



Will America ditch its world policeman role?

GIDEON RACHMAN, PAGE 17

Unearthing the secrets of living to 100

PATTI WALDMEIR, PAGE 16

UK shake-up
Comeback job
for Cameron

David Cameron outside 10 Downing Street in London yesterday after being appointed as the UK's foreign secretary.

The former prime minister — who quit after overseeing the 2016 Brexit referendum, ushering in a period of Tory turmoil with four successors within six years — made a surprise return to government as part of a cabinet reshuffle by premier Rishi Sunak.

The restoration of Cameron, a centrist who becomes a lord so that he can rejoin the government, suggests Sunak has decided to present a less abrasive face to the public after firing controversial home secretary Suella Braverman.

Cameron, recently at the centre of a lobbying scandal, faces a series of immediate challenges, including the war in Ukraine and the Israel-Gaza conflict.

Cameron returns page 4

FT View page 16

Robert Shrimpsley page 17



Suzanne Plunkett/Reuters

Briefing

► ExxonMobil gambles on future in lithium batteries

The biggest western oil group has unveiled plans to use its drilling and processing prowess to become a leading player in battery metals. It plans to start producing lithium in 2027 after it acquired rights to a tract of land in Arkansas.— PAGE 5

► Al-Shifa patients in peril

Gaza's largest hospital has "ceased to function" after running out of fuel and being encircled by Israeli troops, with fighting making escape impossible, officials have said.— PAGE 2; GEORGE ABED, PAGE 17

► Trial boosts obesity drug

Novo Nordisk's weight-loss drug Wegovy has cut the risk of death by 18 per cent in a trial that the Danish pharmaceuticals group hopes will prompt health systems to pay for the treatment.— PAGE 6

► Taiwan looms over talks

Joe Biden and Xi Jinping are set to hold frank talks on Taiwan when they meet tomorrow in San Francisco, in a renewed effort to stabilise China-US relations.— PAGE 4; GIDEON RACHMAN, PAGE 17

► Continental to slash jobs

One of the car industry's largest suppliers has unveiled thousands of job cuts in an "initial" step to improve competitiveness as it battles to retain market share in the electric vehicle era.— PAGE 5

► Sugar rush drains ETFs

Investors have missed out on the latest sugar rally as exchange traded funds devoted to the commodity suffered outflows despite soaring prices after poor Indian and Thai crops.— PAGE 8

► Portugal leadership snag

Central bank governor Mário Centeno is facing an ethics review by an independent watchdog after being proposed as next leader by premier António Costa, who quit over a corruption scandal.— PAGE 4

► AI enlisted in Mars quest

A robot has used meteorite extracts from Mars to help make oxygen from water, melding artificial intelligence's powers of chemical discovery with efforts to explore the red planet.— PAGE 2

Only 14% of Americans believe Biden has made them better off financially

◆ Economy threatens re-election bid ◆ Inflation overshadows term ◆ Poor polling defies jobs boom

LAUREN FEDOR — WASHINGTON
EVA XIAO AND
OLIVER ROEDER — NEW YORK

Only 14 per cent of Americans believe they are better off financially now than when Joe Biden took office, in the latest sign that the president's economic record might undermine his re-election prospects.

A poll found almost 70 per cent of voters thought Biden's policies had either hurt the US economy or had no impact, including 33 per cent who said they believed they had "hurt the economy a lot". Only 26 per cent said his policies had helped.

The new monthly poll for the Financial Times and the University of Michigan's Ross School of Business seeks to track how economic sentiment affects

the race for the White House. In 1980, Republican Ronald Reagan famously asked voters whether they were better off than four years earlier, setting the stage for his landslide victory over incumbent Democrat Jimmy Carter.

A similar poll conducted for the FT four years ago showed that most Americans felt they had not improved their financial position under then-president Donald Trump, but their pessimism was

far less pronounced. In November 2019, 35 per cent of voters believed they were better off under Trump, while 31 per cent said they were worse off.

The new poll shows that inflation continues to cloud the Biden campaign's efforts to convince voters of "Bidenomics", the president's strategy to rejuvenate the industrial sector and reverse years of middle-class wage stagnation.

Asked what was the source of their biggest financial stress, 82 per cent said price increases. Three-quarters of respondents said rising prices posed the most significant threat to the US economy in the next six months.

"Every group — Democrats, Republicans and independents — list rising prices as by far the biggest economic threat . . . and the biggest source of

financial stress," said Erik Gordon, a professor at Michigan's Ross School. "That is bad news for Biden, and the more so considering how little he can do to reverse the perception of prices before election day."

Rising prices have dogged Biden's three years in office. While inflation is down from last year's annual peak of 9.1 per cent, latest figures show the consumer price index rose 3.7 per cent in September compared with the same time last year, well above the Federal Reserve's 2 per cent target.

In response to inflationary pressures, 65 per cent of voters said they had cut back on non-essential spending such as holidays or eating out, while 52 per cent said they had reduced spending on food or other everyday necessities.

The negative view of the White House's economic record comes despite record jobs growth and almost three years of expansion. The president's allies believe voters can still be won over as the campaign heats up and more Americans scrutinise his achievements.

More than half of poll respondents — 52 per cent — said they had heard "little" or "nothing" about what the president was doing to improve the economy.

The FT-Michigan Ross poll follows other surveys showing Biden would lose to Trump in a hypothetical election.

