambia has agreed a revised deal to restructure nearly \$4bn in US dollar bonds with private investors, moving the southern African nation closer to exiting default after months of tension between China and other creditors.

Africa's second-biggest copper producer and the bondholders said an agreement announced yesterday would provide more debt relief than a deal which China, the country's single biggest creditor, rejected in November as appearing to favour private investors.

Zambian President Hakainde Hichilema said in a post on X that "history has been made" with the new deal. Hichilema's government signalled that China and the country's other official creditors are happy with the latest bondholder deal, after delays that made Zambia a symbol of the failure of a G20 initiative for faster solutions to debt crises in poor countries.

Zambia's limbo was an "indiment" of the global system for sovereign debt restructuring. Hichilema told the Financial Times last week, as he pushed creditors "to just walk the extra mile and close this transaction".

Under the new deal bondholders will take a cut to the face value of their claim of \$840m, up from \$700m under the initial agreement.

That has increased the direct "haircut" taken by bondholders from 16 per cent to 22 per cent of their overall claim, based on the 5 per cent discount rate that official creditors are using to judge the value of cash flow relief in the

**The country's president pushed creditors 'to just walk the extra mile and close this transaction'**

restructuring, people familiar with the matter said.

Bondholders will also extend repayment dates and provide payment relief, enabling Zambia to continue receiving funds under a \$1.3bn IMF bailout.

They will receive better terms on a \$1.35bn portion of the bonds if the IMF judges that the Zambian economy can carry more debt in the years ahead or if Lusaka beats the fund's key targets. This structure has been carried over from the November deal. Official creditors will

benefit from a similar arrangement if Zambia outperforms. Prices on Zambia's defaulted dollar bonds rose yesterday to about 74 cents on the dollar, after rallying since the start of the year on revived hopes for a deal.

Zambia's official creditors including China have already signed up to giving relief on more than \$6bn of debt, which made deals with private creditors the last hurdle to leaving behind its 2020 default on around \$13bn of debt.

"Prompt implementation of a debt restructuring agreement with bondholders is not only in Zambia's interests, but the wider creditor community as a whole," said a steering committee for the external bondholders. The committee includes Amia Capital, Amundi and Greylock Capital Management among other emerging markets investors.

Closing a restructuring deal became more urgent for Hichilema's government in recent months as inflation soared after Zambia's currency plummeted against the US dollar and the country was hit by drought.

Presidential race

## Senegal opposition candidate set for victory

AANU ADEOYE — LAGOS

Bassirou Diomaye Faye is set to become Senegal's president after ruling party candidate Amadou Ba conceded defeat, handing the opposition coalition a sweeping victory.

"In view of the trends in the results of the presidential election and while awaiting the official proclamation, I congratulate President Bassirou Diomaye Faye for his victory in the first round," said Ba, who served as prime minister until earlier this month, in a statement issued by the ruling Benno Bokk Yaaka coalition yesterday.

"I wish him a lot of success, for the wellbeing of the Senegalese people," he added. Faye secured 56 per cent of the vote, compared with 31 per cent for Ba, in Sunday's first round of voting, with most of the ballots counted, according to preliminary results compiled by independent local observers. Candidates needed more than 50 per cent to win outright and avert a second round.

CEVA, Senegal's electoral body, was expected to announce official results yesterday, and an appeals court must ratify the vote.

Some 7mn of the country's 17mn people were registered to vote and turnout was estimated at more than 70 per cent. Analysts had predicted a much tighter outcome and a possible second round.

Outgoing President Macky Sall congratulated Faye on social media site X, calling his triumph a "victory for Senegalese democracy".

The result marks a remarkable rise in opposition joy: supporters of Bassirou Diomaye Faye celebrate early results that pointed to success

for Faye, who was only released from prison less than two weeks ago after spending almost a year in custody on charges related to alleged defamation, contempt of court and acts likely to compromise public peace.

He was drafted in as a last-minute candidate by an alliance of opposition groups led by the proscribed Pastef, previously the main opposition party, after their first choice, Ousmane Sonko, was barred from running after being convicted of defamation. Senegalese law

prevents people convicted of crimes from running for president.

Sonko, who is mayor of the southern town of Ziguinchor, backed Faye, and their alliance ran a campaign saying the two men were one and the same.

Faye was Pastef's general secretary until the party was disbanded by the authorities after being accused of stoking unrest. Both he and Sonko are supported by Senegal's large youth population, who have expressed frustration with the status quo, with many taking to the streets to protest or emigrate.

The run-up to the election was marred by turmoil after Sall postponed the polls, which were scheduled for February 25. The decision sparked fury in a country with a record of democratic transitions in a region beset by coups.

Senegal's Constitutional Council rebuked Sall for delaying the vote and said his term could not be extended. Sall committed to leaving office by the end of his second term on April 2.

Babacar Ndiaye, director of research at the Wathit think-tank in Dakar, said the foundations of democracy were solid, "even if there have been wobbles". Senegal's US dollar eurobonds rose slightly after Ba conceded to Faye.



INTERNATIONAL

Litigation

Trump rerieved as bond cut to \$175mn

New York judges lower sum in fraud case but 'hush money' trial date set

JOE MILLER — NEW YORK

A New York appeals court has reduced the size of the bond payable by Donald Trump to delay enforcement of a \$464mn fraud judgment against him and his businesses to \$175mn, in a victory for the former US president who had claimed it would be "impossible" to obtain the full amount.

The ruling came as a 30-day grace period granted to Trump by Letitia James, the New York attorney-general, who brought the fraud case, was set to expire, paving the way for her office to seize Trump's cash and properties across the US.

In an order yesterday, a panel of five justices at the appeals court gave Trump 10 days to find the new sum. They also agreed to delay the enforcement of non-monetary penalties imposed as part of the judgment, such as the barring of Trump and his elder sons from running a business in New York and applying for loans in the state.

But they ruled that a monitor would remain in place at the Trump Organization in the interim, as would an "independent director of compliance".

Trump was at a separate court when the order was published, attending a hearing over whether to further delay his criminal trial over the alleged cover-up of "hush money" payments to an adult film star. The judge decided to do so, setting jury selection to begin on April 15 in what will be the first criminal trial against a former US president.

In a post on social media soon after the appeals court's decision, Trump said he would "abide by the decision of the Appellate Division, and post either a bond, equivalent securities, or cash".

He added that it was "very important that this be resolved in its totality as soon as possible".

The order offers a significant reprieve to Trump, who had been rushing to secure the cash for a bond after several insurance companies refused to accept his property holdings as collateral. He is facing a growing pile of legal judgments and costs as he defends four separate criminal cases. In addition to the civil litigation, while mounting another run for the presidency in November.

Trump's lawyers last week said his team had spent "countless hours negotiating with one of the largest insurance companies in the world" to secure an

The \$464mn judgment, plus interest, against Donald Trump and the other defendants still stands

appeals bond for the full amount, concluding that "very few bonding companies will consider a bond of anything approaching that magnitude".

The attorney-general's office suggested that Trump could instead secure a series of smaller bonds that would cumulatively cover the judgment, and disputed the claim that the sum was the largest ever in a New York state court, pointing to few penalties above \$10m.

The attorney-general's office said that Trump was "still facing accountability for his staggering fraud", adding: "The \$464mn judgment, plus interest, against Donald Trump and the other defendants still stands."

Trump previously secured a separate appeals bond for a near \$92mn judgment against which he is appealing, for defaming the writer E Jean Carroll. See FT Big Read

GLOBAL INSIGHT SOUTH ASIA

John Reed

India opposition fears Modi will gain from election marathon

Less than a month, India will embark on the world's biggest democratic election. There will be a record 968mn eligible voters. And, for reasons almost unique to India, they will not be in a hurry.

The vote, in which Narendra Modi is seeking re-election to a third term as prime minister, will be held in seven phases over more than six weeks, starting on April 19 and ending on June 1.

It is so long that by the time results are out on June 4, India will be deep in its pre-monsoon hot season, when temperatures regularly climb into the 40Cs. Mass rallies at that point are a hazardous proposition.

There are political ramifications too from this seemingly logistical matter. Opposition parties say a long campaign puts them at a disadvantage against Modi, who is driving hard to increase his parliamentary majority.

Does India really need all that time to vote? This is a country with some of the world's best IT minds, who pioneered the "India Stack" — an online digital ecosystem where payments by phone number or QR code are instantaneous and faster than in most developed countries. Couldn't "Digital India" get things done in a day or two?

The short answer, analysts and officials say, is no. Ample time is needed to deploy election observers and — in a country with a history of election-related violence — security forces. Some past elections were marred by instances of "booth capturing", where gunmen made off with ballot boxes.

"In my day, I did it in five and a half phases," said Navin Chawla, who served as chief election commissioner in the 2009 election, which ran from April 16 to May 13. "I couldn't do it any less time."

While India's election-related violence has been declining, the risk remains in some states and regional pockets, analysts say. It means a few days are needed to move police and paramilitary forces between phases.

"If the country needed to vote on one day, the requirement on security forces would be enormous and the government couldn't provide this," said Sanjay Kumar, professor at the Centre for Study of Developing Societies.

India's sheer size and diverse geography are daunting too. S Jaishankar, foreign minister, last week spoke of the challenges of "navigating through urban sprawls, remote villages and challenging geographical terrains", as well as reaching senior citizens and differently abled voters.

Taking weeks to vote in India is nothing new. The first post-independence election in 1951-52 required "sometimes horrendously difficult" challenges, with bridges built to cross rivers and naval vessels deployed to take electoral rolls to booths on small islands, according to Ramachandra Guha's book, *India After Gandhi*. The vote took a record four months.

Elections became shorter after that. In 1980, when Indira Gandhi returned to power after a three-year hiatus, voting took just four days.

More recently, however, elections have been getting longer: the 2019 vote was held in seven phases and took 39 days. This year's will take 44.

A protracted vote will aid Modi, his opponents claim. The opposition Indian National Congress says a longer electoral timetable will suit the incumbent, whose Bharatiya Janata party is better funded. "We have to stretch our campaign for at least two weeks more," said Jairam Ramesh, Congress general secretary for communications. "That costs money."

Phasing elections over several weeks, say opposition supporters, will allow Modi more time to campaign in big states where the BJP has a serious challenge from opposition parties, such as in Maharashtra.

Such criticisms are certain to intensify as the campaign season kicks off. But they are unlikely to sway India's massive electoral machine: its five-yearly "festival of democracy" has kicked off, and it will be taking its time.

john.reed@ft.com

International waters. Mining

Russia and China contest US seabed rights

Washington urged to ratify UN treaty over concerns that critical minerals access at risk

KENZIA BRYAN AND JOSH GABERT-DOYON LONDON DEMETRI SEVASTOPOULOU — WASHINGTON

US claims to a swath of mineral-rich seabed are being challenged by China and Russia because Washington has failed to ratify a treaty that governs access to resources in international waters.

Chinese and Russian diplomats said last week that a US claim to an extended area of seabed was unacceptable given its position on the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, according to three people who attended a meeting in Kingston, Jamaica, of the International Seabed Authority, which was established under the treaty.

Hundreds of former US officials and military officers recently wrote to Senate leaders urging the body to ratify UNCLOS. This would ensure that the US could harvest critical minerals from the ocean floor once the ISA had agreed regulations for deep-sea exploration, which may come next year.

The signatories included Democratic former secretary of state Hillary Clinton, Republican former deputy secretary of state John Negroponte and Dennis Blair, a former national intelligence director and retired admiral.

The Chinese and Russian objections came after the US in December said it would extend its jurisdiction over a resource-rich seabed area that made up one-twelfth the size of California and spans regions that include the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, the Gulf of Mexico and other sites.

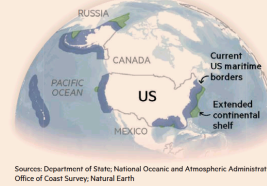
One person familiar with the situation said the US and other countries were entitled to extend their continental shelves under international law. He said the Chinese and Russian delegations to the ISA conference expressed opposition, which prompted a rebuttal from the US delegation, which only has observer status because Washington has not ratified UNCLOS.

Rebecca Pincus, director of the Polar Institute at the Wilson Center, said that



Dig deep: a rig off the coast of China's eastern Shandong province. Global competition over seabed resources has been increasing

The US has claimed an additional 1mn sq km of seabed



Sources: Department of State; National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration; Office of Coast Survey; Natural Earth

criticism was probably driven by competition over seabed resources such as minerals and undersea cables.

"It's warfare, part of great power politics... and an opportunity to be disruptive," she said.

Joe Biden's administration is facing domestic pressure to compete with China on deep-sea mining before an expected Pentagon report on the

sourcing and processing of seabed metals mandated by Congress.

The push to ratify UNCLOS, which is being led by Blair, comes more than a decade after a previous effort to get the Senate to act. Ratification requires support of two-thirds of the 100 senators. Any momentum towards passing the treaty will almost certainly evaporate if Donald Trump wins the US presidential election.

Concern has also grown as the US worries about China's efforts to gain more leading positions in international bodies and take advantage of situations, as with UNCLOS, where the US has less power.

Negroponte, who also served as director of national intelligence, said Chinese efforts to press expansive and illegal claims in the South China Sea in recent years had given more impetus to the need to ratify UNCLOS. He said China had already registered five mineral-rich ocean sites with the ISA, which the US cannot join unless it ratifies UNCLOS.

China argues that its claims to the South China Sea are justified by the "long course of history" and has refused to recognise a 2016 arbitration ruling in

favour of maritime territorial claims by the Philippines under UNCLOS.

"We have already lost two of the four such sites originally designated for us in the UNCLOS negotiation, each site holding an estimated value of \$10m of copper, nickel, cobalt, manganese and rare earths," said Negroponte. "Unless we join soon, we are at risk of losing our two remaining designated sites."

Companies wishing to explore for minerals in international waters must apply to the ISA with the backing of a member state. Not ratifying UNCLOS means the US cannot sponsor licences. It has been on the sidelines of recent meetings between the ISA's 169 members to discuss whether commercial mining should proceed at scale.

Falling to obtain licences for deep-sea minerals could leave the US at the "mercy" of China's effort to dominate the supply of battery metals globally, Virginia representative Rob Wittman, the Republican vice-chair of the House armed services committee, told the Financial Times.

"China and Russia are aggressively laying claim to the minerals on those bottoms... we cannot allow that to happen," Wittman said.

The Metals Company, a Nasdaq-listed Vancouver-based group at the forefront of efforts to mine the Pacific seabed, has been lobbying US lawmakers for support measures, including federal funds for a proposed mineral processing plant on the coast of Texas. "The opportunity for America is to embrace companies like us. The risk is that they don't and other markets like China do," said chief executive Gerard Barron.

One option being explored by Oliver Gunasekara, chief of US-based Impossible Metals, is retrieving minerals from the country's own territorial waters off the coast of American Samoa in the south Pacific. "What people often don't remember is there are these [metallic] nodules in US waters," he said.

It is unclear how much state support a global sea mining industry would need to compete with terrestrial mining. Proponents of deep-sea mining would also have to overcome opposition from environmental groups, which argue it could harm marine ecosystems including rare species that have evolved to survive thousands of metres below the surface. Additional reporting by Joe Leahy in Beijing

South America

Lula's rhetoric stokes investor fears of state intervention in Brazil's largest companies

MICHAEL POOLER — SÃO PAULO

Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's government has been accused of interference in some of Brazil's biggest companies, sparking investor alarm over a possible repeat of heavy-handed interventions akin to the last period of leftwing rule.

Legal Notices

IN THE GRAND COURT OF THE CANTON BRISIAO... SECTION 14 OF THE COMPANIES ACT (2023 REVISED) PART PROJECTS AND SUBSCRIPTION CORP (BENEFICIARIES IDENTIFICATION)

TAKE NOTICE that the Company Remedy and PV Associate Limited, both of whom are registered in the Cayman Islands, have been appointed as liquidators of the Company. The liquidators have been appointed to the office of the liquidator of the Company. The liquidators have been appointed to the office of the liquidator of the Company. The liquidators have been appointed to the office of the liquidator of the Company.

TAKE NOTICE that the Company Remedy and PV Associate Limited, both of whom are registered in the Cayman Islands, have been appointed as liquidators of the Company. The liquidators have been appointed to the office of the liquidator of the Company. The liquidators have been appointed to the office of the liquidator of the Company. The liquidators have been appointed to the office of the liquidator of the Company.

Shares in state-controlled oil major Petrobras fell 10 per cent in a single day this month after it opted not to pay extraordinary dividends, contrary to analysts' expectations, in a decision that its chief executive said came from the president and his ministers.

Mining company Vale has also been affected after the administration faced accusations, which it denied, of improperly seeking to have an ally of Lula appointed as its next chief executive.

In addition, Brasilia has pushed to reverse an element of the privatisation of power utility Eletrobras by previous far-right president Jair Bolsonaro.

In a still unresolved case, last year it petitioned the Supreme Court to overturn a legislative clause capping the government's voting rights at 10 per cent, below the roughly 40 per cent of equity it owns in the listed group.

The moves have raised the spectre of state activism that often failed or proved costly when Lula's party was last in power.

Five investments chair Luiz Fernando Figueiredo said: "The [government's] impulse is terrible. Again, we're going to

test our institutions to see how much they can resist."

Lula's election manifesto in 2022 called for a bigger role for the state and higher public spending, aimed at boosting living standards in the nation of 200mn. During the campaign he promised to manage the economy with moderation, but recent remarks by him have dismayed the business class. "Brazilian companies need to agree with the government's development thinking. That's what we want," he said last month, after saying Vale, a private sector multinational, "belongs to Brazil".

After Petrobras's share price drop, Lula described the market as a "voracious dinosaur" that "wants everything for itself, nothing for the people".