It found just 40 per cent of registered voters approving of Biden's job performance, while 59 per cent disapproved. A smaller share — 36 per cent — said they approved of his handling of the economy, while 61 per cent disapproved.

“The negative influence of monetary policy is being offset in large part by fiscal expansion. But next year may well be another matter”

John Llewellyn
Page 17



Electric car prices slashed after sales run out of juice

Analysis ► PAGE 7

Austria	€4.50	Morocco	DK50
Bahrain	Dh11.8	Netherlands	€4.50
Belgium	€4.50	Norway	Nkr4.5
Croatia	Kn33.9/€4.50	Oman	OR160
Cyprus	€4.20	Pakistan	Rupee350
Czech Rep	Kc725	Poland	Zl25
Denmark	Dkr746	Portugal	€4.20
Egypt	E£80	Russia	€5.00
France	€4.50	Serbia	NewD530
Germany	€4.50	Slovenia	€4.20
Greece	€4.20	Spain	€4.20
Hungary	Ft1450	Switzerland	Sfr6.70
India	Rup220	Tunisia	Din7.50
Italy	€4.20	Turkey	TL110
Luxembourg	€4.50	UAE	Dh24
Malta	€4.20		

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Age cannot be factor in race to lead EY, 57-year-old contender warns partners

STEPHEN FOLEY — NEW YORK
MICHAEL O'DWYER — LONDON

EY executives have clashed over whether age should be a factor in appointing a new global leader, as the Big Four firm's mandatory retirement rules complicate the race to succeed Carmine Di Sibio.

One of the leading contenders, 57-year-old British partner Andy Baldwin, warned other executives that they risked breaching UK age discrimination laws as they sounded out senior partners on his candidacy, according to people familiar with the conversations.

Some members of EY's global executive committee, which is due to choose Di Sibio's successor this month, argued against Baldwin's candidacy on the grounds that he is close to the retirement age of 60. He would not be able to

serve a full four-year term unless given an exemption, those people said.

In the end, Baldwin was selected to be on a shortlist of six candidates, but the issue was raised again in interviews with hundreds of partners during a "soundings" process in recent weeks.

Baldwin warned people involved in the selection process that UK discrimination laws bar taking age into consideration without a specific business reason, according to people familiar with the conversation. He was unhappy that age was considered so prominently in the process, they said.

"It's not something that you can use in the UK," said one person. "EY could suffer severe reputational damage if it was deemed it was all about his age."

Although he works for EY's global operation as managing partner for client service, Baldwin is a partner in the

UK member firm, where he was the highest paid person last year, receiving £4.7mn.

Two-thirds of partners interviewed in the soundings process said that someone within four years of mandatory retirement should still be considered, say people familiar with the outcome.

"Andy is very much still in the process," said one person. "There is no age-based criteria around this role."

The results of the soundings have now been presented to the global executive, an 18-member body led by Di Sibio that picks the winning candidate.

Baldwin's challengers are Jad Shimally, another candidate from the consulting side of the business, who runs EY in Canada, and Janet Truncale, head of the financial services business in the Americas, according to people familiar with the talks. Both are in their early 50s.

World Markets

STOCK MARKETS

	Nov 13	Prev	%chg
S&P 500	4418.64	4415.24	0.08
Nasdaq Composite	13789.08	13798.11	-0.07
Dow Jones Ind	34394.88	34283.10	0.33
FTSEurofirst 300	1768.04	1755.62	0.75
Euro Stoxx 50	4231.31	4197.36	0.81
FTSE 100	7425.83	7360.55	0.89
FTSE All-Share	4029.83	3997.59	0.81
CAC 40	7087.06	7045.04	0.60
Xetra Dax	15345.00	15234.39	0.73
Nikkei	32585.11	32568.11	0.05
Hang Seng	17426.21	17203.26	1.30
MSCI World \$	2900.76	2878.98	0.76
MSCI EM \$	948.32	966.25	-0.83
MSCI ACWI \$	666.26	662.37	0.59
FT Wilshire 2500	5678.29	5593.98	1.51
FT Wilshire 5000	44189.00	43538.10	1.50

CURRENCIES

Pair	Nov 13	Prev	Pair	Nov 13	Prev
\$/€	1.069	1.067	€/£	0.935	0.937
\$/¥	1.225	1.220	£/\$	0.816	0.820
¥/\$	0.872	0.875	€/€	1.146	1.143
¥/¥	151.685	151.475	¥/€	162.159	161.632
W/£	185.882	184.746	£ index	80.272	80.630
Sfr/€	0.965	0.964	Sfr/£	1.106	1.101

CRYPTO

	Nov 13	Prev	%chg
Bitcoin (\$)	37021.83	37086.02	-0.17
Ethereum	2112.38	2045.95	3.25