The noise has caused concern in business circles, which had hoped Lula's pragmatism would shape his second stint in office. The leftist's earlier terms saw steady growth and a widening middle class, with millions lifted out of poverty. He largely stuck to economic orthodoxy during his first four-year mandate, before shifting towards fiscal expansion and interventionist policies.

This more statist approach was turbocharged by his chosen successor, Dilma Rousseff, who was blamed by many Brazilians for dragging the country into its worst recession on record a decade ago, contributing to her 2016 impeachment.

Investor sentiment towards the South American nation has recently "deteriorated", said Thierry Larose, emerging markets bond portfolio manager at Swiss bank Vontobel. "These random



Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva: said private business Vale 'belongs to Brazil'

statements by Lula are absolutely counterproductive," he added. "It's a shame as he's done well in the past and the current state of the economy is not so bad."

With robust gross domestic product growth of nearly 5 per cent last year and a strong trade balance, Brazil risked wasting this by "trying to re-implement old toxic policies", Larose said.

The presidency insisted there had been no interference in any of the cases. It said Petrobras' ordinary shares had gained more than 60 per cent since the start of Lula's third term, while the company recently posted the second-highest profit in its history. Lula's backers have insisted the government has the right to influence Petrobras, given it is the controlling shareholder with just over half of voting power.

While Bolsonaro fired a series of Petrobras chief executives in anger at high fuel prices, he otherwise left it to pursue its strategy of divestments as it focused on production and profits. Lula wants it to reduce shareholder payouts in favour of greater investment in areas such as renewables and refineries, aiming to stimulate economic activity.

Energy and mines minister Alexandre Silveira denied there had been intrusion at either Vale or Petrobras. "This doesn't stop us... from keeping a firm hand on the companies with regard to the country's interests," he said.

Additional reporting by Jamie Smyth, Miles McCormick and Beatriz Langella



# Companies & Markets

## EU embarks on probes into Apple, Meta and Alphabet

- Commission uses DMA for first time
- Push for 'fairer and more open' field

JAVIER ESPINOZA — BRUSSELS

The EU has launched probes into Apple, Alphabet and Meta in the first use of a landmark new law designed to rein in Big Tech's market power.

The European Commission, the bloc's executive arm, announced official inquiries yesterday into whether Apple and Google owner Alphabet were unduly favouring their own app stores, as well as Facebook owner Meta's use of personal data for advertising.

The probes fall under the Digital Markets Act, which is designed to tackle the dominance of so-called digital gatekeepers — the biggest online platforms — and came into effect this month.

If found guilty of non-compliance,

**"These are serious cases [and are] emblematic of what the DMA is supposed to deliver"**

companies face fines that could amount to up to 10 per cent of global turnover.

"These are serious cases," said Margrethe Vestager, the EU's executive vice president in charge of digital policy. "And [they are] emblematic of what the DMA is supposed to deliver when it comes to choice for consumers."

The legislation requires companies to allow app developers to "steer" users to products beyond their own platforms without charging them for doing so. It also states that platforms offering ranked search results must limit the listing of third-party services in a "fair and non-discriminatory" manner.

The commission said it was concerned that Apple and Alphabet had imposed "restrictions and limitations" that constrained developers' ability to promote other services. It added that it

was assessing services including Google Shopping and Google Flights on whether the company was giving preference to these in its search results.

The commission said it was looking at whether Apple was meeting its obligations to allow users "to easily uninstall any software applications" on its iOS operating systems and change default settings, browsers and search engines.

It also opened proceedings against Meta over whether the group's new "pay or consent" subscription model complied with the DMA requirement for gatekeepers to obtain users' agreement to "combine or cross-use their personal data," such as for advertising purposes.

Thierry Breton, the EU's commissioner for the internal market, said that despite measures taken to adapt to the DMA, "we are not convinced that the solutions by Alphabet, Apple and Meta respect their obligations for a fairer and more open digital space for European citizens and businesses."

The moves come after the commission hit Apple with a €1.3bn fine for preventing music streaming apps from informing users about cheaper deals. The US Department of Justice last week filed a lawsuit against Apple for allegedly using its power in the smartphone sector to stifle competition. Brussels hopes to finalise its probes in one year.

Tech companies pushed back against suggestions of wrongdoing. Apple said it was "confident" it was complying with the DMA. Amazon said it was "compliant" with the rules, while Meta said subscriptions "as an alternative to advertising are a well-established business model across many industries."

Oliver Bethell, director of competition at Google, said: "To comply with the Digital Markets Act, we have made significant changes to the way our services operate in Europe... We will continue to defend our approach."

## Magic moment Merlin bets on surge pricing to offset lower visitor numbers at attractions



Visitors to Madame Tussauds in London take a selfie with a wax figure of pop star Harry Styles — James Manning/PA

ERI SUGUIRA

The owner of Legoland, Sea Life and Madame Tussauds plans to charge visitors more during peak summer weekends than rainy weekdays in the off-season, as it seeks to make up for fewer visitor numbers than before the Covid-19 pandemic.

Scott O'Neill, chief executive of Merlin Entertainments, said the company was building a dynamic pricing model — widely known as surge pricing — to be introduced at its top 20 global attractions by the end of 2024, and major US attractions next year.

The model, which allows Europe's largest theme park operator to flex prices at particular times in response to shifts in supply and demand using machine learning, is "very intuitive", said O'Neill.

"If [an attraction] is in the UK, it's August peak holiday season, sunny and a Saturday, you would expect to

pay more than if it was a rainy Tuesday in March," he said.

While hotels and airlines have used dynamic pricing for decades, restaurants and entertainment facilities are increasingly adopting the model.

Last month, US fast-food chain Wendy's came under fire for announcing it would test dynamic pricing for burgers. It later clarified that it would "not raise prices when our customers are visiting us most" but lower prices at slower times.

Adoption of the pricing plan by Merlin, which was taken private in 2019, comes as it said yesterday that it had delivered record revenues of £2.1bn in 2023, up 8 per cent year on year, supported by international tourists in gateway cities such as London. Nearly one in four visitors to the city came to a Merlin attraction, it said.

The company's visitor numbers had yet to return to pre-pandemic levels. About 62.1m customers visited

its 141 attractions across 23 countries last year, a 13 per cent increase from the previous year but still below the 67m visitors recorded in 2019.

"Guests seem to be choosing fewer attractions but spending more," said O'Neill. As an operator, "there is a tug and pull in what you do in terms of volume and price and how you manage that", he added.

Merlin posted a pre-tax loss of £214m as it wrote down the value of the Legolands built during the pandemic in New York and South Korea. O'Neill said that while he expected the New York theme park would pick up eventually, the Korean park would face challenges that require a "reset".

Merlin's late-private transaction was one of the biggest European private equity-backed buyouts in recent history. Kirkby, a vehicle run by Lego's founding family, joined private equity group Blackstone and pension fund CPPIB on the £6bn takeover.

## AmexGBT to acquire travel rival CWT in \$570m deal

PHILIP GEORGIADES

American Express Global Business Travel has agreed a \$570m deal to buy rival CWT, in a bet on the recovery of business travel after the pandemic.

AmexGBT, which offers booking and management services for corporate travel, said the deal would add 4,000 clients to its current tally of 20,000. Its existing customers include Google, Aon and Bank of America.

The acquisition comes at a time of growing competition and consolidation as the industry looks to move beyond the disruption of the pandemic.

The Global Business Travel Association last year forecast that corporate travel spending would recover to its pre-pandemic total of \$1.4tn in 2024 and grow to nearly \$1.8tn by 2027.

Paul Abbott, AmexGBT's chief executive, was bullish on the prospects for the business travel market, claiming it had a "massive runway for growth".

But the recovery has been uneven with many large airlines reporting a downturn in spending by corporate clients, even as hotels and events reliant on businesses have recovered.

Abbott said the recovery had been led by small- and medium-sized companies but he expected more large corporates to catch up this year.

"What we're going to see this year is a much more balanced picture," he said. "We're going to see global multinational customers with healthy growth rates in a more stable growth environment."

Abbott added that he expected consolidation to continue in a "very large, fragmented and growing industry".

New York-listed AmexGBT bought booking platform Expedia from Expedia in 2021 in a deal valuing the business at \$5.5bn while rival TripActions, now called Navan, acquired UK-based specialist Reed & Mackay for more than \$250m in the same year.

AmexGBT was spun off into a joint venture in 2014 by American Express and went public via a merger with a blank cheque company backed by Apollo Global Management in 2022.

The cash-and-stock deal for CWT is expected to close in the second half of the year, AmexGBT said.

Abbott said the industry needed to consolidate as clients were demanding sophisticated digital tools to manage travel. "The level of investment that is required to meet customer expectations going forward is significant," he added.

## China's zombie car plants pose a problem as customers pick EVs

INSIDE BUSINESS

ASIA

Edward White



Policymakers from Brussels to Washington are fretting over the security and economic risks posed by a fast-rising wave of Chinese electric vehicle imports.

But for Xi Jinping's administration in Beijing the rapid emergence of the nation's advanced EV industry has created a different dilemma: how to manage the terminal decline of the sector devoted to internal combustion engines.

China's auto industry is the world's biggest across sales, production and, since last year, exports. In 2023, a record 30.1m cars were produced, up from the prior peak of 28.9m in 2017, according to data from Automobility, a Shanghai consultancy. However, the growth in China's EV industry, which now accounts for more than 30 per cent of domestic passenger vehicle sales, has masked the staggering decline in sales of non-EVs. Last year, China produced 17.7m cars with internal combustion engines, a 57 per cent fall from 28.3m in 2017.

The collapse of the legacy car market after decades of growth poses an existential threat to scores of foreign and state-backed carmakers operating in China. But it also poses serious long-term economic and social challenges for China, according to auto sector analysts, academics and economists. The leader-

ship in Beijing has publicly acknowledged the risks posed by excess manufacturing capacity that has been a feature of China's industrial development over recent decades. According to remarks from Xi released after December's Central Economic Work Conference, an annual meeting that sets economic policy for the following year, "overcapacity in some industries" was among the key "difficulties and challenges that must be tackled to achieve further economic recovery".

But there has not been a clear plan laid out to address the problem of an industry in terminal decline. Some factories will be able to be repurposed for electric vehicles, some geared towards exports, but scores are already surplus to requirements, raising the spectre of hundreds of zombie factories emerging over the coming decade.

At a national level, Chinese economic planners must combat a "dual transition" and the quality of vocational schools to help match labour skills to jobs. "If anything, the Chinese government will do better than many other governments, including the US, which utterly failed in terms of helping their workers transition away from low-end manufacturing," she said.

But a key "barrier" to China's reallo-

cation of labour resources lies in the country's hukou household registration system, Jin added. This core institution constrains the migrant population of almost 400m by denying their families equal access to basic services when they move to new areas in search of jobs.

Despite the growth of the EV industry, the number of people employed in auto manufacturing in China reached close to 5m in 2018 and has fallen by 500,000 workers since, according to data group CEIC.

Albert Park, chief economist with the Asian Development Bank, said that development institution had forecast that jobs created in new green industries Asia-wide would outpace losses from declining industries linked to fossil fuels. But he said the picture was less clear in China because of problems such as opaque employment data, sluggish economic demand and the property sector downturn. "The adjustment issues are pretty substantial," he said.

As more factory closures loom, data from China Labour Bulletin, a Hong Kong NGO, shows more than 60 protests have been organised by auto workers over the past five years.

Abbey Heffer, a China labour and governance expert at the University of Tübingen, Germany, said that on the one hand, government officials in some localities do have experience in dealing with factory closures and sudden, large-scale unemployment. On the other, she said, there remains a risk that labour disputes in the auto sector could "snowball" and draw the attention of the central government in Beijing. "It's not nice to be a local official right now... they've got the anger from below and the anger from above: what are they supposed to do?"

edward.white@ft.com

Presented by FT LIVE FT Moral Money

### MORAL MONEY SUMMIT EUROPE

Paving the Way for More Sustainable and Equitable Capitalism

23 - 24 May 2024 | In-Person & Digital Conference

Join Leading Investors, Corporate Executives, And Policymakers At The Financial Times Moral Money Summit Europe For An In-Depth Exploration And Discussion Of The Crucial Themes Defining The Current Sustainability Agenda.

Emmanuel Faber  
Chair, International Sustainability Standards Board (ISSB)

André Hoffmann  
Co-Chairman, IFRS  
Vice Chairman, Roche

Laurence Tubiana  
CEO, European Climate Foundation

Martin Praestgaard  
CEO, ATP

Christy Goldsmith Romero  
Commissioner, US Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC)

Gillian Tett  
Columnist and Member of the Editorial Board, Financial Times  
Provost, Kings College, Cambridge

Learn more at [moralmoneyeurope.live.ft.com](https://moralmoneyeurope.live.ft.com)

- Global strategic partner: DIAGEO
- Global knowledge partner: McKinsey & Company
- Strategic partner: pwc
- Lead sponsor: Infront



COMPANIES & MARKETS

Automobiles

Nissan plans tie-ups to cut EV costs

Chief vows to seek new partners in Japan and US to combat Chinese rivals

KANA INAGAKI - ATSUGI

Nissan plans to slash the cost of manufacturing its electric vehicles by 30 per cent through partnerships and manufacturing methods...

Nissan, which has a long-standing alliance with France's Renault and a new partnership with Honda announced last week, has wrestled with slowing sales in China as the automotive industry struggles to build profitable battery-powered vehicles at affordable prices.

After months of delay, Nissan set out a business plan yesterday addressing how a carmaker of its size - with sales of fewer than 4m vehicles a year - would

finance the costs of technology development and survive the transition to electric cars. The strategy aims to lift annual sales by 1m units by the end of March 2027, the end of its 2026 fiscal year.

Under the plan, Nissan will launch 30 models over the next three years, about half of which will be electric vehicles, plug-in hybrid cars and other electrified versions. In China, it plans to launch eight such "new energy" vehicles and begin exporting cars made in the country from next year.

The carmaker will also aim to launch an EV powered by solid-state battery technology in its 2028 fiscal year.

Despite some recovery in financial performance, the group has faced criticism from investors for failing to address the transition to EVs in China.

In the US, Nissan has failed to benefit from a boom in hybrid vehicle sales because of a lack of offerings.

"We cannot continue [growing] with the current way of doing things. It's important to have the courage to transform," Nissan's chief executive, Makoto Uchida, said. "We cannot do this alone."

'It's important to have the courage to transform. We cannot do this alone'

Makoto Uchida, Nissan boss

Nissan surprised investors by striking a partnership with Honda to develop EVs to try to address the coming wave of high-tech, low-cost models from China.

The group will maintain its alliance with Renault and Mitsubishi Motors in markets such as Europe, south-east Asia and Latin America. Investors have

questioned the alliance's future after the French carmaker cut its 43 per cent stake in Nissan to 15 per cent.

Uchida said yesterday that Nissan would explore new partners in Japan and the US to remain a global player. "We need to have the flexibility to adjust ourselves... to anything that could be happening in the future," he said.

The group plans to make EVs cheaper but still profitable by developing five models in a group, integrating components, cutting procurement costs and advancing battery technology.

It wants the cost of making EVs to be the same as for combustion engine cars by 2030. "Nissan... was late in recognising the renewed popularity of hybrids and was well positioned in fending off very nimble new competitors," said CLSA analyst Christopher Richter. "[It] needs to be prepared to be more adaptable and nimble as disruption has become the watchword of the industry."

Canine catwalk China's flourishing petcare industry on show



Models walk their stylish pets down the catwalk for the Petjoy fashion week in Shanghai yesterday. The annual event, which started in 2018, is sponsored by Shangtex Fashion Company. China's pet market grew to an estimated \$15.6bn in sales last year, up from \$6.9bn in 2018

Industrials

US decarbonisation fund bets on European groups

LEE HARRIS - LONDON

Swedish steelmaker SSAB is among the European winners of US government investments in a \$6bn effort to decarbonise manufacturing, across high-polluting sectors such as steel, cement, chemicals and fuel refining.

The \$500m in funding earmarked for an SSAB commercial-scale steel plant using hydrogen in Mississippi is one of 33 deals by a new agency set up under the Department of Energy, as part of the Biden administration's efforts to steer industrial strategy and stimulate the manufacturing sector.

Of the five largest awards, each worth up to \$500m, three will go to operations with parent companies based in Europe. The companies will match the US investment, in a cost share.

Since Joe Biden passed his Inflation Reduction Act in 2022, lawmakers in

Europe have voiced concerns about the pull of green investment to America.

The SSAB investment in the US comes as European steelmakers struggle to source hydrogen needed for less carbon-intensive production. Final investment decisions for projects in Sweden and Germany have been delayed. In November, SSAB shelved plans for a hydrogen facility at Finland's Raabe steelworks.

Heavy industry is responsible for about a quarter of US greenhouse gas emissions. The new US agency, known as the Office of Clean Energy Demonstrations, also awarded German cement manufacturer Heidelberg Materials up to \$500m to install carbon capture and storage facilities at a plant in Indiana.

The National Cement Company of California, owned by French materials group Vicat, won up to \$500m for a proposal to become "carbon neutral", including by using carbon capture and

replacing some fossil fuels with "locally sourced biomass from agricultural byproducts such as pistachio shells".

Denmark's Ørsted, which last month said that it would cut as many as 800 jobs and withdraw from key offshore wind markets in Europe, received up to \$100m to produce hydrogen-

replacing some fossil fuels with "locally sourced biomass from agricultural byproducts such as pistachio shells".

Other recipients are set to take advantage of hydrogen subsidies. ExxonMobil was awarded \$331.9m to substitute hydrogen for natural gas at a Baytown, Texas, olefins production facility.

Consumer goods groups also won support. Unilever was awarded \$20.9m to make lower-carbon ice-cream.

Rebecca Dell, from the non-profit ClimateWorks Foundation's industry programme, welcomed the funding, which she said catalysed projects that fell between early-stage ventures and loans to scale up proven technologies.