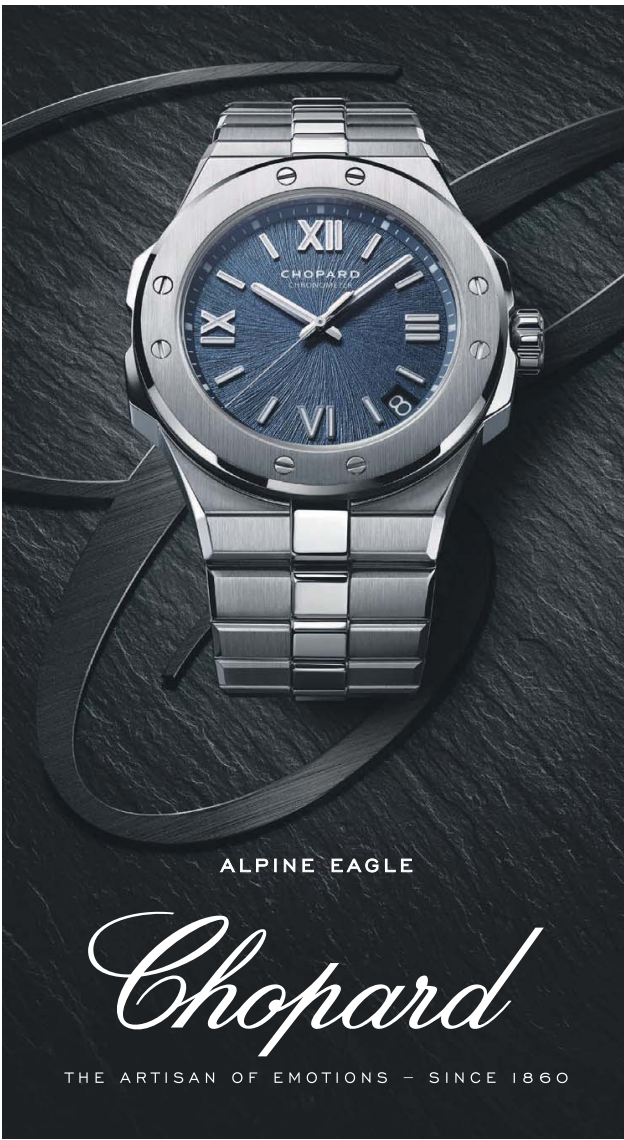
COMMODITIES

	Nov 13	Prev	%chg
Oil WTI \$	78.50	77.17	1.72
Oil Brent \$	82.74	81.43	1.61
Gold \$	1941.65	1957.45	-0.81

GOVERNMENT BONDS

Yield (%)	Nov 13	Prev	Chg
US 2 yr	5.04	5.03	0.01
US 10 yr	4.63	4.62	0.01
US 30 yr	4.75	4.73	0.02
UK 2 yr	4.64	4.67	-0.03
UK 10 yr	4.48	4.50	-0.02
UK 30 yr	4.74	4.78	-0.04
JPN 2 yr	0.10	0.11	0.00
JPN 10 yr	0.87	0.85	0.02
JPN 30 yr	1.77	1.73	0.03
GER 2 yr	3.06	3.06	0.00
GER 10 yr	2.71	2.72	0.00
GER 30 yr	2.91	2.92	-0.01

Prices are latest for edition
Data provided by Morningstar



INTERNATIONAL

Israel-Hamas war

Gaza’s al-Shifa hospital ‘ceases to function’

City’s largest medical centre runs out of fuel as troops surround building

MEHUL SRIVASTAVA — TEL AVIV
RAYA JALABI — BEIRUT
SIMEON KERR — ABU DHABI
HEBA SALEH — CAIRO

Gaza’s largest hospital has “ceased to function” after running out of fuel and being surrounded by Israeli troops, with air strikes and gunfire making it impossible for civilians to escape.

Al-Shifa hospital, in the heart of Gaza City, ran out of fuel over the weekend, local officials and the World Health Organization said, risking the lives of patients as fighting raged just outside its doors.

Efforts by the Israel Defense Forces to take control of the site have become a diplomatic flashpoint between Israel and its allies. The US and EU have asked Israel to show restraint as the scenes at the hospital — including newborn babies being kept warm outside non-functioning incubators — spur support in Arab and some western capitals for a ceasefire to protect Palestinian civilians.

The fighting around al-Shifa came as Israel and Hizbollah, the Iran-backed militia in Lebanon, traded cross-border fire amid fears the conflict could spill over into the region, an outcome the US has sought to avoid with a flurry of Middle East diplomacy.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu warned yesterday that attacks against its soldiers and civilians

in the north was “playing with fire”, which would be “met by much stronger fire”. He went on: “They should not try us because we have shown only a little of our might.”

Israel claims that al-Shifa is a site for

‘The constant gunfire and bombings in the area have exacerbated the already critical circumstances’

Hamas’s operations as it sits on top of underground infrastructure the IDF intends to destroy.

Doctors at al-Shifa have denied the claim and said several premature babies and patients had died after the hospital

ran out of fuel, and that thousands of patients, medical personnel and civilians were sheltering at the hospital.

“The situation is dire and perilous,” WHO director-general Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus said on social platform X after speaking to doctors at the hospital. “The constant gunfire and bombings in the area have exacerbated the already critical circumstances. Regrettably the hospital is not functioning as a hospital any more.”

The Gaza health ministry described al-Shifa as under “complete siege”, with bodies starting to decompose and 8,000 displaced people sheltering at the hospital, despite it having no food or fresh water. It also said Israeli planes were targeting anyone who left the facility.

Israeli soldiers left 300 litres of fuel —

enough for less than an hour of the hospital’s needs — at the hospital’s gates on Sunday, an amount the health ministry in Gaza told AlJazeera was a “mockery”.

Thomas White, director of UN Relief and Works Agency Affairs in Gaza, posted on X that “the humanitarian operation in Gaza will grind to a halt in the next 48 hours as no fuel is allowed to enter” the territory. He said two of UNRWA’s main water distribution contractors ceased operations yesterday after they ran out of fuel, “which will deny 200,000 people potable water”.