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Some projects receiving funding will

Oil & gas. Services

SLB defends its work in Russia as 'protecting' assets and employees

US group resists pressure to follow its two biggest rivals in pulling out amid Ukraine war

JAMIE SMYTH AND MYLES MCCORMICK HOUSTON

The world's biggest oilfield services company has no plans to exit Russia two years after Moscow's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, despite western pressure to curb the flow of petrodollars to the Kremlin's war machine.

Oliver Le Peuch, chief executive of SLB, said the group had taken no decision on whether to follow its two biggest rivals Baker Hughes and Halliburton in selling its Russia operations and is honouring its contracts with customers.

"When we decide, we will make it public if we need to. But now, there is no decision yet," said Le Peuch when asked about the Houston-based group's plans.

"The team over there is operating autonomously and I think is behind the curtain to some extent. We are protecting our assets, that's our priority. We are protecting our people," he said in an interview.

SLB, formerly Schlumberger, is resisting pressure to leave Russia from the Ukrainian government and human rights groups, which allege the company's presence in the country helps to generate oil revenues used to support Russian President Vladimir Putin's war effort.

Last year, Ukraine's National Agency on Corruption Prevention (NACP) added SLB to an "international sponsor of war" blacklist, which is part of a global campaign to expose companies doing business with Russia.

SLB in a statement strenuously denied any claim that it had "in any way endorsed or supported the violence against the people of Ukraine".

Le Peuch said SLB had put in place controls "to prevent and ban any shipments and support of technology" to Russia since July - a move he suggested would, over the long term, degrade the country's ability to develop some of its offshore oilfields.

Since the fall of the Soviet Union, SLB has built a huge business in Russia, which generated 5 per cent of the group's \$33.1bn revenues last year and employed about 9,000 staff. According to US regulatory filings, the company maintained net assets worth \$600m on a carrying value basis in the country at the end of 2023.

Oilfield services groups were hesitant to leave Russia amid a western exodus following the full-scale invasion in February 2022. But Baker Hughes and Halliburton, the second- and third-biggest western oil services companies, announced plans to pull out later that year after the US imposed sanctions.

Both groups sold their Russian operations to local management in Russia, with Baker Hughes taking a \$365m charge in 2022 linked to its exit from the country.

SLB stopped new investment and technology deployment in Russia in March 2022 and, after an escalation of sanctions, halted shipments of products into the country in July 2023. But it still retains a presence in the country.

Oilfield services providers carry out much of the donkey work for the global oil and gas industry - responsible for everything from building roads and laying pipes to drilling wells and pumping

crude. But they also provide access to sophisticated technologies that are vital to support exploration and development of complex drilling operations.

"Russia's oil industry would crumble without foreign oilfield services firms," said Lela Stanley, senior investigator at Global Witness, a member of B4Ukraine, a coalition of NGOs working to cut Russia off from the means to wage war.

"Two years into this war, no western company should be propping up Russia's most strategic industry while Putin spends those oil revenues destroying Ukraine."

"The oil SLB helps to dig up in Russia funds a war that has killed ten thousand Ukrainian civilians. SLB leaving would be a major blow to Putin. What are they waiting for?"

Agnya Zagrebelska, head of the direction of minimisation of corruption risks in sanctions policy at Ukraine's NACP, said SLB was one of thousands of foreign businesses that, in effect, were openly supporting the Russian military machine.

"The company claims to not violate any sanctions requirements. It is necessary to eliminate such loopholes in the sanction regime, especially in such strategically important sectors for Russia."

In response to follow-up questions after the interview with Le Peuch, SLB said it was acting "in clear support of and alignment with international sanctions and export restrictions that reflect international sentiment on these

SLB says it has put in place controls 'to prevent and ban any shipments and support of technology'

control issues and are intended to facilitate a cessation of hostilities."

"SLB takes its responsibility to comply with export control and economic sanction laws extremely seriously, and the company remains aligned with the international community in condemning and calling for an end to the war in Ukraine."

Research by the Kyiv School of Economics shows 1,651 foreign companies continue to operate in Russia, compared with 372 that have exited completely.

There are few signs of an investor backlash against groups that stay in Russia, despite warnings from rights groups that companies could be implicated in war crimes by the Kremlin.

Last month, Mondelez chief executive Dirk Van de Put said no shareholders had asked the chocolate maker to leave the country, adding that they cared more about a material hit to their investment than the moral issue.

Western governments have also been wary of tightening sanctions on Russia's oil and gas industry over concerns it could lead to a surge in commodity prices that destabilises the world economy. But some experts argue this fear is overdone.

"Some people might feel that a ban on advanced western oilfield technologies might cause a rapid fall in production," said Craig Kennedy, a Harvard-affiliated scholar and former vice-chair at Bank of America.

"But Russia has the means to maintain production without these technologies - it will just be more costly. And the more they have to spend producing barrels, the less left over for bombs."

Technology

Instagram-like platform Xiaohongshu makes first profit with help from 'quiet luxury' trend

ELEANOR OLCOTT - HONG KONG RYAN MCHORROW - BEIJING

Chinese social media sensation Xiaohongshu has seen its growing popularity lead to profits for the first time, as the Instagram-like platform brings in revenues from advertising and a nascent e-commerce business.

The Shanghai-based video and photo-sharing app ranked in \$500m in net profit last year on revenues of \$3.7bn, according to four people briefed on the figures, which are not public. By contrast, it made a \$200m loss on revenues of about \$2bn in 2022.

The fast-growing social media start-up, which was valued at \$20bn in its last funding round in 2021, has been a rare recent success story in a sector battered by falling valuations and divestments from foreign investors.

Xiaohongshu, which translates to "little red book", has big-name backers including Alibaba, Tencent, GGV Capital

and the former Sequoia China venture capital firm HongShan. It is popular with young Chinese women, who flock to the platform for travel, beauty and lifestyle tips.

It has also been growing its male user base, with a focus on promoting content about cars, science fiction and memes. The service generates the bulk of its revenues from advertising but has been growing its e-commerce function, which influencers use to sell products through livestreams and short videos.

Despite Xiaohongshu's strong numbers, one investor who did not wish to be named said its future direction remained uncertain, with no clear path towards an initial public offering. "I am positive on the company, but the lack of a clear exit through an IPO is a big problem," the investor said.

Beijing resumed giving the green light to tech companies for US listings last year after an 18-month pause over national security concerns stemming

from the botched New York IPO of ride-hailing service Didi Chuxing in 2021. Experts caution that listing large social media companies such as ByteDance and Xiaohongshu is more complicated given the wealth of consumer data they hold.

Xiaohongshu reached 312m monthly active users in 2023, a 20 per cent increase from the previous year,

according to figures shared with investors, making it the fastest-growing large social media platform in China last year, based on a Financial Times calculation.

Li Chenglong, head of think-tank Haitun, said the strong financial figures showed "brands have increased their marketing spending on Xiaohongshu because the effectiveness of advertising is higher than other platforms".

Xiaohongshu, which means "little red book", has become an important channel for brands targeting young women with purchasing power. It has also been growing its male user base

Xiaohongshu, which means "little red book", has become an important channel for brands targeting young women with purchasing power. It has also been growing its male user base

Xiaohongshu, which means "little red book", has become an important channel for brands targeting young women with purchasing power. It has also been growing its male user base

Xiaohongshu, which means "little red book", has become an important channel for brands targeting young women with purchasing power. It has also been growing its male user base

Xiaohongshu, which means "little red book", has become an important channel for brands targeting young women with purchasing power. It has also been growing its male user base

Xiaohongshu, which means "little red book", has become an important channel for brands targeting young women with purchasing power. It has also been growing its male user base

Xiaohongshu, which means "little red book", has become an important channel for brands targeting young women with purchasing power. It has also been growing its male user base

Xiaohongshu, which means "little red book", has become an important channel for brands targeting young women with purchasing power. It has also been growing its male user base

Xiaohongshu, which means "little red book", has become an important channel for brands targeting young women with purchasing power. It has also been growing its male user base

Xiaohongshu, which means "little red book", has become an important channel for brands targeting young women with purchasing power. It has also been growing its male user base

Xiaohongshu, which means "little red book", has become an important channel for brands targeting young women with purchasing power. It has also been growing its male user base

Xiaohongshu, which means "little red book", has become an important channel for brands targeting young women with purchasing power. It has also been growing its male user base

Xiaohongshu is an increasingly important channel for brands targeting young women with purchasing power. According to a company presentation seen by the FT, 70 per cent of users are female, and 50 per cent are under the age of 30.

Xiaohongshu has a more upmarket reputation than main rivals such as ByteDance-owned Douyin and Kuaishou. Even so, it struggled to commercialise its service as users would find product tips using the app before turning to Alibaba-owned Taobao and Tmall's e-commerce platforms to make purchases.

However, over the past year, it has found a "niche" with "slow livestreaming", in which influencers promote products in a "calm and slow" manner to capture the trend of "quiet luxury", said Olivia Plotnick, founder of Shanghai-based social media consultancy Wai Social.

It has distinguished itself from

Taobao, on which influencers hawk goods in "chaotic" marathon sessions, typically with significant discounts included to lure in shoppers, Plotnick added.

Xiaohongshu's gross merchandise value - the total value of goods sold on the platform - through its livestreaming business, launched at the start of the pandemic, grew by nearly five times during last November's "Singles Day" shopping festival, the equivalent of the US's Black Friday, according to the presentation.

Xiaohongshu has a smaller user base than Douyin and Kuaishou, which have monthly active user bases of about 750m and 700m respectively. However, Li said the platform's 312m users were concentrated in affluent cities, making it an effective marketing platform to target high-spending consumers.

Xiaohongshu did not respond to requests for comment.





# US credit card debt and defaults surge as high borrowing rates boost lenders

Banks report record profits amid wage growth and low unemployment, but hit to family budgets spurs Republican outcry in election year

STEPHEN GANDEL — NEW YORK  
PATRICK MATTHIEN — LONDON

US consumers paid almost 50 per cent more in credit card expenses last year than in 2020, the year before President Joe Biden took office, putting pressure on family budgets and firing up an election issue about what Republicans say is a cost of living crisis.

Credit card interest and fees increased by \$51bn in that time to \$157bn, according to data provided by US banks to the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. Delinquencies on credit card loans are also running at their highest level in almost 15 years, according to data from Moody's Analytics, even as banks have reported record profits from credit card lending.

The rise in credit card costs has come as the US Federal Reserve raised interest rates to a 23-year high but lenders have pushed consumer borrowing rates higher still. The central bank, which meets tomorrow, is not expected to begin cutting rates until this summer.

Republicans have seized on credit card debt as an example of how Biden's economic policies have triggered what they say is a cost of living crisis for low-income Americans, while his administration has sought to show it is clamping down on credit card companies charging excessive fees.

The debt concerns come amid polling showing Americans remain gloomy about the Biden economy despite a surging stock market, healthy gross domestic product growth and low unemployment, posing a big threat to his re-election bid this year.

Half of Americans feel worse off than four years ago under Donald Trump and rate the former president's economic performance far higher than Biden's.

Voters are stressed about credit card debt: 28 per cent cited it as one of their biggest sources of financial stress in a poll for the Financial Times and Michigan Ross conducted this month.

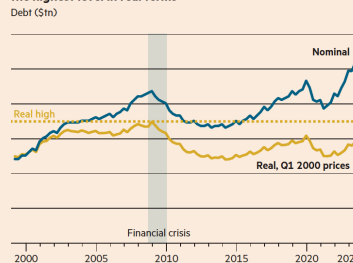
They are not nearly as stressed as they are about inflation, a source of worry to 80 per cent of them. But, unlike inflation, the number of voters worried about credit cards has been rising, even as the Biden administration has ushered in rules to cut the cap on late fees by about three-quarters.

Americans have gorged on billions of dollars of credit card debt over the past three years. In its report on the final quarter of 2023, the New York Fed said credit card debt hit a record \$1.13tn, growing at one of the fastest rates for more than 20 years, though in real terms it remains below financial crisis levels. Incomes have also risen in that period, making the higher credit card balances more affordable.

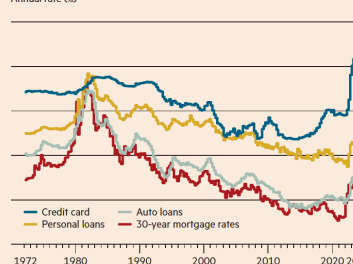
Still, analysts say the jump in credit card debt is a sign that a growing number of consumers are having a hard time keeping up with expenses given the increase in prices of everything from food to airline tickets in the past two years.

"The level of debt has been rising a lot, and credit card loans carry the highest rates of most consumer debt," said Robert Stockin, a global economist at Citigroup. "It really is a sign that lower-income families in

**US credit card balances have hit a record \$1.13tn but it's not the highest level in real terms**

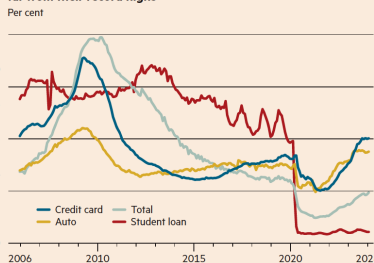


**Interest rates on US credit cards are at a record high**

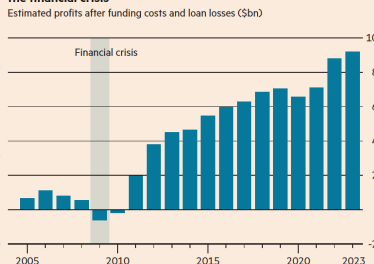


Sources: NY Fed; Moody's Analytics; Bloomberg; FDIC

**Delinquency rates have been rising on US credit cards but remain far from their record highs**



**US lenders have earned billions from credit cards since the financial crisis**



the US are facing additional financial strain."

Delinquencies have started to climb at the same time as a three-year moratorium on student loan repayments has ended. Credit card delinquencies have reached their highest levels since April 2011, overtaking delinquencies on car loans after two years in their shadow, according to data from Moody's.

At 4 per cent, delinquency rates are still well short of the record 7.1 per cent in the depths of the financial crisis, thanks in part to rising incomes and thriving US job numbers.

Still, both the distribution of credit card debt and the ability to repay loans varies hugely between groups.

One study by the Federal Reserve in 2023 found that while credit card ownership was lowest among the smallest earners, the ones that did have a card were

more likely to carry a balance. Black and Hispanic adults were more than twice as likely to carry a balance as Asian adults. Adults aged 60 or more were the largest group of credit card holders, but those aged 45-59 were most likely to roll over debt.

A New York Fed analysis in November showed that rising delinquencies were disproportionately driven by millennials — especially those with existing auto or student loans, or with higher credit card balances.

Affordability varies between states, too: Louisiana, Mississippi and Oklahoma all had credit card debt to median income ratios of more than 10 per cent compared with the least-stretched states of New Hampshire and Utah at 7 per cent, according to an FT analysis.

Interest rates on US credit cards have been rising at the same time as balances, putting more pressure on borrowers. Annual rates hit a record 22.8 per cent at the end of 2023, according to Bloomberg data, surpassing previous highs set in the 1980s.

It is not just rising base rates that are to blame. Credit card companies have increased the margin they add on to a record high, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau found last month.

While banks are not yet dealing with higher losses, rising delinquency rates

could point to higher defaults in the future. Banks are also facing rules that will make it more expensive for them to offer credit lines — even if borrowers do not actually tap them — though the rules are yet to come into effect and are expected to be watered down.

The cocktail of rising interest rates and balances has helped drive record profits for lenders. Last year, they generated an estimated \$92bn in earnings from credit card loans after taking into account funding costs and loan losses, according to FT calculations based on FDIC data — more than double the estimated \$45bn they made a decade ago,

"The level of debt has been rising a lot, and credit card loans carry the highest rates of most consumer debt"

and far higher than the period before the financial crisis.

About half of the loans are made by four big banks, led by JPMorgan Chase, with the next two dozen largest banks accounting for the majority of the rest. Those tend to come with higher rates than cards issued by smaller banks, according to a study published last month by the CFPB.

Still, analysts say the credit card debt burden affects a relatively small subset of the US population and cannot explain why Americans feel down on an economy in which wages are rising and unemployment is close to record lows. "Credit cards are not the problem," said Mark Zandi, who is the head of Moody's Analytics, of the economy overall. "It's a small portion of the US that this is a big problem."

Additional reporting by Lauren Fedor in Washington  
See Opinion



President Joe Biden has sought to crack down on excessive credit card fees

## Pharmaceuticals

### Novo Nordisk strikes €1bn heart therapies deal

IAN JOHNSTON — LONDON

Novo Nordisk has struck a €1bn deal for a German biotech developing ribonucleic acid-based therapies to treat heart disease, as the Danish group invests the windfall from its best-selling diabetes and weight loss drugs.

The acquisition of Cardior Pharmaceuticals will give Novo Nordisk a treatment for heart failure in mid-stage trials that targets the root causes of heart disease.

Novo Nordisk, the maker of blockbuster diabetes and weight loss drugs Ozempic and Wegovy, said the transaction was an "important step" in its strategy to "establish a presence in cardiovascular disease".

Sales of its diabetes and obesity drugs have sent Novo Nordisk's market capitalisation soaring, but the company has also set a goal of diversifying, including into the treatment of cardiovascular diseases. To do this, the company has launched trials of its weight-loss treatments to show that they can also tackle diseases linked to obesity.

Trial results published in November showed that Wegovy led to an 18 per

cent decline in risk of death for patients with obesity and cardiovascular disease.

It also has drugs in late stage phase 3 trials for cardiovascular disease, chronic kidney disease and high blood pressure, and it is using acquisitions to boost its expertise in the area. Chief executive Lars Fruergaard Jørgensen said this month that it was assessing deals for biotech companies with mid-stage drugs.

"We aim . . . to address the root causes of heart failure and restore [its] normal functioning"

Martin Holst Lange, head of development at Novo Nordisk, said Cardior's drug had the "potential to become a first-in-class therapy designed to halt or partially reverse the course of disease for people living with heart failure".

The acquisition also gives Novo Nordisk more expertise in RNA-based therapies, a growing field in pharmaceuticals. Novo Nordisk purchased Dicerna Pharmaceuticals, a company focused in

RNA-based therapeutics, for \$3.5bn in 2021.

Biotech companies have in recent years explored how making changes to the RNA, a molecule present in all living cells that has a similar structure to DNA, could lead to new drugs.

In general, RNA makes proteins by using amino acids as code. Some RNA does not code for proteins and Cardior's drugs target these molecules, which are important in regulating cell activity but can lead to diseases if they stop working normally.

Cardior's drug has shown improvements in patients with heart failure compared with a placebo, according to early trials. Novo Nordisk plans to start a second mid-stage trial of the Cardior drug to assess its effectiveness in patients with cardiac hypertrophy, where the walls of the heart muscle become thick and inhibit blood pumping.

"We aim to not just alleviate disease symptoms, but to address the root causes of heart failure and restore the normal functioning of the heart," explained Thomas Thum, Cardior's co-founder.

# SUSTAINABLE FINANCE FORUM

**23 & 24 APRIL 2024**  
**10:00 - 12:00 CEST**

Join keynote speakers Mark Carney, Gilles Roth, Silja Baller, Jean-Paul Servais, Uli Grabenwarter, and a host of other experts at Luxembourg for Finance's 7<sup>th</sup> annual Sustainable Finance Forum.

Over two days we'll explore the increasingly important role sustainability is playing in investors' portfolios, global regulatory developments, the rise of DEI, the contribution of new technologies, and more.

**LIVESTREAM**

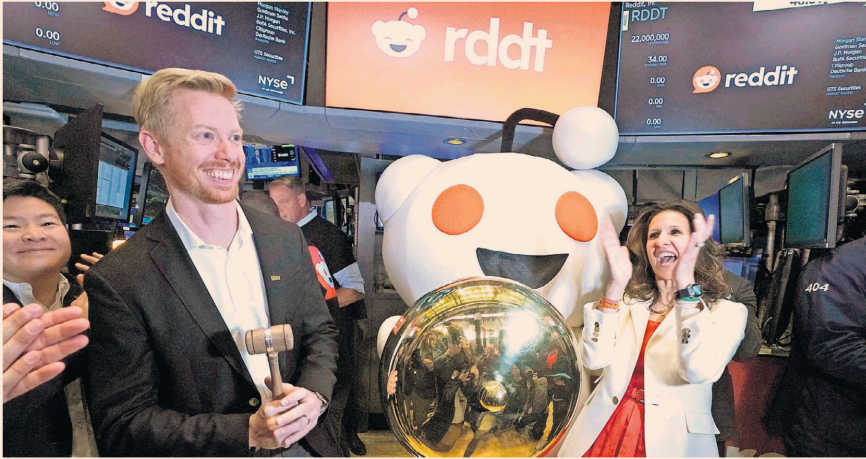
**LUXEMBOURG FOR FINANCE**  
THE FINANCIAL CENTRE DEVELOPMENT AGENCY



COMPANIES & MARKETS

Equities. Flotation pipeline

# Robust Reddit debut lifts hopes of revival for dormant IPOs



Other groups could be inspired by the social media group's successful listing, say bankers

JENNIFER HUGHES — NEW YORK

A string of companies could follow Reddit into the US stock market in the coming months, bankers believe, after shares of the social media group leap 48 per cent on their debut.

A steady, sustained rise in activity would breathe life into the market for initial public offerings, which has been largely shut down since 2021.

Last week, Reddit sold \$748mn worth of shares priced at the top of its suggested range and its stock soared on the New York Stock Exchange as trading opened.

A day earlier, shares in AI infrastructure group Astera Labs surged 72 per cent on their Nasdaq debut. The company raised \$715mn.

"We see these deals as a good sign for the strength and depth of the market, and that's what we're telling clients," said Rob Stone, US head of equity capital markets (ECM) for Barclays. "If these conditions continue, this will push some people who were on the cusp into doing deals this year."

Strong deals in Europe have added to the mood with listings for the likes of German defence contractor Renk and Athens International Airport rising after their market debuts.

Last Friday, investors took further heart from a 21 per cent debut gain for EQT-owned Galderma, which also priced at the top of its range. The Swiss dermatology giant raised \$Fr2bn (\$2.2bn) in the biggest European float

since Porsche's debut two years ago. A sustained reopening of the IPO market could boost dealmakers' animal spirits more generally as well as ease strains on private equity firms that typically rely heavily on IPOs as a means of exiting investments.

One banker described the success of the Galderma deal as "a sigh of relief" for private equity.

Deal flow, however, is likely to be more of a steady stream than the flood seen in the last boom, which ended early in 2022.

"There is fundamental demand from investors but only at the right price and for companies with good stories," said Achintya Mangla, JPMorgan's global ECM head. "To build a really good foundation for the IPO market, we still need to see this year's IPOs perform three, six months out."

Since 2021, when companies sold shares worth \$154bn in the US as the wider market roared higher, IPOs in New York have raised only a combined \$56bn, according to Dealogic data.

Deals have been smaller too, raising

an average \$151mn — less than half the \$388mn of 2021.

Confidence in the potential for IPOs has been helped by the recent market rally. The benchmark S&P 500 has climbed 19 per cent in six months while volatility — a threat to would-be floats — has remained low.

This week, the US Federal Reserve lifted its economic growth outlook, adding to investor confidence that corporate profits could continue to grow.

"To move forward with an IPO, management have to be confident in the economic backdrop and the expected performance of their business — that confidence is starting to improve," said Eddie Molloy, co-head of Americas ECM for Morgan Stanley.

Companies expected to go public soon include cold storage chain Lineage Logistics, which is seeking a valuation above \$30bn, and cyber security provider Rubrik, valued at \$4bn last year.

Healthcare payments software group Waystar filed publicly for an IPO in November but ultimately held back. Listings expected soon in Europe

include Permira-backed Golden Goose, the Italian luxury sports shoe brand, and Puig, the Spanish beauty and fashion group behind brands including Charlotte Tilbury.

Bigger US prizes down the line include Nvidia-backed software group Databricks, valued at \$43bn in a funding round last year, and payments group Stripe, worth about \$30bn.

Investors have so far shown the most interest in more mature companies that are profitable or can convince would-be buyers that they will be soon.

David Ludwig, global head of ECM at Goldman Sachs, said investors were still being careful over valuations.

"The amount of time they are spending with quality companies ahead of potential listings is constructive," he added.

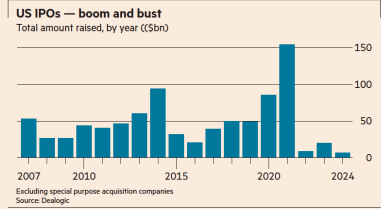
Keith Canton, Americas head of ECM at JPMorgan, said: "Companies need to show growth and a path to profitability. Investors are very willing to deploy capital but they're still very disciplined and they're providing us with very detailed valuation thoughts."

Preparing to go public takes several months, meaning companies only just starting the process could be best debut in the autumn.

If there is volatility around November's US presidential election, that could push some into 2025.

"If the market remains constructive, it will pull more companies into the IPO process," said a senior ECM specialist. "We've been expecting a gradual reopening in 2024 and then, if activity continues to accelerate, we will head into 2025 with a deeper pool of companies and a more normalised IPO market."

Additional reporting by Ivan Livingston



"We see these deals as a good sign for the strength and depth of the market"

Crypto

## Nigeria's tax authorities escalate legal battle with Binance

SCOTT CHIPOLINA — LONDON  
AANU ADEOYE — LAGOS

Nigeria has charged Binance and two of its executives with tax evasion, including one that escaped custody, escalating the legal stand-off between the African nation and the world's largest cryptocurrency exchange.

Tax authorities alleged that Binance, which is unregulated in Nigeria, has not filed tax returns or paid value added or corporation tax, according to a statement by the country's Federal Inland Revenue Service.

The charges, which were filed on Friday, mark the latest twist in Binance's protracted dispute with the Nigerian authorities as the government seeks to head off its worst economic crisis in three decades and restore its citizens' faith in its battered currency.

Cryptocurrency exchange sites have become alternative marketplaces to set an unofficial price for the naira and Binance is the most used in the country.

Nigeria has held two Binance executives for four weeks following a clampdown on crypto exchanges in February. FIRS said Binance had helped its Nigeria-based users evade tax. Binance did not comment in the accusation.

As the crackdown was stepped up last month, the two senior Binance execu-

'Security agencies are working with Interpol for an international arrest warrant on the suspect'

tives who had flown into the country to discuss the situation were then detained.

The men, Nadeem Anjarwalla, a UK citizen, and Tigran Gambaryan, a US citizen, had passports seized.

A spokesperson for the family of Anjarwalla told the Financial Times that he had left custody on Saturday and left Nigeria "by lawful means".

In the early stages of talks after the executives' arrest, the office of Nigeria's national security adviser asked Binance to resolve outstanding tax liabilities, according to documents seen by the FT.

Nigeria has requested that Binance provide information on its top 100 users in the country and all transaction history for the past six months.

The NSA confirmed yesterday that Anjarwalla had escaped on Friday and was using a "smuggled" passport.

"Security agencies are working with Interpol for an international arrest warrant on the suspect," the office said. "The personnel responsible for the custody of the suspect have been arrested."

A person familiar with the matter said Anjarwalla, who is also a Kenyan citizen, may have travelled using his Kenyan passport.

"We were made aware that Nadeem is no longer in Nigerian custody," Binance said. "Our primary focus remains on the safety of our employees and we are working collaboratively with Nigerian authorities to quickly resolve this issue."

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

Aerospace & defence

# Boeing's largest union seeks seat on plane maker's board 'to save it from itself'

CLAIRE BUSHEY — CHICAGO

Boeing's largest labour union is seeking a board seat at the plane maker, saying "we have to save this company from itself" as quality control concerns draw scrutiny from customers, passengers and regulators.

The International Association of Machinists District 751, which represents 32,000 workers at factories in the US state of Washington, began contract negotiations with Boeing this month.

One of the IAM's aims is to have a greater voice at Boeing, district president Jon Holden said in an interview.

Adding a union representative would bring "a grounding and a balancing" to the 15-person board, he said.

"We are motivated to ensure our members have a say," he said. "We're proposing that we have a seat on the board of directors. We have a unique ability to understand the production system... With what's going on these days, we are oftentimes the last line of defence and we have to save this company from itself."

Boeing is struggling to address quality concerns after a door panel blew off one of its 737 Max planes on an Alaska Airlines flight in early January.

A preliminary report by the National Transportation Safety Board found that the panel left Boeing's Washington factory lacking bolts meant to secure it to the fuselage.

The US Federal Aviation Administration has launched an investigation and an audit of Boeing and supplier Spirit

AeroSystems found "multiple instances" of failure to comply with manufacturing quality controls.

The US Department of Justice is also investigating the incident.

In 2021, Boeing admitted wrongdoing in two fatal crashes but the department agreed to ask the court to dismiss the

case in three years if the company paid \$2.5bn and operated a compliance programme.

January's incident took place shortly before the agreement expired.

The union is pursuing a 40 per cent pay rise over three years as part of its contract negotiations as well as seeking to have Boeing's next new plane built in Washington state.

The machinists also plan to pursue a two-pronged strategy to win a board seat, first in contract talks and then next year via a campaign targeting Boeing's 2025 shareholder meeting.

Regarding the board seat, Boeing said it would "continue to review all of the union's proposals and plan to discuss them at the bargaining table".

While the board seat is a new goal for the union, Holden said "we're serious about it, and we believe we can bring value".

He added that the union also would support a seat for the union of Boeing's engineers were they to pursue it.

Holden said the seat was one aspect of union bargaining proposals aimed at ensuring the company was building safer aircraft.



Union leader Jon Holden says the IAM is a 'last line of defence' — David Ryden/Boonborg

well. But there's always decisions that leaders at the top make to try and increase production rates that we want a say in. We want to ensure that it's done with the proper risk management assessments. We want to make sure that we aren't eliminating important redundancies."

The move by the union comes after a labour coalition tried to advance a board slate at Starbucks, where hun-

There's always decisions that leaders make to try and increase production rates that we want a say in'

dreds of coffee shops have unionised in recent years.

The effort was dropped this month after the company agreed to take up contract talks with the Workers United union.

While union representatives on corporate boards are rare in the US, Germany has adhered to "co-determination" for decades, a system that gives labour a voice at the board level at larger companies.

German supervisory boards are split

between representatives for shareholders and unions, making it, in effect, impossible for executives to enact big plans without union support.

Even in the US, having a board-level union representative is not unprecedented.

Douglas Fraser, who was president of the United Auto Workers, joined the board of Chrysler in 1980 after the UAW granted the company \$460mn in concessions to help the financially floundering carmaker.

An employee stock ownership plan at United Airlines in the 1990s also awarded board seats to unions.

But the presence of a union representative on a board creates a conflict of interest, said corporate governance expert Charles Elson — because union representatives owe their allegiance to workers while board members have a fiduciary duty to shareholders.

"Typically, workers want higher wages while shareholders want to pay lower wages."

"You can argue a good wage benefits the employees and the company but it's a tough one," he said. "You can't negotiate with yourself... It puts you in an odd fiduciary pickle."

See LEX



COMPANIES & MARKETS

The day in the markets

What you need to know

- Oil rises on reports of output curbs ordered by Russia and military strikes
- Energy stocks are the best Wall Street performers, boosted by crude's climb
- FTSE 100 slips as consumer and tech groups weigh on London benchmark

Oil prices rose yesterday following reports that Moscow had ordered producers to curb their output and as Ukraine continued its campaign of striking refineries deep within Russia. Brent crude, the global benchmark, rose 1.5 per cent to \$86.74 per barrel. The US equivalent, West Texas Intermediate, gained 1.8 per cent to \$82.11 per barrel.

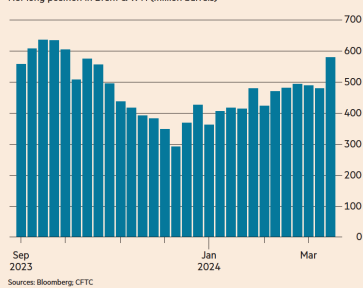
The latest moves came after Reuters reported that Moscow had ordered companies to cut their oil output in order to meet a production target of 9m barrels per day by June and fulfil the country's commitments to Opec+.

Prices for Brent and WTI had already climbed to four-month highs earlier in March as Ukraine increased its attacks on Russian refineries and traders became increasingly confident that supply growth from the US and its allies outside of Opec+ would be insufficient to offset the curbs.

Some analysts speculated last week that price moves would be contained after the Financial Times reported that Washington had urged Ukraine to halt its attacks on Russia's energy infrastructure. Over the weekend, however, Ukrainian strikes caused another fire at a refinery in the Russian region of Samara.

"Prices will stay pretty elevated" until traders see firm evidence that Ukraine has heeded these warnings and pulled

Hedge funds dived back into oil as prices climbed last week  
Net long position in Brent & WTI (million barrels)



Sources: Bloomberg, CTC

back its attacks", said Bill Weatherburn, a commodities economist at Capital Economics.

Data from the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, released on Friday, also showed that hedge funds had rapidly increased their futures positions in both Brent and WTI in the week to March 19.

Stock markets were relatively subdued. Wall Street's benchmark S&P 500 index was down 0.2 per cent by early afternoon in New York while the technology-heavy Nasdaq Composite was close to flat.

Energy stocks were the best Wall Street performers, boosted by oil prices.

The moves also came after Morgan Stanley upgraded its view on the sector to "overweight", arguing that energy stocks had lagged behind gains in the price of crude oil.

Gains for energy stocks also helped European markets edge higher.

The region-wide Stoxx Europe 600 was flat, Frankfurt's Xetra Dax rose 0.3 per cent and Paris's CAC 40 was flat.

London's FTSE 100 slipped 0.2 per cent as declines for consumer stocks and technology groups more than offset strong gains for index heavyweights in the energy sector. **Stephanie Stacey**

The Fed should avoid messing with success

Edward Yardeni  
Markets Insight



Jay Powell has made it clear that he and his colleagues at the Federal Reserve are "not far" from getting enough confidence to start lowering interest rates. At a press conference last week after the central bank's latest monetary policy meeting, the Fed chair reiterated that "if the economy evolves broadly as expected, it will likely be appropriate to begin dialling back policy restraint at some point this year".

Powell's assessment was endorsed by members of the policy-setting Federal Open Market Committee. In the latest summary of their economic projections, the median expectation of members was for a decline in the federal funds rate this year from the current range of 5.25 to 5.50 per cent, now down to 4.60 per cent by the end of the year.

In his press conference, Powell acknowledged that the economy is performing well and the labour market remains tight. In addition, inflation has moderated significantly since last summer. This raises a big question: if the economy is doing well with the current level of interest rates, why lower them?

Powell and his colleagues seem to share the view that if inflation continues to moderate, they will have to lower the federal funds rate so it doesn't become too restrictive and cause a recession. If inflation falls to 2 per cent and the federal funds rate remains at 5.25 per cent, the real rate would be 3.25 per cent. History suggests that several previous recessions happened after the real federal funds rate rose above 3 per cent.

Yet, the concept of the real interest rate is a theoretical one rather than a practical empirical one for managing monetary policy. It is hard to believe that subtracting the yearly per cent

change in the consumer price index inflation rate from the benchmark overnight banking rate is a variable that matters to anyone (other than economists). Is anyone's economic and financial behaviour really affected by the real federal funds rate?