“A tough decision — fuel for a hospital or fuel to produce drinking water — both save lives. Unfortunately, this is not hypothetical,” he wrote. UNRWA is the UN agency for Palestinian relief.

See Opinion

Netanyahu initiative

Former UK premier Blair suggested for humanitarian role in conflict

GEORGE PARKER — LONDON

Sir Tony Blair, former UK prime minister, has let it be known that he would be willing to carry out a humanitarian role in Gaza if there were a realistic prospect of changing the course of events in the enclave.

Reports in Israel suggested that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu hoped to install Blair as a “humanitarian co-ordinator” in Gaza, building on the former British premier’s experience in the region.

Blair, a former international envoy to the Middle East, had not been offered a role, his office said, but people close to him said he would consider playing a humanitarian role if he thought he could make a real difference.

“As you know, Mr Blair has an office in Israel and has continued to work on issues regarding Israel and the Palestinians,” said a representative for Blair.

“He’s discussing the situation . . . with a number of people in the region and elsewhere to see what can be

Blair would only consider a role ‘if it was a genuine chance to change course on the humanitarian side’

done, but there’s no role offered or taken.” Privately, Blair’s colleagues said he would only consider a role “if it was a genuine chance to change course on the humanitarian side”. One added: “Nothing is discussed or decided yet.”

The Times of Israel cited reports by the Ynet news outlet that Netanyahu believed that Blair would be able to improve the humanitarian situation in Gaza and reduce international pressure on Israel as it continues its offensive against Hamas.

Ynet, citing unnamed senior officials, said Netanyahu hoped to leverage Blair’s experience to allay global concerns about the humanitarian situation.

Blair’s refusal to rule out any involvement in the crisis will cause intrigue in Britain, where he remains a divisive figure because of his decision to take the UK to war in Iraq in 2003.

After leaving Downing Street in 2007 he became an envoy to the Middle East for the Quartet, a grouping comprising the US, EU, UN and Russia, and established an office in East Jerusalem.

Blair was involved in trying to improve economic conditions on the ground for Palestinians and preserving the possibility of an eventual two-state solution. He stepped down from the role in 2015.

He now runs a successful global consultancy-cum-think tank, the Tony Blair Institute for Global Change, and has kept an office in Jerusalem.

Blair’s post-Downing Street activities have long drawn criticism. He confirmed in a Financial Times interview in September that he was, and still is, providing advice to the Saudi government, despite the murder of the journalist Jamal Khashoggi in 2018.

He was unapologetic. “For me, the challenge is always ‘Is the leadership trying to do things that we believe are beneficial and of value?’ ” he said. “If they are, we’ll support them.”

Agriculture. Regulatory overhaul

Food sector scrambles to obey EU climate rules

Bloc will ban imports of goods linked with deforestation but industry fears time pressures

SUSANNAH SAVAGE AND KENZA BRYAN LONDON
ALICE HANCOCK — BRUSSELS
MICHAEL POOLER — SÃO PAULO

The food industry says it is running out of time to prepare for new EU rules to cut carbon emissions from the supply chains of several key commodities, accusing Brussels of issuing proposals that lack detail and will fail to stop deforestation.

The rules, which will oblige companies to prove their goods have not been produced on recently deforested land, are due to come into force at the end of 2024 and will make the EU the first region to ban imports of products linked with deforestation. Commodities including palm oil, coffee, cocoa, beef, soya and rubber will be affected.

But as crops for 2024-25 are planted, many in the industry argue that the EU has left it too late to finalise the details of an initiative. For example, it has yet to finalise a list of “high-risk” countries whose exported commodities will be subject to extra checks. With the designations set to shape companies’ supply chains, the selection process has become diplomatically fraught, given objections from many agricultural nations in the so-called global south.

“It is not sufficient [for the EU] to come up with guidelines in December 2024,” said Nathalie Lecocq, director-general of Fediol, the EU vegetable oil trade group. “In certain instances you need to invest . . . you cannot wait until the last minute.”

Louis Dreyfus Company, one of the largest food traders, said that while it was “actively working to prepare for compliance”, the sector was still awaiting more guidance from the European Commission “in good time”.

The rules mean food companies operating in the bloc will have to geolocate the land on which their commodities were produced, and hand over these co-ordinates to the EU to make checks, which will depend on the deforestation risk rating of the producing country.

It is not yet clear how strict the EU will be in enforcing the rules, leading to hesitancy among companies about how



Full load: palm oil is harvested in Sumatra. One Indonesian-based producer of the vegetable oil accused the EU of ‘blindly’ applying its definition of deforestation

Aditya Irawan/NurPhoto

stringent their approach will need to be.

Nanne Tolsma, business development director at agritech start-up Satelligence, said food manufacturers and retailers were seeking to write into their contracts with traders clauses on which party will bear the cost of fines for non-compliance, which could amount to up to 4 per cent of annual turnover.

Olivier Tichit, sustainability director at Indonesia-based palm oil producer Musim Mas, accused the EU of “blindly” applying its definition of deforestation, which is defined in the act as “conversion of forest to agricultural use”.

Tichit said this would create a two-tier system, under which companies would ship deforestation-free goods to Europe and the rest to other regions.

The rules would raise prices for European consumers while not helping to reduce deforestation, said Above, the industry body for vegetable oils in Brazil, a key grower of soyabeans and beef exporter. Brazil’s top customer for agricultural exports is China, then the EU.