Granted, the federal funds rate has an influence on nominal bond yields, which are likely to have more of an impact on behaviour. But the basic premise of focusing on the real federal funds rate is that monetary policy should aim to keep it close to some sort of "neutral" rate, which is sometimes also called the "natural" rate as if it

The question is: if the economy is doing well with the current level of rates, why lower them?

determined by the economic laws of nature. At this nirvana level, all is right with the US economy because it is growing while inflation remains moderate.

According to the Fed's latest summary of economic projections, the "longer run" nominal federal funds rate should be down to 2.6 per cent (in the long run, of course) because the FOMC will succeed in lowering the longer-run inflation rate to 2 per cent, the committee's official target. Eureka! That must mean 0.6 per cent is the real federal funds rate that achieves natural economic harmony, promoting economic growth and employment gains, while inflation hovers around 2 per cent.

History shows, though, that recessions aren't caused by excessively high real interest rates. Most of the ones

we've experienced since the 1960s were caused by the tightening of monetary policy until it triggers a financial crisis that is quickly followed by a credit crunch, which causes a recession. It is financial crises that have caused the Fed to lower the nominal federal funds rate in the past, not a perception that the borrowing benchmark was too high and about to cause a recession.

During the 2008 financial crisis, the Fed learnt how rapidly to establish emergency liquidity facilities. That's what it did in response to the pandemic lockdowns: as a result, the Covid recession lasted only two months. The Fed did it again last year, when a banking crisis reduced during March; that time, there was no recession at all.

If the Fed can continue to manage financial crises and avert economy-wide credit crunches, then the risk of a recession is reduced during monetary tightening cycles. That's one of the main reasons the economy continued to grow over the past two years in the face of a tightening of monetary policy.

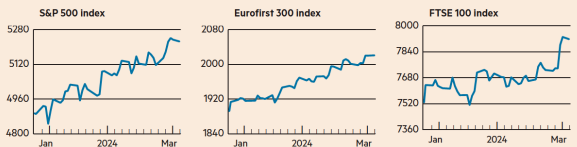
And what about Milton Friedman's claim that monetary policy operates with a long and variable lag? If so, then the central bank should start lowering the federal funds rate soon to offset the delayed impact of the past two years of monetary tightening. But if financial crises are the main risk for recessions, instead of Friedman's ambiguous hypothesis, the Fed might want to focus more on credit cycles in deciding rate levels. Why risk inflating a speculative bubble when asset prices are soaring to record highs for stocks, gold, bitcoin and houses? Why mess with success?

Edward Yardeni is president and chief investment strategist at Yardeni Research

Markets update

	US	Eurozone	Japan	UK	China	Brazil
<b>Stocks</b>	S&P 500	Eurofrst 300	Nikkei 225	FTSE100	Shanghai Comp	Ibovespa
Level	5225.99	2020.88	40414.12	7917.57	3026.31	127080.38
% change on day	-0.16	0.06	-1.16	-0.17	-0.71	0.04
<b>Currency</b>	\$ index (DXY)	\$ per €	Yen per \$	\$ per £	Rmb per \$	Real per \$
Level	104.236	1.084	151.425	1.264	7.208	4.985
% change on day	0.77	0.185	0.046	0.317	-0.273	-0.077
<b>Bond yields</b>	10-year Treasury	10-year Bund	10-year JGB	10-year Gilt	10-year band	10-year band
Yield	4.249	2.372	0.731	4.093	2.411	10.541
Basis point change on day	3.260	5.000	-0.780	6.100	1.300	-4.000
<b>World Index, Commods</b>	FTSE All-World	Oil - Brent	Oil - WTI	Gold	Silver	Metals (LME)
Level	513.57	86.58	81.83	2171.60	24.59	3817.70
% change on day	-0.18	1.35	1.49	0.05	-3.30	-0.75

Main equity markets



Biggest movers

	US	Eurozone	UK
<b>Ups</b>	Super Micro Computer 9.07	Saipem 6.07	Kingfisher 2.57
	Micron Technology 8.14	Mapfre 5.17	St. James's Place 2.49
	Dexcom 4.20	Telecom Italia 4.18	Bsm Eur Value Retail Sa. 1.97
	Constellation Energy 4.03	Griifols 3.11	Intermediate Capital 1.65
	Apa 3.27	Hugo Boss 2.89	Marks And Spencer 1.44
<b>Downs</b>	Take-two Interactive Software -5.77	Casino Guichard -58.67	Spirax-sarco Eng -4.48
	United Airlines Holdings -4.12	Legrand -1.87	Rightmove -3.68
	Dayforce -3.25	Societe Generale -1.73	Decado -3.35
	Bio-technique -2.87	Dassault Systemes -1.43	Croda Int -2.99
	Tapestry -2.58	Kerry Gp -1.30	Auto Trader -2.85

Financials

Switzerland censures Lebanon's largest bank over serious money laundering violations

SAM JONES — BERLIN  
RAYA JALABI — BEIRUT

Swiss authorities have censured Lebanon's largest bank for serious money laundering violations after uncovering millions of francs in unexplained payments to senior political figures routed through the wealthy alpine country.

The investigation into Bank Audi by Finma, Switzerland's market regulator, was triggered by a corruption probe into Riad Salameh, the former longtime governor of Lebanon's central bank, according to people familiar with the matter.

Salameh, who has denied all allegations of misconduct, was charged by prosecutors in Beirut in 2022 with embezzling more than \$350m in public funds.

He is also under criminal investigation in Switzerland and seven other jurisdictions, probing allegations of financial crimes.

These include France and Germany, which have issued warrants for his

arrest. He stepped down from his post last summer. Yesterday, Finma said it had ordered Banque Audi — the Swiss subsidiary of Bank Audi — to pay back Sfr4m in "illegally generated" profits relating to suspicious transactions and increase its capital buffer by Sfr19m.

Finma — which does not have the statutory power to issue fines — said Banque Audi ordered Banque Audi to pay back Sfr4m and increase its capital buffer by Sfr19m.

Audi was also banned from entering into new relationships with "politically exposed persons" or other high-risk corporate clients for the next two years.

The bank has agreed to internal reforms, the regulator said. The staff who approved the transactions have left Switzerland.

Nevertheless, "[Banque Audi] has decided to continue certain high-risk

client relationships," Finma noted. Bank Audi did not respond to a request for comment.

Finma opened its probe in 2021 as part of a broad investigation into 12 Lebanese lenders with Swiss subsidiaries.

An on-site inspection of Banque Audi's premises in Geneva that year revealed "serious shortcomings in the prevention of money laundering", Finma said.

The bank was also found to have withheld internal audit findings from the watchdog, which had clearly flagged the money-laundering concerns. The bank failed on multiple occasions to report suspicious transactions to Switzerland's official anti-money laundering body.

Finma cited an instance where Banque Audi had accepted a large payment from a Lebanese "politically exposed person" — known as a PEP — to a Swiss account held by a high-ranking Lebanese official. The bank did not obtain an adequate explanation of what the payment was for as money-laundering regulations require.

FT FINANCIAL TIMES

Climate Capital

Your guide to green business

In today's news, climate change is part of almost every major story, from finance to business, markets, politics and more.

FT Climate Capital is your go-to destination for this crucial story of our age, offering unrivalled coverage from the FT's global network of specialist correspondents, alongside expertly curated video, audio and data content.

Climate Capital explores key topics from a finance and business angle, to help you spot risks and opportunities and plan your climate strategy.

Read more now at [ft.com/climate](https://ft.com/climate)

\*Available to Standard subscribers



MARKET DATA

WORLD MARKETS AT A GLANCE



Stock Market movements over last 30 days, with the FTSE All-World in the same currency as a comparison. Includes regional indices for Americas, Europe, and Asia.

Table with columns for Country, Index, Latest, and Previous values for various global markets.

Table listing stock market indices by country, including S&P 500, Nasdaq, Dow Jones, FTSE 100, Nikkei, Hang Seng, etc., with their respective values and percentage changes.

UK STOCK MARKET: BIGGEST MOVERS

Table showing the top gainers and losers in the UK stock market, including companies like AstraZeneca, BT Group, and others.

UK MARKET WINNERS AND LOSERS

Table showing the top performing and underperforming stocks in the UK market, including companies like AstraZeneca, BT Group, and others.

CURRENCIES

Table showing exchange rates for major currencies including the Dollar, Euro, Pound, and others against the US Dollar.

FTSE 100 SHARE INDICES

Table listing various FTSE 100 share indices such as FTSE 100, FTSE 250, FTSE 100 Dividend, etc., with their latest values and percentage changes.

FTSE 30 INDEX

Table showing the FTSE 30 index components and their respective values.

FTSE WILSHIRE 500 INDEX SERIES

Table showing the FTSE Wilshire 500 index series components and their respective values.

FTSE SECTORS: LEADERS & LAGGARDS

Table showing the performance of various FTSE sectors, including Healthcare, Technology, and others.

FTSE 100 SUMMARY

Table providing a summary of the FTSE 100 index, including its value, percentage change, and other key metrics.

UK STOCK MARKET TRADING DATA

Table showing trading data for the UK stock market, including volume, value, and other metrics.

UK STOCK MARKET TRADING DATA

Table showing trading data for the UK stock market, including volume, value, and other metrics.

Financial Times. All rights reserved. This content is provided for informational purposes only. It is not intended to be used as a substitute for professional financial advice.



MARKET DATA

FT500: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table listing FT500 companies with columns for Stock, Price, Change, Div, Yield, P/E, Mkt Cap. Includes sub-sections for Asia, Europe, and US.

Table listing FT500 companies with columns for Stock, Price, Change, Div, Yield, P/E, Mkt Cap. Includes sub-sections for Asia, Europe, and US.

Table listing FT500 companies with columns for Stock, Price, Change, Div, Yield, P/E, Mkt Cap. Includes sub-sections for Asia, Europe, and US.

Table listing FT500 companies with columns for Stock, Price, Change, Div, Yield, P/E, Mkt Cap. Includes sub-sections for Asia, Europe, and US.

Table listing FT500 companies with columns for Stock, Price, Change, Div, Yield, P/E, Mkt Cap. Includes sub-sections for Asia, Europe, and US.

FT 500: TOP 20

Table listing FT 500 Top 20 companies with columns for Stock, Price, Change, Div, Yield, P/E, Mkt Cap.

FT 500: BOTTOM 20

Table listing FT 500 Bottom 20 companies with columns for Stock, Price, Change, Div, Yield, P/E, Mkt Cap.

BONDS: HIGH YIELD & EMERGING MARKET

Table listing bond yields for High Yield and Emerging Market categories.

BONDS: GLOBAL INVESTMENT GRADE

Table listing bond yields for Global Investment Grade categories.

INTEREST RATES: OFFICIAL

Table listing official interest rates for various countries and currencies.

BOND INDICES

Table listing bond indices for various regions and currencies.

VOLATILITY INDICES

Table listing volatility indices for various markets.

GILTS: UK CASH MARKET

Table listing UK Gilts cash market data.

COMMODITIES

Table listing commodity prices for various goods.

BONDS: INDEX-LINKED

Table listing index-linked bond data.

BONDS: TEN YEAR GOVT SPREADS

Table listing ten-year government bond spreads.

GILTS: UK FTSE ACTUARIES INDICES

Table listing UK Gilts FTSE Actuaries indices.

FT FINANCIAL TIMES Energy Outlook

FT Financial Times Energy Outlook advertisement featuring a large 'Energy Outlook' graphic and text about the energy transition.

BONDS: TEN YEAR GOVT SPREADS

Table listing ten-year government bond spreads.

VOLATILITY INDICES

Table listing volatility indices for various markets.

GILTS: UK CASH MARKET

Table listing UK Gilts cash market data.

COMMODITIES

Table listing commodity prices for various goods.



## ARTS

## Masterly dance with a medieval twist



Renée Sigouin in 'Assembly Hall'  
Michael Sobocin

## DANCE

**Crystal Pite: Assembly Hall**  
Sadler's Wells, London  
★★★★

Louise Levene

"Are we quorate?" Words to chill the blood, but the procedural pettifoggery of an everyday meeting forms the armature of Crystal Pite's *Assembly Hall*, an absurdist dance drama centred on members of a small-town medieval re-enactment society. There could scarcely be a less promising premise but Pite and her regular co-writer Jonathon Young

take the eight representatives of "The Benevolent and Protective Order", plagued by "dwindling attendance, soaring debt and low morale", to create something witty, rich and very strange.

Like 2019's *Revisor* and the Olivier Award-winning *Betroffenheit*, in *Assembly Hall*, the dancers from Pite's Kidd Pivot company mime and lip-sync to Young's rapid-fire text. The recordings (by voice actors) are played straight at first but Owen Bellon's ingenious sound design gradually breaks down the dialogue, interlayering it with music and special effects as the show unspools.

Jay Gower Taylor renders the run-down community centre with dogged realism — swing doors, loudspeakers,

exit signs, a basketball hoop — but all is not well. Downstage, a woman is trying (but failing) to animate an unconscious man, bending him this way and that like a life-sized lay figure. Behind them lurks the performance space where mysterious and magical scenes will be enacted.

This constant slippage between the everyday world and a parallel universe has echoes of a classic children's story and the sudden shifts of mood are brilliantly effected by Tom Visser's chiaroscuro, old-masterly lighting. Knights cluster into *tableaux vivants* — an Uccello lit by Joseph Wright — to the doomy minor chords of Tchaikovsky's first piano concerto, supplemented by the clang of broadwords.

The Arthurian vibe is reinforced by the presence of an empty chair at the meeting. Finally, this stackable "siege perilous" is filled by Dave (Gregory Lau), accoutred in tinfoil armour. "I am the Knight of No Name!" he intones. "What do you need? I am at your service." But the committee fall about laughing, rejecting his quick-fix salvation in favour of more points of order. After yet another vexatious vote, they each grab a piece of armour, creating a seven-man puppet they can choreograph to their liking, an echo of the opening scene.

Few contemporary dance-makers have greater command of a large ensemble — Pite's 2014 *Polaris* deployed a corps of 64 — but even when it's only a cast of eight she floods the stage with movement. Gestures are loud and wide and the ensemble morph in and out of plastic groupings like an animated frieze on a pediment.

There are glorious stretches of pure dance material. Dave and the mysterious maiden in white enjoy a sustained exploratory duet, lifts and spins arising naturally from every uncertain embrace. Each of the eight dancers enjoys a moment in the spotlight, bonelessly fusing ballet, jazz and street dance in idiosyncratic soliloquies.

The constant loops and repetitions can become a tiny bit exasperating and the elliptical narrative sags in the middle. Thursday night's performance was interrupted by a medical emergency, but it was some while before the audience realised it wasn't actually on the agenda.

At Edinburgh International Festival,  
August 22-24, [ejf.co.uk](http://ejf.co.uk)

## Nostalgia trip goes back to pop futurism

## POP

**Air**  
London Coliseum  
★★★★

Ludovic Hunter-Tilley

The two members of Air looked as if they had died and gone to heaven at the London Coliseum. Jean-Benoît Dunckel and Nicolas Godin were dressed from head to toe in angelic white.

They stood in a white structure that stretched in a rectangle across the width of the stage. The first notes they played — Dunckel at an electronic keyboard, Godin with a bass guitar — had a warmly comforting glow. It was answered by a no less warm cheer. Nostalgia treats the past not as a foreign country but a lost paradise.

Joined in their stylish celestial chamber by a drummer, Louis Delorme, Dunckel and Godin were playing Air's debut album *Moon Safari* in full. It came out in 1998, a time when obtuse anglophone ears were being opened to Paris's vibrant music scene. The film *La Haine* had helped popularise French rap a few years earlier. Daft Punk's debut album was released in 1997 by the same UK major label that signed Air. While London, flush with the artificial highs of Britpop and Tony Blair, was gripped by "Cool Britannia" boosterism, a similar — but less chauvinistic — ferment was under way across the Channel.

*Moon Safari* arrived with "French band" printed next to Air's logo on the cover. The description expressed pride yet also residual insecurity. "Les Anglo-Saxons" had a history of treating French pop with lordly condescension, even contempt: a foreign country, not a paradise.

Air's response was to take kitsch musical ingredients — pop-classical crossovers, easy listening, the dated futurism of 1970s synth rock — and invest them with unfathomable layers of irony

and feeling. "How ELO can you go?" a UK music press headline responded admiringly.

Now in their mid-fifties, the duo continue to project a *je ne sais quoi* quality. Dunckel played different sets of keyboards with eyes half-shut, as if in a reverie. Godin also played keys as well as bass, acoustic and electric guitars. He acknowledged a voice shouting "We love you!" with a raised arm, but otherwise maintained a distance. The sense of spectacle was accentuated by the ornate venue, a high Edwardian baroque fantasy redolent of past theatrical glory.

"La femme d'argent" was a rich swirl of bass and electric organ vamps, at once mellow and precise, with Delorme's drumming giving the track more force than the recorded version. "Sexy Boy" had the ageless charm of a 1960s French pop ditty cast into an eternally optimistic sci-fi future.

Beth Hirsch, the US vocalist who sings "All I Need" and "You Make It Easy" on the album, wasn't present. Her vocal part was rearranged as a pre-recorded refrain in the latter song, while Dunckel and Godin sang her verses in the former one. Her vocoder-altered voices had androgynous robotic cadences, a differently ironic register.

Hirsch's absence was the sole drawback in an otherwise impeccable live staging of a classic album. Impressive sound quality and musicianship were accompanied by splendid visuals, with the interior of the rectangular stage set being lit up by a constantly changing array of lights and screened imagery.

The show's second half toured other parts of their brief but scintillating discography, ending with "Electronic Performers", a brooding techno symphony that casts them as heirs to Kraftwerk. Wherever their reunion tour leads, towards new material or not, Air's place in the musical firmament is assured.

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



Air's Jean-Benoît Dunckel at the Coliseum — Katie Ogilvie/Photofest

**Forum Auctions**



**BANKSY (B.1974)**  
GIRL WITH BALLOON  
Screenprint in red and black, 2004.  
Numbered from the edition of 600 in pencil.  
Est. £60,000-80,000 (+fees)

**Only Banksy**

Welcoming Auction Entries

[info@forumauctions.co.uk](mailto:info@forumauctions.co.uk) | +44 (0) 20 7871 2640

[forumauctions.co.uk](http://forumauctions.co.uk)

## On the tortuous trail of an escaped Nazi

## THEATRE

**The Long Shadow of Alois Brunner**  
Aviva Studios, Manchester  
★★★★

Matt Barton

Alois Brunner was one of the most notorious Nazi commandants to escape justice. The premise of Collective Ma'lou's show, which premiered in Leipzig and is now at the Aviva Studios in Manchester, is to interrogate how that happened — but he evades scrutiny once again.

Brunner and writer Mudar Alhaggi's journeys have some symmetries: Brunner fled Germany in the 1950s to become a refugee, and later adviser to the regime, in Syria; Alhaggi is a Syrian refugee in Berlin today who fled the regime. In *The Long Shadow of Alois Brunner*, however, the plot makes these into tenuous coincidences rather than disturbingly striking parallels.

For example, Alhaggi (played by Wael Kadour) realises he would have been in Damascus at the same time as Brunner, which turns into a central scene where he imagines meeting Brunner (Mohamad Al Rashi) in a hospital. But it doesn't lead to confrontation. Rather, he helps him drink before watching him stagger away. Instead of rage and injustice, we get discomfort.

The rest of the piece follows an unexplained metatheatrical plotline involving Alhaggi's disappearance early in the project, when the actors find his unfinished script. It invites a detective-mystery element that feels flippant as

the performers fumblingly triage the incomplete script, trying to make sense of its first few pages. They debate whether to finish it or, as Al Rashi nonchalantly suggests with a mouthful of cake, give up altogether.

The tone is inconsistent and incongruous: played straight and earnestly, then occasionally ironically with tepid black comedy. Al Rashi's Brunner wears sunglasses, a black glove and a long grey trenchcoat, like some sort of mob boss. The feckless, obtuse police shrug off the writer's report of a suspicious dog attack by requiring the animal's ID. And the actors' switching between these characters only makes matters more muddled.

Alhaggi and director Omar Elerian don't find a theatrical language and form in which to discuss and explore. A prologue and epilogue of long monologues more resemble a filmed

documentary. The section in Berlin is left feeling like a faltering, half-committed attempt — another unfinished script — to dramatise the paranoia of being arrested or silenced. The drama is also rendered inconsequential and flippant when the actors drop character at the end to share their own experiences of being pulled from their homes, or being central to the trial of notorious Syrian colonel Anwar Raskan.

It's an oblique piece, skirting the subject where it needs lancing directness. When the actors ask the writer what the ending should be, he answers that it should tie everything together. But the threads are left hanging loose and disjointed, never taking us beyond speculation. The real story only ever exists as a shadow behind this morass of diversion.

[factoryinternational.org](http://factoryinternational.org)



Mohamad Al Rashi, standing, and Wael Kadour in 'The Long Shadow of Alois Brunner'  
Yoni Dahan



FT BIG READ. US POLITICS

**FT Series** When he first ran for president in 2016, Donald Trump was the ultimate outsider. As he campaigns again this year, he is backed by a group of experienced former officials eager to apply his ideas.

By James Politi

# Inside the new inner circle



When Donald Trump hosted Viktor Orbán at his Mar-a-Lago resort this month, he lavished praise on the Hungarian prime minister as a “fantastic” leader for Europe. The evening entertainment included a “members-only” concert with tribute hands for the Beatles and Rolling Stones.

But in the afternoon, the pair retreated to a dining room for private talks. At the table on Trump’s side was David Corstein, the former US ambassador to Budapest, Susie Wiles, his campaign’s top political strategist, and Fred Fleitz, a former National Security Council official now at the America First Policy Institute. “There were many issues which they agreed on,” says Fleitz, “especially immigration.”

The gathering at Mar-a-Lago provides a rarely seen snapshot of Trump’s world in 2024. On the surface, the campaign often seems chaotic, marked by the candidate’s angry rhetoric about revenge and his never-ending legal woes.

But behind the scenes, there is a streak of ruthlessness and determination in his new bid for the presidency. Narrowly ahead in the polls against Joe Biden, Trump now has the backing of a small group of seasoned campaign operatives and a tightly knit entourage of former officials eager to apply his ideas.

When Trump first ran for president in 2016, he was the ultimate political outsider – lacking both governing experience and a network of support.

While he promised a radical shake-up – and rattled allies by launching trade wars and casting doubt on America’s commitment to Nato – his more aggressive ambitions and impulses were restrained by officials and lawmakers from the party’s centre-right mainstream.

This time around, he presents a very different proposition. 2024 Trump is vowing a much more profound break from what used to be his party’s orthodoxy. As well as a push for Ukraine to settle with Russia, the potential measures include tariffs more sweeping than last time and an even more overwhelming crackdown on immigration. Trump has also threatened to launch purges of the federal judiciary and bureaucracy, which, in the view of many critics, are a sign of a growing authoritarian bent.

Trump’s ability to achieve any of this will depend in part on the people and groups that surround his candidacy – his advisers, donors and media allies.

The biggest difference from when he first entered politics involves personnel. While Trump felt in 2017 he needed to bring wary members of the Republican elite into his administration, he is now able to draw on a core of experienced aides who have remained fiercely devoted to the former president. At the same time, he also has the backing of a party machin-

“The previous time Trump didn’t have a team. Now the Republican government world is in lockstep with him”

ery that has been remade in his image. “It’s going to be much more hard hitting,” says Steve Bannon, his former political strategist and conservative media host who remains a close outside ally. Whereas the 2016 campaign was much more “theoretical” in terms of plans and “shamolic” in its operation, Trump now has a “deep bench” of people who are “ready to go”.

“His speeches are all loaded with stuff he’s going to do,” he says. “It may not be high rhetoric, but substance-wise it’s there, and people should understand these things are being worked on and developed. And those policies will be implemented.”

Bannon adds that he is being upfront about his intentions: “Trump’s not hiding the football.”

This look into Trump’s new inner circle is based on interviews with more than a dozen people involved directly or indirectly with the 2024 campaign. Many declined to be quoted on the record, but they all describe a group that is itching to hit the ground running if they get into office.

Members of the traditional Republican governing class have either accepted him as their standard-bearer or have been sidelined.

“We are living in a different world,” says Michael Beschloss, a presidential historian. “[Trump] knows many of such people are alienated by his defence of the January 6 insurrectionists, and disgusted about what he says about dictatorship. So he has largely written them off and is going with people who seem to be loyal to him and his current passions.”

At the Conservative Political Action Conference last month, Trump signalled what his approach would be if he defeats Biden in November.

It essentially has two prongs: the first is a rightwing policy revolution to reverse many of Biden’s moves over the past three years, while the second is a revenge mission against his political opponents, to punish them for the persecution he claims to have suffered through the justice system.

“For hard-working Americans, November 5 will be our new Liberation day,” he told the crowd of activists and supporters that day at CPAC. “For the liars and cheaters and fraudsters and censors and imposters who have commandeered our government, it will be your judgment day.”

After leaving office in January 2021, Trump retreated to his Mar-a-Lago resort – into a relatively sheltered period of political isolation. But even then, he maintained close ties with his allies on Capitol Hill, and retained the support of a number of former administration officials who are at the heart of his campaign for a second term this year.

In character, his inner circle ranges

from the abrasive to the mild-mannered, but what they share is a fierce personal loyalty to Trump. Both they and the former president are more experienced in Washington manoeuvring, and less likely to be thwarted or slowed by career civil servants, mainstream Republican officials, and critics in Congress.

“The previous time Trump didn’t have a team and he needed to reach out to people that he hadn’t dealt with before,” says Doug Heye, a Republican strategist. “Now he has an internal team and the Republican governmental world is in lockstep with him.”

Some are also affiliated with new and existing Washington think-tanks that have aligned themselves with Trump and his ideas in recent years and plan to populate his administration if he wins again – a support network he lacked in 2017.

People working with Trump say that Stephen Miller, a senior adviser in the Trump White House and the champion of draconian immigration restrictions, remains very close to the former president, along with Robert Lighthizer, the former US trade representative and architect of the big commercial battles with China, the EU and many others the last time around.

The AFPI’s Center for American Security – where Fleitz is vice-chair – is now the home of two of Trump’s key soundbites on national security.

One is Keith Kellogg – a retired three-star US Army lieutenant general and a veteran of the NSC in the Trump White House. Kellogg recently led a delegation from the AFPI to Israel where they met with Ron Dermer, the minister of strategic affairs, and Yoav Gallant, the defence minister. On the two-year anniversary of Russia’s full-blown invasion of Ukraine, he blasted Biden for failing to encourage peace talks between the two countries.

The other critical voice on international affairs is John Ratcliffe, the former mayor of a small Texas town in the Dallas suburbs who is later elected to Congress and tapped by Trump to be his director of national intelligence in his final year in office.

On the economy, Kevin Hassett, Trump’s former chair of the council of economic advisers, and Russ Vought, the former budget director, are key figures in Trump’s current orbit – though he still speaks to Larry Kudlow, another previous economic aide, and Stephen Moore of the Heritage Foundation.

One of Trump’s top goals is to purge the civil service of what he calls “rogue bureaucrats” – a dramatic culling of the federal government and the legal system intended to remove individuals who are unsympathetic to him.

Miller is also the architect of Trump’s plans to close down the US border with Mexico, and round up undocumented immigrants to deport them back to their home countries, using the military if necessary to detain them – an escalation

even compared to the hardline immigration policies of his first term.

On trade, Trump plans to renew his trade wars – boosting the idea of a 10 per cent across-the-board tariff on imported goods, a 60 per cent tariff on Chinese goods, as well as a separate levy of 100 per cent on Chinese-made cars coming to the US through Mexico.

“There are many groups and people who are purporting to speak on behalf of the Trump movement but... we may not have good visibility into what’s real,” says Lanhee Chen, a fellow at the Hoover Institution and a former aide to Mitt Romney’s 2012 Republican presidential campaign. “In the end, he’s the decider.”

If Trump wins a second term in office, much of the credit will probably go to Wiles and Chris LaCivita, the campaign’s strategists who have so far avoided the public feeding and turnover that occurred during his previous campaigns. “The [Trump] sets the tempo, sets the agenda, and our job is to implement it,” says LaCivita.

Over the course of the last year, Trump has also tightened his grip on the Republican party in Congress – which could be a big factor in how he would govern in a second term.

Although divided government is a possibility, the momentum from a Trump victory for the presidency would probably result in Republican control of both chambers.

Whereas last time around lawmakers such as Paul Ryan, the former Republican Speaker, and Mitch McConnell, the Republican leader in the senate, did not always bend to his wishes, that has changed. Last year, Trump was able to install Mike Johnson, a relatively obscure lawmaker from Louisiana, but one of his allies, to be Speaker of the House. At the same time, McConnell is stepping down from his leadership role and is expected to be replaced by a more Trump-friendly successor. Critics such as Romney and Lisa Murkowski of Alaska are few and far between.

“I don’t know anyone who is not looking forward to a second Trump term... there’s acceptance and excitement about what [it] would look like. Even folks who have been reluctant, they are shoulder to shoulder with him,” says Brian Ballard, a Florida-based lobbyist close to Trump.

Trump has also moved quickly to seize control of the national party apparatus. Early this month, he forced the replacement of Ronna McDaniel as chair of the Republican national committee with Michael Whatley, the former party head in North Carolina. He was also able to install Lara Trump, his daughter-in-law, to be co-chair of the RNC. This will allow Trump to more easily direct party resources towards his

Trump has surrounded himself with an entourage of loyalists. Below left from top: Steve Bannon, Keith Kellogg, Lara Trump and Stephen Miller

political needs – and possibly even his legal bills – rather than down-ballot candidates.

Lara Trump, who is married to Eric Trump, is arguably the most involved member of the former president’s family in his latest campaign for office, though Donald Trump Jr, the eldest son, has also played a significant role.

One of the decisive moments for an eventual Trump second term would come as staff choices are made following an election victory. All successful campaigns for the presidency face a shift in identity as they start to expand beyond the candidate’s inner circle.

Bannon says not to expect a big pivot in either personnel or policy. “I’m not sure if Trump believes in neoliberal or neocon solutions,” says Bannon. “I think he understands what he wants to do and who are the types of people” who can achieve it.

On the foreign policy front, for instance, some familiar figures are currently being talked about as candidates for leading positions.

Robert O’Brien, the former national security adviser who has continued to praise Trump, may well be in the mix for a top job. Mike Pompeo, his former secretary of state who has defied Trump’s scepticism about aid to Ukraine, has not necessarily been ruled out either, say insiders. Richard Grenell, the former US ambassador to Germany, may make a comeback too, while prominent senators such as Marco Rubio of Florida and Bill Hagerty in Tennessee are also contenders.

For the economic team, the big questions are whether Trump might pick a Wall Street donor for the role of Treasury secretary, as he did with Steven Mnuchin in 2017 – and who he might tap to replace Jay Powell, chair of the Federal Reserve, whose second term expires in 2026. As well as Hassett, John Paulson, Jeff Yass and Scott Bessent, the top hedge fund managers, might be in the mix for senior economic roles.

Michael Strain, director of economic policy studies at the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative think-tank, sees more “continuity” than change over who is involved in the campaign between the first administration and a potential second term. But he is concerned about the “unsound policies” and “morally troubling” statements.

Elaine Kamarck of the Brookings Institution says that in a second term “the people in the White House would be more willing to do [Trump’s] business”. But she still has faith that the “separation of powers” will be a buffer against what many see as Trump’s growing authoritarian tendencies. “We’re confronted with our first wannabe dictator in American history, and we have to go back to the wisdom of the founding fathers, who specifically designed a system which is very bulky and takes forever,” she says. “Guess what? It does a pretty good job of protecting against guys like Donald Trump.”

“People should understand these things are being worked on and developed. And those policies will be enacted”



**Trump machine**  
This is the first in a series on the people and groups backing the former president’s bid to return to the White House





## The FT View



FINANCIAL TIMES  
"Without fear and without favour"

## Islamist terror returns to Russia

Using Moscow attack as a pretext to intensify Ukraine war would be an outrage

Russia is mourning the deaths of at least 137 people, including several children, in last Friday's horrific terrorist attack on a rock concert on the edge of Moscow. Countries around the world will sympathise with the victims and their families, and the trauma the attack has caused to those living in the Russian capital and beyond. But many outside Russia will be enraged, at the same time, by a Kremlin narrative that seeks, without evidence, to suggest Ukraine was somehow behind the assault.

The atrocity signals the alarming return of Islamist-linked terrorism to Russian cities after a decade in which it had seemed in retreat, though the source today differs from the early 2000s. The Crocus City Hall incident has echoes of Moscow's Nord-Ost theatre

siege in 2002, where more than 170 people died, and the 2004 seizure of a school in Beslan in which 334 people, including 186 children, perished.

Those attacks were carried out by Chechen militants fighting a separatist war against Russia, who had ties to al-Qaeda-related groups. Responsibility for the concert assault has been claimed instead by Isis-Khorasan, an Afghanistan affiliate of the Isis jihadi group. Isis-K struck Russia's embassy in Kabul in 2022 and has been "fixed" on Russia for two years, according to the Soufan Center, a think-tank. The group accuses the Kremlin of having Muslim blood on its hands from Russia's interventions in Afghanistan, Chechnya and Syria. Its claim to be behind the Moscow attack is reinforced by its release of bodycam footage.

The US has pointed the finger at Isis, and officials have confirmed they had intelligence this month suggesting Isis-K was planning an imminent attack in Moscow — which they shared with

Russia under a "duty to warn". The US embassy advised Americans to avoid large gatherings in the capital. President Vladimir Putin denounced the US warnings as "provocations".

In a less authoritarian state, the population would be demanding to know why their security services failed to stop an attack whose possibility had been flagged, and why their president dismissed the alerts. They would ask whether sending thousands of troops to a senseless war, and diverting intelligence resources away from counterterrorism and into the fight against Ukraine — and suppressing internal dissent — has made the country more vulnerable.

Putin said late on Monday that "radical Islamists" committed the concert attack, but now needed to know who ordered it and "who benefits" — adding that the assault was "also part of the Kyiv regime's attacks on Russia". The president earlier claimed that four alleged assailants detained on Saturday

Blaming Kyiv may be, in part, an attempt to cover up failures by Putin and his secret service cronies

had been attempting to cross into Ukraine. Kyiv has vehemently denied any connection. Appearing in court, the four reportedly Tajik men appeared to have been tortured. The concern is they are being brutalised to ensure they confess not just to the crime, but to a version that matches the Kremlin's account.

Blaming Kyiv may be, in part, an attempt to cover up failures by the president and his secret service cronies. But Putin has instrumentalised past terror attacks for his own purposes, and may be planning to do so again. To use the Moscow assault as a pretext for a further clampdown on Russians, or to intensify the war on Ukraine — including a new mobilisation — would be an outrage.

Friday's attack should serve as an alarm call beyond Russia, too. In the past year Isis-K has also staged deadly assaults in Pakistan and Iran. While Isis itself may be diminished, events in Moscow show the threat of violence from its offshoots remains very real.

ft.com/opinion

## Opinion Politics

## Sunak's greatest liability is his deluded party

Ewan White



Stephen Bush



programme wasn't self-contradictory and riddled with impossible trade-offs. It was. But there is a political cost to moving away from it, particularly if at every turn you choose to move towards the minority opinion, as Sunak has done.