Non-government organisations say, however, that the industry has had time

to prepare. Gert van der Bijl, senior EU policy adviser for Solidaridad, a Netherlands-based NGO focused on sustainability in commodities production, said regulation had been in train since 2015.

Food companies that failed to prepare might turn to countries with better infrastructure and traceability systems, cutting out smallholders in poorer nations, said van der Bijl, adding that the EU and companies should work with producing countries to prevent this.

Musim Mas was already reducing the number of small palm oil suppliers it used, Tichit said.

“You find the people who are already complying today . . . and that’s the ones you keep,” he said.

Laurent Sagarra, global head of sustainability at coffee producer JDE Peets, said companies should go beyond the EU traceability requirements. If not, he said, “you don’t solve deforestation, you just make us in Europe feel good”.

Instead of cutting out farmers in high-risk areas to comply with the new rules, Sagarra said the Netherlands-based coffee group was working with nations and

‘In certain instances you need to invest, you cannot wait until the last minute’

NGOs to make sure all smallholders in the supply chain were included. Chris Beetge of Olam Food Ingredients, one of the largest suppliers of goods including cocoa beans and coffee, said “a whole landscape approach” was needed to bring together “farmers, civil society and especially local governments”.

Brussels said it was “working very intensively on implementation of the deforestation regulation, with partner countries and companies to help them”.

Data solutions start-ups that map deforestation have reported a rush of interest: “Scrambling is definitely happening,” said Thomas Vaassen, chief executive of Meridia, a data firm working with some big agri-food companies. Companies were thinking “we have way too little time. We should have started two years ago and now we’re panicking.”

André Vasconcelos, global engagement lead at Trase, a data-driven supply chains tracker, added: “We already have all the knowledge and technical expertise when it comes to geospatial data to implement the regulation. The problem is having the political will.”

Space exploration

Mars meteorite used by AI robot to make oxygen from water

MICHAEL PEEL — LONDON

A robot has used meteorite extracts from Mars to help make oxygen from water, melding artificial intelligence’s powers of chemical discovery with efforts to explore and even populate the red planet.

The automated experiment boosts the possibility of sustaining future manned outer space missions, according to a paper yesterday in the journal Nature Synthesis. The authors estimated it would have taken 2,000 years of human labour to achieve the same result by trial and error.

The AI robot used the rock samples to make a catalyst, a substance that speeds up chemical reactions, to produce oxygen from water. The work, from a team at the University of Science and Technology of China in the eastern city of Hefei, taps into rapidly growing interest in colonisation of the cosmos and exploitation of extraterrestrial resources.

“The biggest implication is that an AI-guided robot is able to produce useful chemicals in unknown conditions with unknown materials,” said Professor Jun Jiang, co-author of the paper. “My

dream is maybe we can send several robots, to the Moon firstly, and start to use the local resources to prepare the necessary chemicals and materials for human beings.”

“There’s no more important resource than oxygen to breathe,” said Charles Cockell, professor of astrobiology at the University of Edinburgh, who was not involved in the research. “This is a thrilling example of how we can send robots to Mars and have them extract minerals that catalyse oxygen production from abundant Martian ice, making it possible for us to build [a] permanent self-sustaining settlement.”

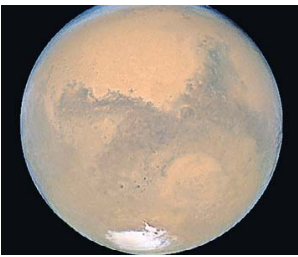
The researchers asked the robot to make materials capable of producing oxygen from water sources that previous research has identified on Mars. The team gave it five different meteorite samples to use to design a catalyst.

Within six weeks, the robot analysed 243 experimental data sets and almost 30,000 theoretical simulations to pick and synthesise a viable six-metal catalyst from 3,764,376 possible formulas. The researchers conducted the experiment at Martian temperatures of minus 37C. They demonstrated they could run

the operation remotely by setting up and controlling similar labs in three Chinese cities.

A video with the new paper shows the AI chemist shuttling solo between workstations to produce the materials needed to generate oxygen. The scene has echoes of the 1972 film *Silent Running*, in which the robot Dewey tends the last remnants of Earth’s life-giving forests in a capsule hurtling through space.

Countries such as China and the US are increasingly interested in AI and space science. Elon Musk, the SpaceX founder, has plans for a mission to Mars.



The experiment has boosted hopes of manned missions to Mars

But huge obstacles to colonising other planetary bodies remain. Remote AI labs and manufacturing would need high process efficiency and considerable computing power, either in situ or off-planet. In the case of Mars, the set-ups would have to be resilient to much higher levels of radiation than on Earth.

Even so, the research raised many possibilities, said Dr Stephen Thompson, a planetary expert at Diamond Light Source, the UK particle accelerator. These include that an AI lab could act as an interstellar “filling station” for spacecraft by capturing hydrogen left after extracting oxygen from water.

The paper represented another advance in the field of using AI for materials discovery, he added. “AI is making great strides as it can process huge amounts of data. It’s highly efficient in identifying new materials in a way that would take humans years and years.”

The combination of chemistry, robotics and software design was “really cool”, said Mark Symes, professor of electrochemistry and electrochemical technology at the University of Glasgow. “That’s what we need if we’re going to colonise Mars; all the disciplines.”