The prime minister is probably right in thinking that it is one thing for voters to want these things in the abstract and quite another to welcome them in practice. Look at the detail of the 'YouGov and More in Common' polls, and voters' preference for tax rises to support public spending tends to mean that taxes should go up for someone else.

But as Sunak is also learning on immigration, which Conservative voters oppose at current levels while also opposing anything that might meaningfully reduce it, there is no electoral reward for not doing something because you think the voters won't thank you for it. His strategy might work for the Conservatives in opposition, but in government it is a recipe for leaving office faster and more emphatically.

And that's not Sunak's only political problem. Another significant one is that he took over after Liz Truss's 49-day long premiership. Her biggest achievement was to shift British voters from blaming the UK's economic woes on a combination of bad luck, the pandemic, Vladimir Putin and the Conservatives' mistakes, to almost exclusively blaming the Tories. Sunak has been unable to reverse this perception.

But while the prime minister's biggest self-inflicted wound is his inability to pursue a popular Johnsonian path, his party's problem is different. While it is easy to find Tories willing to say publicly that Sunak's government is too far to the left, it is hard to find anyone who will give voice to the truth: that it is in fact further to the right than Johnson's, just as Truss's was, and this is part of why the Conservatives are now doing less well electorally than they once did.

Some MPs and aides will say this in private — but they are outnumbered by those who think Sunak is in kind of moderate and that the Johnson era shows radicalism can be electorally effective. That delusion means that when the Tories lose the next election, the contest to replace him as Conservative leader will be predicated on the idea that he lost because he was too moderate, too centrist and too close to the middle ground of British politics.

The reality is that he has moved the Tory party further from the centre, and therefore closer to defeat, won't be allowed to intrude. And that collective delusion is far more harmful to the Conservative party than any of Sunak's gaffes or political howlers.

stephen.bush@ft.com

## Letters

## Don't make African farmers bear the brunt of EU green policies

Alan Beattie's Trade Secrets column (March 21) neatly explained the challenges created by the EU's new green trade measures. But the point made about low smaller farmers exporting to the EU are being displaced by large agribusinesses, as the cost of compliance to the new deforestation regulation (DR) bites, is one that could be mirrored across other sectors, as the whole suite of new EU regulations comes into play.

Measures like the carbon border adjustment mechanism, the likely new supply chain and the DR are combining to create new pressures to consolidate

value chains among producers that have the compliance infrastructure and can cover the costs.

This is part of the "green squeeze" currently affecting African producers. Just to maintain the status quo, even a 1 per cent increase in compliance costs for the least developed countries (LDCs) translates into hundreds of millions of euros. And supply shifts are already under way, as importers move towards "low risk", as opposed to "low cost" supply models, motivated by the new green trade measures. For example, in response to the DR, coffee importers are reported to have no

choice but to shift from Ethiopian household coffee growers to Brazilian plantations, which already have full traceability.

Smaller companies out of the market will hurt smaller companies in the EU. It is not conducive to building the more resilient (and diversified) value chains needed to mitigate future shocks, including climate change. It also undermines the critical role that international trade must play to support adaptation to climate change. To ensure these well-intentioned policies avoid damaging, unintended consequences for the

world's poorest and most climate vulnerable continent, the EU must step up and articulate a more inclusive and less punitive approach.

For LDCs, the global commitments under the Doha "programme of action" already provide some guidance for trade and focus on digitalisation. Taking these actions would support the goal of greener, diversified and traceable supply chains.

Jodie Keane  
Senior Research Fellow  
ODI (Formerly Overseas Development Institute), London SE1, UK

## How advocates for climate action can hurt their cause

Pilita Clark (Opinion, March 20) follows Leo Strine, former chief justice of the Delaware Supreme Court, in arguing that Orwellian doublethink is killing climate action. For example, Republicans who claim that joining an industry group to collaborate on climate action violates antifossil fuels have no qualms about fossil fuel companies joining the American Petroleum Institute. This is "doublethink".

But many supporters of climate action also manipulate language in a way that harms their cause. They inflate the threat-language far beyond the credible science, so that the future cannot be discussed except in terms of a choice between impending "disaster", "catastrophe", "planetary extinction", or "impossibly fast reforms to low humanity lives, works and governs".

In this context, Fath Birol's column (Opinion, March 21) is a breath of fresh air for the way it balances news of the climate crisis with news of dramatic



advances in the energy transition, from a non-apocalyptic mindset.

Robert H Wade  
Professor of Global Political Economy  
London School of Economics  
London WC2, UK

## CEO offers to take a look at his lordship's heat pump

Lord Leigh may have had a suboptimal experience with his heat pump (Letters, March 21) but millions of people's gas boilers regularly break down, and it is a write-up in a national newspaper. Indeed, people generally have a better experience with heat pumps than boilers. A recent survey of 2,652 Octopus Energy customers found that heat pumps had an 80 per cent satisfaction rating compared with 70 per cent for boilers.

And with a smart tariff, customers typically save about £200 per year compared to a gas boiler.

Lord Leigh's heat pump, like many people's boilers, may have been badly installed. This is why Octopus is investing in training up thousands of engineers — to deliver low-cost, high-quality heat pump installations. I'd be happy to send one of them round to take a look at his.

Derek Jackson  
Founder and Chief Executive,  
Octopus Energy, London W1, UK

## Last Tube home rose backfires on the Tories

Regarding the letter from the former Conservative MP Douglas French ("In Thatcher's time, MPs worked much longer hours", March 25), readers might care to know that all-night sittings took a new departure in 1945.

In the wake of the surprising Labour victory many of that party's new MPs found they could not afford to rent in Westminster, many settling for bedsits in east London. Some bright spark in the Tory whips office noticed that if they could keep the government in the chamber to a nudge past midnight (when Tubes to east London stopped) they would have the last laugh as these new MPs — unable to afford taxis — would have to walk six miles to their new "homes". It didn't last too long. Wily Labour MPs kept Tory MPs in the chamber until six in the morning just as the Tubes started up again.

Fifteen thirties  
Derek Whitt  
Former Labour MP  
Aldershot, Suffolk, UK

## OUTLOOK

## VIENNA

## Could theatre be the future of investigative journalism?



by Sam Jones

It's a drizzly early spring evening in Vienna and I'm in a booth at Café Sperl, trying to catch the waiter's eye. I'm waiting for an old contact to arrive, with I hope, a sheaf of documents he's promised me.

In the past five years or so, writing on Austrian intrigues, I have come to appreciate this kind of Nairobi encounter. Just the day before, I spent a couple of hours in my own private Carol Reed scene, walking slowly down the long avenue of the Prater park while my companion, name unknown, unpacked the mechanics of a complex series of Russian financial transactions.

Vienna can often feel like a stage. Fortunately it has a great cast.

The next afternoon, I meet Ashwien Sankholkar in another café. He is a celebrated investigative journalist in Vienna. And like his colleagues at Dossier, a magazine founded in 2012, he is bringing some of his work to a wider audience — at the theatre.

Dossier has no adverts and is therefore financially dependent on its subscribers. It has to develop new ways to engage them and think carefully about how to monetise its painstaking investigative work beyond the pages.

Last April saw the premier of *Die Redaktion* (The Newsroom) at the Volkstheater in Vienna. The play recounts Dossier's 2020 investigation into OMV, Austria's national oil and gas company, and its boss Rainer Seel. His shadowy relations with Moscow remain the subject of

controversy to this day. (OMV disputes any wrongdoing in its negotiations with Russia. Seel was forced out, but exonerated of wrongdoing in an OMV internal probe last year.)

Buoyed by the success of that venture, the Volkstheater has commissioned a second play from Dossier. This month sees the premier of *The Rise and Fall of Mr René Benko* tackling a subject very much still in the headlines: it is barely three months since the Sigma Group, the sprawling luxury property empire of Tyrolean billionaire Benko, began to collapse. The dust has yet to settle.

The lawsuits are only just beginning. Tickets sold out within two hours of the production going on sale. A second run is in the works. Sankholkar tells me.

Intoxicating investigative theatre has spread beyond Austria. In Germany, the Berliner Ensemble put on a "staged reading" of an investigation by Correctiv into a meeting of far-right extremists in January — the Volkstheater was a partner in the process.

I hope we see more productions like these, since they are effective ways of getting people to engage with investigative journalism, which, in an information-saturated age, requires a lot of commitment from the reader. The demand is still there, it is only the method of delivery that can be cracked.

While I'm in Vienna another drama unfolds in the round. Former chancellor Sebastian Kurz faces a

verdict in his perjury trial. Across from him in the courtroom is his nemesis: former confidant turned crown witness, Thomas Schmid. The public gallery, the ante-chambers outside and the steps of the building are packed with press.

The polished Kurz is found guilty, but barely bats an eyelid. Two years on from his departure from office, and still young at 37, he remains the political reference point of Austrian politics. There have already been three movies made about Kurz. He will, of course, appeal against the verdict his spokesperson tells me — meaning a sequel is on the cards.

Thinking of the porous line between drama as entertainment and drama as politics, I get thinking about the great Viennese satirist Karl Kraus's masterpiece, *The Last Days of Mankind*. The seething mass of the play — which features huge amounts of material clipped verbatim from news, letters, trials, announcements and artefacts of popular culture — dissolves the boundaries of fiction and reality.

Kraus's point, I think, was to draw attention to the way, on the eve of catastrophe (in this case the first world war), people seem to become trapped in performance, actors without agency in a story over which they have no control.

Vienna in 2024, of course, is not the epicentre of a global crisis as it was in 1914. But still, Kraus should make us pause for thought.

sam.jones@ft.com

Email: letters.editor@ft.com  
Include daytime telephone number and full address  
Corrections: corrections@ft.com

If you are not satisfied with the FT's response to your complaint, you can appeal to the FT Editorial Complaints Commission: complaints.commissioner@ft.com

Opinion

How Republicans learnt to love bigger government



Oren Cass

The era of "the era of big government is over" may itself now be over. Realignment in American politics has already transformed debates over free trade and free markets, labour unions and family policy, but its impact on fiscal matters is only beginning to emerge.

Many of the professional-class Republicans who identify as "socially liberal, but fiscally conservative" have deamped for the Democratic party. Meanwhile, a racially diverse set of traditionally Democrat working-class voters, who often have more positive views of the government and have benefited from its programmes, now side with the GOP. The budget cutting championed by former House Speaker Paul Ryan

no longer has an obvious constituency. That's no great loss. When Ryan retired at the start of 2019, after two years of Republican control of Congress and the White House, at the peak of the longest economic expansion on record, he left behind a deficit for the fiscal year in progress that would approach \$1tn.

But as in many areas where decades-long conservative orthodoxy has finally crumbled, the question of what comes next remains an open one. Some conservative leaders have now adopted the position that Medicare and social security must not be cut at all.

Former president Donald Trump at times echoes that stance. At other times he calls for aggressive reform. Budget proposals from both the Republican Study Committee and the Heritage Foundation call for steep welfare entitlement cuts alongside yet more tax cuts, while the Republican chair of the House budget committee recently said "it's only fair to have both revenue and expenditures on the table". This is a position endorsed by free-market think tanks such as the American Enterprise Institute and the Manhattan Institute.

New polling conducted by American Compass in partnership with YouTube further underscores the confusion on the right. Yes, 61 per cent of Republican voters do say they would "prefer to pay lower taxes and have the government do less". But that's less than two-thirds support for a position previously assumed to be mandatory for participation in the conservative coalition.

Some conservative leaders now think that Medicare and social security must not be cut at all

More strikingly, when it comes to the major areas of federal government spending, the appetite for cuts vanishes — and not just in areas like retirement security or defence. Only one in five Republicans say they'd like to see the government do less to provide "medical care for those who need help affording insurance", or to support "the poor, disabled, needy" or "families raising chil-

dren". In each case, they are roughly twice as likely to say they want to see the government do more, not less.

It would probably be a mistake, though, to conclude that bigger government is now back in demand. Many conservatives still place great stock in a conception of liberty that entails being left alone to do what they want. They tend to believe that when government does act, it can do so more effectively with market-based solutions than with direct programmes and services. And they have much greater faith in their local governments, and even state government, than in the federal government. What they do seem to want, however, is better government that is focused on doing more efficiently and effectively what only it can do.

Of course, budgeting is an exercise in trade-offs. When doing more also means paying more taxes, cuts come more sharply into focus. But analysts must revisit the long-held assumption that conservative voters prefer smaller government and lower spending as ends in themselves. And conservative politicians also must begin to consider, as

their voters surely have, who would do the paying.

There is a reason Barack Obama made permanent the Bush-era tax cuts for the upper-middle-class households earning as much as \$250,000, while Joe Biden has now drawn his own line at no tax increases on earnings up to \$400,000. Families with incomes in that range — quintessentially composed of highly-educated professionals — are precisely those who must bear the inevitable burden of funding a more generous welfare state. They are also the core of the Democratic party's new electoral coalition.

The advent of Republicans eager to preserve social programmes and thus open to raising new tax revenue will be a fascinating turn in US politics. Trump may not have a clear plan, but his party's future leaders are already laying the groundwork to build on the coalition he has assembled. The real fun will come when the Democrats begin demanding a tax cut and suggest cutting those same programmes in order to fund it.

The writer is an FT contributing editor and executive director of American Compass

Celebrate that EU safe assets have joined the €1tn club

Kalin Anev Janse

A significant milestone has been reached this month. There are more than €1tn of European safe assets in the market issued by the European Commission, the European Investment Bank and the European Stability Mechanism plus the European Financial Stability Facility. The number has almost doubled compared to 2014, the aftermath of the eurozone crisis.

With the elections to the European parliament coming up in June, numerous ambitious policy ideas are being floated. The French and Estonian heads of state, for example, have called for the issuing of joint bonds to fund defence spending. Former European Central Bank president Mario Draghi has spoken about huge gaps in competitiveness and public goods.

Funding such ambitions nationally might not be feasible, as countries need to consolidate their public finances to make room for investment and to protect themselves against future shocks. Financing public goods via European institutions might be easier, as recent history has shown. The EU is still disbursing from the €800bn Next Generation EU-Covid package. The EIB issues €60bn a year. The ESM currently has a lending capacity of €422bn. These are large numbers.

A key advantage is that these triple A-rated bonds are backed by European sovereigns. With higher interest rates, we have seen international investors regain interest in the euro. Europe has built a strong financial architecture, which has helped it to remain unaf-

ected by the banking turmoil that occurred in the US and Switzerland last year.

Economically, Europe is also doing better than many expected, even though growth is forecast to remain rather weak. Finally, due to quantitative tightening, there are simply more European assets in the market. We have seen the most active primary market in 15 years at the start of 2024.

Investors are more upbeat about Europe than in the past. In 2024, a total of 40 per cent of ESM/EFSE bonds have been taken up by central banks, governments and sovereign wealth funds. Twenty-six per cent of this issuance was taken up by Asian investors. Overall, these are the highest numbers since 2011, when the EFSE first started issuing bonds.

As this June's elections loom, the question of how to finance European public goods is becoming unavoidable. In the past, we have seen that a joint response has yielded positive results. The common monetary and fiscal response to the eurozone crisis calmed markets.

The joint response to the Covid crisis, the initial €540bn ESM/EU/EIB response and Next Generation EU, combined with the ECB's pandemic emergency purchase programme, helped contain bond spreads.

Greece and Cyprus, supported by European packages from the ESM and others during the crisis in the eurozone, have regained investment grade status from the big rating companies and are now attractive for financial markets again. The Baltic states have also seen their spreads tighten, despite the initial widening that occurred at the start of the war in Ukraine in 2022.

The €1tn club is also a significant contributor to the capital markets union. Back in 2021, the ESM introduced the five S's, game changers for Europe's capital markets: supervision, securitisation, SME finance, sustainable finance and, most importantly in this case, safe assets.

This tells us that when Europe acts together, it is able to convince the world and markets. Ahead of those important June elections, it is good news for European policymakers that support for the euro is at an all-time high and the requisite financial institutions are in place. A joint response to big geopolitical challenges boosts Europe's role in the world.

The writer is chief financial officer of the European Stability Mechanism

War and the rise of identity geopolitics



Gideon Rachman

Early in the Gaza conflict, a TikTok video of John Kirby went viral. In the first frames, the White House spokesman is composed as he describes civilian casualties in Gaza as part of the "brutal, ugly" reality of war. In the second part, he chokes up as he describes his horror at civilian deaths in Ukraine.

For the Biden administration's critics, that video summed up America's double standards. But the whole debate about the relative treatment of Ukraine and Gaza misses a wider point about selective compassion. The tragedies of Ukraine, Gaza and Israel all get far more attention than wars and humanitarian calamities elsewhere in the world.

The threat of a famine in Gaza is currently making global headlines every day. But last week the UN warned that "Sudan will soon be the world's worst hunger crisis" with 18m people facing acute food insecurity. It highlighted an ongoing conflict that involves "mass rapes, gang rapes, shockingly indiscriminate attacks in densely populated areas" and more than 6.5m displaced people. Reports from refugees camps in Darfur describe children dying of malnutrition every two hours.

Like Gaza, Sudan borders Egypt. But the Sudanese conflict — and last week's warning — has been largely ignored by the wider world. A UN appeal for \$2.7bn in humanitarian aid for Sudan that was launched last month has so far raised \$131m.

Efforts to free the Israeli hostages held in Gaza have become a centrepiece of international diplomacy. Last week, CIA head Bill Burns got directly involved. By contrast, the kidnapping of 287 children in Nigeria — many of them mercifully released over the weekend — got very little international attention.

A little further back and the world's capacity to ignore mass killing and suffering — particularly in Africa — is stark. The war between Ethiopia and the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front that began in November 2020 cost around 600,000 lives, according to Olojugban Obasanjo, the former Nigerian president, who helped to negotiate a peace treaty. More than half the victims were civilians, many of whom died of starvation.