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INTERNATIONAL

Editor’s horror video brings home brutality of Hamas raid

Select audiences shown footage aimed at giving context to Israel’s response

NERI ZILBER — TEL AVIV

For Israel, the devastating Hamas attack on October 7 was unlike any other in its scale and brutality. The task of telling the story of a day now seared into the national consciousness has fallen to a civilian volunteer who was moved to re-enlist in the military after the assault.

Mattan Harel-Fisch is the editor responsible for the 44-minute compilation of footage from bodycams, mobile phones and other sources that has been shown to selected audiences from Tel Aviv to London and New York.

While few have seen it, the existence of the video has gone viral as reports of its content have spread: a chronicle of the dead taking on a life of its own.

“This was Israel’s 9/11 moment,” said Harel-Fisch from the army base in Tel Aviv where he works. But “it wasn’t captured in this one [image of a] plane blasting into a building . . . which, horrific as that is, it’s something that you grasp the enormity of.

“Here it was captured by hundreds and maybe thousands of different clips . . . across a massive crime scene. I think [this makes it] harder to grasp how enormous this event was.”

Harel-Fisch, a tech entrepreneur, said the video aimed to prove that the atrocities did happen — dispelling the “ridiculous debate” over the idea they were staged or exaggerated — and to preserve those events for posterity.

There is also another motive: justifying the ferocious Israeli campaign against Hamas. “We want the world to

know [October 7] was something else,” Rear Admiral Daniel Hagari, the Israeli military spokesman, said at the first screening of the video last month, which was attended by the FT and a dozen other journalists. “We want the world to know this is not just another round [of hostilities] between Israel and Gaza.”

More than 1,200 Israelis, including children, women and the elderly, were killed, say Israeli authorities, in what some have called the deadliest day for Jewish people since the Holocaust. Some 240 people were taken hostage.

Israel responded with a massive bombardment of Gaza followed by a ground invasion. More than 11,000 people have been killed, according to health authorities in the Hamas-ruled territory, and the UN and others have warned of an unfolding humanitarian disaster.

The “video of horrors”, as it has come to be known, will probably never be made fully public due to its graphic nature and to spare the families of victims. Instead, closed screenings have taken place — first in Israel for foreign media and diplomats, more recently to officials and journalists in Europe, the Middle East and the US, including the White House. The more than 100 screenings so far are a vital part of Israel’s message, even as it comes under growing pressure to agree a ceasefire.

Some journalists who have seen it, including veteran war reporters, have said it was the most difficult thing they had ever watched. Others, after being told of the content, declined to attend.

Harel-Fisch, a former director and



Deadly attack: from left, a Hamas fighter shoots at a car, a close-up of the shooting, then a fighter looks at people in the car. Below, Mattan Harel-Fisch at work



editor of films and commercials, has sewn together a compilation of raw, uncensored footage from both Israeli and Hamas sources. The effect is sparse, relentless, unforgiving.

There is no narrative voiceover and no sound except for what is picked up on the videos — gunfire and explosions, the cheers and chatter of the Hamas fighters, the pleas and anguish of victims.

“I kind of see myself as presenting to a jury,” said Harel-Fisch. Circumstances dictate that the video be “factual, and it needs to stay that way . . . very basic, in order to show that it’s not manipulated”.

The video mostly runs chronologically through the day, and geographically through the shattered locations whose names have become infamous in Israel: Kibbutz Be’eri, the Nova music festival and more.

The action begins with whooping Hamas gunmen in the back of a white pick-up truck inside Gaza racing towards the Israeli border, filmed by one of their own GoPros. In the next scene, an Israeli dashcam mutely records gunfire raining down on a car; the driver is killed, as confirmed later by a distant highway camera.

Whenever possible, Harel-Fisch said, the same incident was displayed from multiple perspectives: a Hamas gunman’s bodycam showing fighters shooting into a shelter near the Nova festival is followed by Israeli mobile phone footage taken inside the same shelter, revealing injured and panicked young people and their cries for help. Then Hamas mobile phone video shows survivors being hauled into a pick-up truck to be taken back to Gaza.

Harel-Fisch said that although he already had a vast amount of footage, more arrived daily, including from police and family members of those caught up in the violence.

Mostly he had been able to “disconnect” from the material and “numb” his senses. “You have to when you do this kind of work. But there were moments where you’re pressing play . . . and you understand you’re now watching for the first time the last moments of someone’s life . . . right at the moment they got murdered. I’ve seen them cowering away in corners, under pillows, behind cars, running away.”

Harel-Fisch is constantly updating and tweaking the video. There have

‘There were moments where you understand you’re now watching for the first time the last moments of someone’s life’

Mattan Harel-Fisch

been, by his count, 12 versions so far.

The most up-to-date included new video from a home surveillance system in Netiv Haasara. In it, a father and his two sons, still in their underwear in the early morning, flee to their backyard bomb shelter. A Hamas operative appears and throws in a grenade, after which the father is blown clean out, dead. The bloodied boys stumble out and return to the house.

In the living room’s surveillance system, now with sound, one of them screams: “Daddy’s dead, it’s not a prank.” Later, a Hamas operative enters, opens the fridge and takes a drink from a bottle.

For Harel-Fisch, such harsh visual imagery — of charred bodies in mass bonfires, of babies with bullet wounds in their skulls, of an attempted beheading of a prone man with a garden hoe — is precisely the reason why he keeps at it.

And what of the toll on him? “I think our whole country will never be the same. We’re a country in need of psychological treatment after this,” he said. “It’s something that’s impacted everyone . . . I don’t think I’m any different.”

See Opinion





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INTERNATIONAL

Cabinet changes

Ex-PM Cameron made UK foreign minister

Premier Sunak in clear shift towards centre after sacking home secretary

GEORGE PARKER, JIM PICKARD AND RAFI UDDIN — LONDON

Prime Minister Rishi Sunak yesterday restored David Cameron to the UK political frontline as foreign secretary, in a reshuffle that included the sacking of home secretary Suella Braverman.

The moderate James Cleverly, who was foreign secretary, replaced Braverman at the Home Office, in a clear shift by Sunak towards the centre ground.

The biggest surprise came when Cam-

eron, who has played virtually no political role since quitting as prime minister after the 2016 Brexit vote, was handed the post of foreign secretary.

Sunak used his Tory conference speech last month to promise to be the “change” prime minister; now he has turned to his centrist predecessor for help. With the ruling Conservatives trailing the Labour opposition by more than 20 points in polls, the reshuffle is a throw of the dice by Sunak in terms of building a team for the next election.

The move of the emollient Cleverly to the Home Office and the restoration of Cameron, a classic centre ground Tory, suggests Sunak wants to present a less abrasive face to the public. Cameron,

who is no longer an MP, will be made a life peer and sit in the House of Lords.

Cameron, Tory prime minister between 2010 and 2016, faces immediate challenges, including the war in Ukraine and the Israel-Gaza conflict.

“I hope that my experience . . . will assist me in helping the prime minister to meet these vital challenges,” Cameron posted to social media website X.

Cameron, who criticised Sunak’s decision to scrap the northern leg of the HS2 high-speed rail project, added that while he “disagreed with some individual decisions” the prime minister had made, Sunak was “showing exemplary leadership at a difficult time”. Cameron was recently at the centre of the biggest

lobbying scandal in Britain for decades when the Financial Times revealed he secretly lobbied former colleagues in government on behalf of his employer, Greensill Capital.

Pat McFadden, Labour’s campaign chief, said: “This puts to bed the prime minister’s laughable claim to offer change from 13 years of Tory failure.”

Braverman’s sacking has upset some rightwing Conservative MPs, but Sunak’s allies believe the political fallout can be contained. “She hasn’t got an army behind her,” said one.

The home secretary was sacked after she wrote an article last week accusing the police of bias. Downing Street said it had not “been cleared”. Braverman’s

allies described Number 10 as “clowns”.

The acrimonious nature of her departure suggests Braverman might mount a campaign for a future party leadership bid from the backbenches, supported by members of the rightwing Common Sense Group of Tory MPs.

The Supreme Court will rule tomorrow on her plan to send asylum seekers to Rwanda. If it is deemed unlawful, Braverman will probably renew her calls for Britain to quit the European Convention on Human Rights. She said: “It has been the greatest privilege of my life to serve as home secretary. I will have more to say in due course.”

See The FT View
Robert Shrimley see Opinion

Spain

Sánchez set to secure new term despite anger about amnesty deal

BARNEY JOPSON — MADRID

Spain’s acting prime minister, Pedro Sánchez, is on course to obtain a new term in a parliamentary vote on Thursday as anger grows over an amnesty deal for Catalan separatists that has become the price for the Socialist leader to retain power.

The Speaker of Spain’s Congress of Deputies said a two-day process leading to Sánchez’s expected confirmation would begin tomorrow, almost four months after an inconclusive election in July in which his party finished second.

Late yesterday the Socialists published the official text of an amnesty law for Catalan separatists, which is a condition for Sánchez to secure the votes he needs from smaller parties to reach a 176-seat majority.

The amnesty will end the prosecution, prison terms and other penalties facing pro-independence leaders and supporters who backed a bid by Catalonia to break away from Spain that culminated in a referendum in 2017.

The plan has sparked fury among conservatives and traditionalists in the Socialist party, who accuse Sánchez of cynically granting special treatment to separatists at the cost of trashing the rule of law.

The amnesty was likely to benefit more than 500 people, spanning those in criminal cases and others facing administrative penalties such as bans from public office, said one official in the Catalan independence movement.

Its most high-profile beneficiary is expected to be Carles Puigdemont, head of the hardline Together for Catalonia party, who six years ago led the push for an unlawful referendum and a futile declaration of independence. He has since been living in Belgium as a fugitive from Spanish justice.

The proposed amnesty has drawn condemnation from prosecutors, judges, lawyers, police officers and Spain’s main business lobby, the CEOE. Tens of thousands of people took to the streets of cities across Spain in protest against the plan on Sunday.

Fears that the amnesty law is opening the way for parliament to interfere in court decisions prompted an extraordinary statement from Spain’s Supreme Court yesterday.

Its government chamber emphasised the need to “guarantee judicial independence from all institutions” and underscored the courts’ duty to safeguard “equality in the application of the law”.

The text of the amnesty law says it will cover not only people who helped organise the 2017 referendum but those who committed crimes with a “profound connection” to the independence bid, including public order offences and the misuse of public funds. It specifically excludes intentional acts “resulting in death”.

Lawyers were surprised by the time covered by the amnesty law, stretching from the first day of 2012 – the year when a pro-independence majority took control in the Catalan regional parliament – until November 13 2023.

Who benefits from the amnesty will be decided by judges on a case-by-case basis, with public prosecutors and the individuals themselves able to argue for their crimes to be erased.