"The slogan 'Black Lives Matter' that began in the US was resonating globally in 2020. But the wider world — including the African Union — barely seemed to register the loss of hundreds of thousands of black lives in the Ethiopia-Tigray war.

What is it that causes some tragedies and conflicts that command the world's attention and others to pass almost unnoticed?

The answer seems to be something that can be called identity geopolitics. A conflict is much more likely to spark



international concern and outrage if large numbers of people identify with those who are fighting or suffering. Europeans look at fleeing Ukrainians and imagine their own cities under bombardment. Many Muslims and Jews identify with the warring sides in Gaza.

My guess is that if the Ethiopia-Tigray war had involved white people slaughtering black people — or vice versa — it would have caused global uproar. Without that element of racial or group antagonism, however, outsiders were much less likely to identify with one side or another.

When mass atrocities are broken down into individual stories, the emotional and political impact is much more powerful. Global audiences know the faces and names of Israeli toddlers who

were kidnapped on October 7, and whose fates are unknown, and of the Palestinian children and families who have been killed in Israel's Gaza offensive. Millions will see the Oscar-winning film *20 Days in Mariupol* about the brutal Russian assault on a Ukrainian city.

Films and journalism that tell stories of individual suffering can feel almost too painful to watch. But the names and fates of the Tigrayan or Sudanese children who were murdered or died of hunger will never get the same attention, so they will never provoke the same sort of global uproar.

There is a circular process to the lack of attention given to tragedies in places such as Tigray or Sudan. International news organisations notice that their audiences do not seem engaged by these stories — which are also expensive and dangerous to cover. So they do not document events in the detail that might actually trigger international concern.

Supporters of the Palestinian cause sometimes say the reason they feel so passionately about Gaza, but are not marching for Sudan or Haiti, is that

western policy is directly implicated in events there. The US supplies weapons to Israel, but not to either side in Sudan.

This argument is powerful — but not conclusive. The largest buyer of both American and British weaponry has traditionally been Saudi Arabia. The Saudis used those weapons in a conflict in Yemen that, according to the UN, had cost 57,000 lives by the end of 2021. Like the Israelis, the Saudis were accused of indiscriminate bombing and of provoking a famine. But there was little public outcry about this in the west.

The issue that caused a real crisis in US-Saudi relations was the murder of a single prominent journalist, Jamal Khashoggi. His horrific story had the power to move emotions and shift international politics — unlike the deaths of thousands of other victims, who were destined to remain anonymous.

World politics still seems to live by the infamous phrase, often attributed to Stalin: "A single death is a tragedy, a million deaths is a statistic."

gideon.rachman@ft.com

What is it that causes some conflicts to command attention and others to pass almost unnoticed?

Putin's Ukraine obsession has blinded him to dangers at home

Hanna Note

Soon after Friday's terrorist attack killed at least 137 people in Moscow, Russian pundits and politicians insinuated that the attackers had links to Ukraine. This came as little surprise. It has become standard for the Kremlin to blame Ukraine for Russia's internal blunders and accuse it of making common cause with nefarious forces.

In October, Russia asserted that antisemitic riots at Makhachkala airport in the Dagestan region were inspired by Ukraine. Moscow has also alleged that Kyiv and Washington are attempting to recruit Isis fighters into Ukraine's armed forces. Still, Russia's latest rhetoric underscores just how deeply Vladimir Putin has become alienated from the US, which he once viewed as a partner in fighting terror-

ism. More ominously, Russia's blame game may also signal military escalation against Ukraine.

The Kremlin's playbook is much older than its war against Ukraine. When terror attacks rocked Russia in the late 1990s and early 2000s amid the second Chechen war, Putin exaggerated cross-border links between Chechen fighters and al-Qaeda. Russia's new government framed its own terrorist threat as part of "an extremist international... stretching from the Philippines to Kosovo". The goal was to link Russia's controversial counterterrorism campaign in Chechnya to US President George W Bush's post-9/11 "global war on terror".

A little over a decade later, Moscow would engage in another attempt at linking war with American counterterrorism efforts. On the eve of Russia's intervention in Syria's civil war in September 2015, Putin took the stage at the UN General Assembly to call for a "genuinely broad international coalition" against terrorism. Urging coordination between Russia and the US-led coalition fighting Isis in Syria and Iraq, Putin even invoked the second world war, when the

Soviet Union and the US jointly fought Nazi Germany.

Russia's framing of last week's attack at Crocus City Hall differs from these past efforts in important ways. First, the nature of the incident is different, in that Russia has moved from half-truths to full fabrications. When Putin asserted links between Chechen terrorists and al-

Rhetoric after the attack underscores just how deeply Russia has become alienated from the US

Qaeda in the early 2000s, he was exaggerating but not outright lying. At the time, al-Qaeda sought to export Islamic militancy into central Asia and Russia. Connections between the group and Chechnya, however tenuous, did exist.

Today, Russia's assertions that Kyiv and, by extension, the US are the puppeteers behind the shooting spree are pure fantasy. In several communications, Isis has claimed responsibility.

Washington had publicly warned of such an attack two weeks ago. Of course, Russia has shown a penchant for making bogus claims about Ukraine before. Think only of the unsubstantiated assertions in 2022 that Kyiv was experimenting with deadly biological weapons to create "monster" troops in US-funded biolabs.

Not only have Russia's assertions about the transnational nature of terrorism evolved from hyperbole 25 years ago to outright hogwash today. The Kremlin's goals have also changed beyond recognition. Pushing the Chechen/al-Qaeda nexus in the early 2000s, Russia sought to justify its brutal actions in Chechnya and to move closer to the US. In bandwagoning with the global war on terror, Putin hoped for intensified co-operation with Washington on counterterrorism and beyond.

Today, Russia's discourse seems intended to justify inaction, rather than action. Putin's vaunted security apparatus, obsessed with pursuing proclaimed enemies of the state, proved unable to prevent Russia's deadliest terrorist attack in 20 years. If Russia's propa-

ganda machine can convince the public that the evil, omnipotent US is ultimately responsible for the attack as the puppeteer behind Isis, it will put Putin's failure to keep Russians safe in a different light. Washington is a more formidable enemy than Isis, after all. It is also conceivable that Putin might use such falsehoods, among other reasons, to justify military escalation against Ukraine.

More than anything, Russia's current framing of the threats it faces shows just how far Putin has travelled since consolidating power in the early 2000s: from cosying up to America as a counterterrorism partner to brushing off its warnings with callous disregard and paranoid suspicion, and from proclaiming unity of purpose with Washington against terrorism to disparaging it as the creator of terrorist forces. Putin's obsession with Ukraine has made him blind to the real dangers to Russia, lurking abroad and at home.

The author is the director of the Eurasia Nonproliferation Program at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies

ganda machine can convince the public that the evil, omnipotent US is ultimately responsible for the attack as the puppeteer behind Isis, it will put Putin's failure to keep Russians safe in a different light. Washington is a more formidable enemy than Isis, after all. It is also conceivable that Putin might use such falsehoods, among other reasons, to justify military escalation against Ukraine.

More than anything, Russia's current framing of the threats it faces shows just how far Putin has travelled since consolidating power in the early 2000s: from cosying up to America as a counterterrorism partner to brushing off its warnings with callous disregard and paranoid suspicion, and from proclaiming unity of purpose with Washington against terrorism to disparaging it as the creator of terrorist forces. Putin's obsession with Ukraine has made him blind to the real dangers to Russia, lurking abroad and at home.

The author is the director of the Eurasia Nonproliferation Program at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies

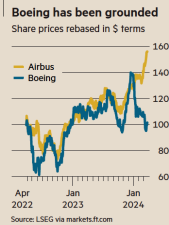


# Lex.



**Edward Yardeni**  
The Federal Reserve should avoid messing with success  
MARKETS INSIGHT

## Boeing chief's exit will not be enough to lift group's shares

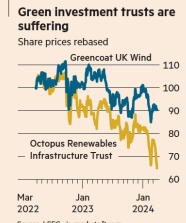


David Calhoun took over as Boeing's chief executive four years ago in the middle of a crisis that followed a pair of deadly crashes of its 737 Max 8 aircraft in 2018 and 2019. Hopes of a successful overhaul have faded. Yesterday Calhoun, pictured, said he would step down from the embattled plane maker at the end of the year. Stan Deal, head of Boeing's commercial aeroplane unit, will retire with immediate effect. Lawrence Kellner, board chair, said that he would not stand for re-election in May. Any recent planspotter could see this coming. Regulators, airlines, travellers and even Boeing's own workers are in revolt after another terrifying incident in January, in which a door plug on a 737 jet blew off mid-flight. The company is in reputational crisis. This C-suite shake-up should be welcomed. Shares in Boeing are down nearly a quarter this year and remain down more than 35 per cent from their pre-crisis peak in 2019. The company, saddled with about \$47bn in long-term debt, has not made an annual profit since 2018. Boeing needs a hard reset on how it approaches manufacturing, outsourcing and quality control. Putting an engineer at the helm instead of another bean counter

## Green investment trusts' woes harm renewable energy developers

The wind is blowing against green investment trusts in Europe. The share prices of groups such as London-listed Greencoat UK Wind and Octopus Renewables Infrastructure Trust trade at sizeable discounts to their net asset values. Smaller funds will consolidate to survive, though there will probably be some closures. Neither is good news. Some of the sector's problems are common to the wider investment trust industry. Higher interest rates have increased the allure of other lower-risk asset classes. The average trust traded at a discount to NAV of almost 17 per cent in October. Concerns about the true value of other alternative assets have also increased scrutiny. Green investment trusts say investors now question the accuracy of some trusts' NAVs and the discount rates used. A collapse in power prices since the surge in 2022 has added to the bearishness. Many green trusts have launched share buybacks to boost share prices, yet steep discounts persist. Several will now face continuation votes to wind them up. These include Greencoat UK Wind, which traded at an average discount to NAV of 10.5 per cent last year. An average discount of 10 per cent over 12 months triggers a vote. Aquila European Renewables survived its own vote in December, although 25.88 per cent of votes were cast against continuation. Mergers can reduce costs, improve share trading liquidity and diversify portfolios.

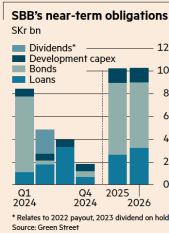
That capital can be recycled to fund new projects. Denmark's Ørsted is relying on Dkr115bn (\$16.7bn) of asset sales by 2030 to bolster its balance sheet. Less competition among buyers can only make that process harder.



Octopus Renewables Infrastructure Trust proposed a combination with Aquila European Renewables in December. The latter has instructed advisers to carry out due diligence with "multiple interested parties". But low share prices mean growth will remain an issue. Raising more debt might not be an option. Greencoat UK Wind's debt of £2.4bn is equivalent to 38 per cent of its gross asset value, close to a self-imposed limit of 40 per cent. This is a problem for renewable energy developers. It removes an important pool of potential buyers. Developers often sell down stakes in large projects or sell off older schemes to de-risk their projects. That capital can be recycled to fund new projects. Denmark's Ørsted is relying on Dkr115bn (\$16.7bn) of asset sales by 2030 to bolster its balance sheet. Less competition among buyers can only make that process harder.

## Property group SBB's creative refinancing staves off crisis

The unpronounceable has attempted to pull off the unimaginable. Swedish property group Samhällsbyggnadsbolaget (SBB) has too much debt and too little time. Yet a series of creative financings led by Leiv Synnes, the chief executive parachuted in last year, have kept the company afloat. SBB announced yesterday it would buy back €163m of bonds at a 60 per cent discount. That should result in a profit of €245m. The good news sent SBB shares up more than a tenth by the market close. Its problems stem from a debt-fuelled buying spree of health, education and social housing properties during the low interest rate era. SBB's market value has since plummeted 95 per cent since peaking in 2022. With net debt making up 87 per cent of its enterprise value, the property group has had to hustle to sell assets to strengthen its balance sheet. To add to its misery, US hedge fund bondholder Fir Tree Partners has initiated legal proceedings to push the



company into default over allegations that it has breached its debt covenants. With unsecured borrowing now closed to the company, SBB has had to seek alternative financing. For example, SBB borrowed via US private debt provider Castlelake for €450m in February. Priced at 5 percentage points over the Euribor benchmark, the lifeline is expensive and secured on property worth just under twice the loan's value. Much depends on the willingness of banks to roll over about €700m of secured loans due this year. In its favour, SBB's portfolio remains relatively attractive. Many of its health and education properties are occupied by government-backed tenants paying inflation-linked rents. Buying back heavily discounted bonds with the proceeds helps. Apart from booking a profit, SBB in effect had swapped unsecured debt now yielding in the mid-teens for secured loans with a 9 per cent yield to maturity, said Edoardo Gili, a senior analyst at Green Street. Expect more of the same. While SBB reported an overall loan-to-value ratio of 54 per cent at the end of last year, its secured LTV figure was just 21 per cent. If it pursues more of this expensive, collateralised funding, SBB may have to raise equity from its residential portfolio, worth \$K29bn (£2.5bn), most likely by a private sale. Failing that, SBB may have to raise equity using the group's very depressed share price, another expensive option. Property investment always carries some risk but SBB still offers too much for most investors.

## Weight-loss drugs will not be only blockbuster against liver disease

It is an ugly ailment with an ugly name. But, after years of trying, the pharmaceutical industry is getting to grips with the multibillion-dollar problem of fatty liver disease. Pennsylvania-based biotech Madrigal has won approval for a treatment for metabolic dysfunction-associated steatohepatitis (MASH). The breakthrough is badly needed. This liver disease already affects one in 20 of the world's adults and its prevalence is rising with obesity. Madrigal is now raising \$600m to launch its drug Rezdiffra in the US. Madrigal's market value is about \$5.1bn. But Bloomberg data for analysts' 12-month price targets would lift that by more than a third. Yet, even after it won the green light from US regulators, Madrigal's shares are a tenth lower than last April. That reflects excitement over the potential benefits of obesity treatments, which would reduce the need for dedicated drugs. About one in five of the 105 obesity treatments being developed are also being tested for MASH, according to the Stat obesity drug tracker. The debate over the role of obesity drugs has not yet been settled. In February's mid-stage trials, Eli Lilly's weight-loss drug tirzepatide showed promise against MASH. Impressive results also emerged for German pharma group Boehringer Ingelheim and Zealand Pharma's survolizumab. But MASH is a complex disease. Often asymptomatic in its early stages, it is called a silent killer. A build-up of fatty molecules in the liver can lead to inflammation, the accumulation of scar tissue – fibrosis – and, potentially, liver failure. MASH has been a hard nut to crack. A phase 2 trial for Novo Nordisk's semaglutide was effective at resolving inflammation but did not improve fibrosis. Investors await phase 3 trial results due later this year. Some drugs might be effective in the early but not the late stages of the disease. As with cancer, MASH may require combinations of drugs tailored to different patients' needs. Despite the frenzy over weight-loss medications, they shouldn't squeeze out alternatives for tackling this nasty disease.

## NIKKEI Asia The voice of the Asian century

**CROSSWORD No 17,690 by MOO**

**ACROSS**

- Sneaky instruction that makes you cross (4-4)
- Prosecutors across everything in city (4)
- Determined to break up with girlfriend at last (8)
- Cardinal emerging from brothel eventually (6)
- Friendship, the very thing girl welcomes (5)
- Cheat later rued becoming so (9)
- Trial of backbencher involved in dealing (6)
- Puzzle of Parisian's refusal to take advantage (7)
- Heavy burden borne by Cockney star? On the contrary (7)
- Passionate pair in Sicily on vacation (6)
- Sadly can't hold European event (9)
- Trojan capital (5)
- Greek island I will visit before November (6)
- Heavenly food in bar — I am so made up! (8)
- One male turning on another in the doghouse (6)
- Run off with soldier, one from Africa? (8)

**DOWN**

- This chap might get you shot (6)
- Criticise Tory over wine scandal? (9)
- You really should catch this sheep (5)
- Charlie giving up reporting, too long in the tooth? (7)
- Article on Lancelot rewritten suddenly (3,2,4)
- Par amour let down after change of heart (5)
- Use this ultimately to cover nakedness? (8)
- Poet not quite finishing 'Flower of Scotland' (4)
- Exhausted F1 driver taking speed (9)
- At sea bishop clamours for this wine (9)
- Deceive tattooed criminal apparently (8)
- Alone and extremely sad, one hears (4)
- Polish boyfriend who sends you to sleep (7)
- Reckon Moo's lost all his money (6)
- Cleric shot at snooker table, did you say? (5)
- Ready for a fight? (5)

Solution 17,689

**JOTTER PAD**

P A S S P O R T S P L A S H  
U P T I E B I R D  
T W E R Z P O L I C E M A N  
S A F E U N E T A R D  
G A R P E N T R E  
H M D E I R A  
L I Z A R D C H E Q U E R  
E N  
L I T O R E S S A T E S T  
O H I U H R  
G U A K E T A B L E W A R E  
U M E S J A C G  
E X P O S I T I V E  
N L S N C T  
T R E A V Y I C H I E S T

Scan the QR code to access FT crossword puzzles over the last 30 days - cryptic, Polymath, Weekend and Sunday puzzles — or go to [ft.com/crosswordapp](https://ft.com/crosswordapp)

## FT Weekend

Italian lemons the size of adult hands hang abundantly

The real poetry of property is what we find within its walls

So beloved is Tiramisu that it has its own World Cup

Read things differently in FT Weekend. Pick up your copy this weekend or subscribe at [ft.com/subscribe/today](https://ft.com/subscribe/today)

Start your weekend thinking

Get the business insights you need to succeed in Asia  
Visit [asia.nikkei.com](https://asia.nikkei.com)