Bilateral ties. Island dispute

Taiwan tension looms over Biden-Xi meeting

US and China leaders face

uphill task after relations hit

worst state in four decades

DEMETRI SEVASTOPULO — WASHINGTON
JOE LEAHY — BEIJING

Joe Biden and Xi Jinping are expected to hold frank talks about Taiwan when the US and Chinese presidents meet in San Francisco tomorrow in a renewed effort to stabilise ties between the two powers.

A year after their first meeting as leaders – at the G20 summit in Bali, Indonesia – Biden and Xi will resurrect attempts to halt the steep slide in relations, which are in their worst state in four decades. Their effort a year ago was derailed when a suspected Chinese spy balloon flew over the US in February.

In recent months, the sides have resumed top-level engagement, including a visit by secretary of state Antony Blinken to Beijing and a trip to Washington by foreign minister Wang Yi.

Washington has welcomed the engagement, but US officials stressed that the summit would not produce big agreements, particularly as tensions remain high over Taiwan, which holds a presidential election in January.

“We’re not talking about a long list of outcomes,” said one US official. “The goals here really are about managing the competition, preventing the downside risk of conflict and ensuring channels of communication are open.”

The official said the combination of Taiwanese and US elections next year meant 2024 could be “bumpy” for US-China relations, reinforcing the need for top-level communication.

They added that Biden would reaffirm the “one China” policy – in which the US recognises Beijing as the sole government of China but only acknowledges its assertion of sovereignty over Taiwan – while making clear to Xi that Chinese political interference in Taiwan’s election “would raise extremely strong concerns”.

Rick Waters, who until August was the US state department’s top China official, said both leaders wanted to prevent a further deterioration in ties “at the lowest possible cost”. “The question is how much they can really stabilise relations given the tests they face over Taiwan, tech policy and other aspects of a fundamentally competitive relationship,” said Waters, now managing director at the consultancy Eurasia Group.



Contentious topic: campaign flags in Taiwan in support of independence. The issue haunts relations between Joe Biden and Xi Jinping, below at last year’s G20 summit
Mehdi Chebli/Hans Lucas/Reuters, Alex Brandon/AP

The White House told the Financial Times the leaders would not issue a joint statement, showing that “the two sides remain very far apart on fundamental issues”, said Dennis Wilder, a former top White House China official now at Georgetown University.

Over four hours of discussions, Biden and Xi will discuss issues such as US concerns about Chinese military activity in the South China Sea to China’s anger at export controls designed to stop the People’s Liberation Army from obtaining US technology.

Officials have hinted at a deal to reopen military communication channels that China closed after then-US House Speaker Nancy Pelosi visited Taiwan last year. Washington also wants Beijing to crack down on exports of ingredients for the drug fentanyl, which is responsible for an addiction epidemic in the US.

China is seeking an expanded dialogue on artificial intelligence to include other technologies in the hope that engagement would delay further US restrictions, according to people familiar with the preparations.

Others said Xi wanted Biden to express opposition to Taiwanese independence instead of the usual stance of not supporting it, but they added that Biden was not considering the move. A second US official said Biden would “amplify” existing messages on Taiwan with “clarity”.

Victor Gao, a former Chinese diplomat who translated for late Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping, said Xi wanted to ensure the US was sincere about not “hollowing out” the one-China policy following high-level visits to Taiwan by US politicians and arms sales to the island.

‘The question is how much they can stabilise relations given the tests they face over Taiwan’

Jude Blanchette, a China expert at the CSIS think-tank, said Xi would deliver “a very stark message on Taiwan” but was unlikely to hear new language from Biden. “Xi directly communicating how serious this is for Beijing is important for the Chinese strategy,” he said.

In another sign of the icy US-China relationship, Biden and Xi do not plan to dine together after their meeting. Xi will attend a dinner with US business executives that Beijing hopes will ease concerns about investing in China at a time when the country is facing stronger economic headwinds.

Bonnie Glaser, a China expert at the German Marshall Fund, said China’s economic situation raised incentives to work with the US to ease tensions.

“Beijing wants to buy time to cope with China’s economic problems and boost innovation in technologies hampered by American restrictionism,” she said. “The US wants to demonstrate the efficacy of its proposed model for managed competition with China, which the administration hopes will last at least through the 2024 US presidential election.”

Gideon Rachman see Opinion

Incoming coalition

Tusk tussles over Poland’s financial regulator

RAPHAEL MINDER — WARSAW

Poland’s opposition has urged the outgoing rightwing administration to delay appointing the next financial regulator to avoid burdening expected new premier Donald Tusk with handovers from the previous government.

“We believe the outgoing government should now not be nominating high-profile officials, especially not somebody who is in charge of the financial supervision of this country,” said Michał Kobosko, deputy leader of the Poland 2050 party that is part of Tusk’s coalition. “This is a very serious issue.”

Last week President Andrzej Duda nominated Premier Mateusz Morawiecki and his rightwing Law and Justice (PiS) party to form the next government even though three pro-EU opposition parties led by Tusk won a combined parliamentary majority last month.

The decision delayed the comeback of former premier Tusk and gave Morawiecki a chance to make one more major appointment as the five-year term of the head of Poland’s KNF financial watchdog expires on November 23.

The prospect has angered Tusk’s coalition politicians, who are already bracing themselves for working alongside Duda and other PiS loyalists. Morawiecki has not indicated whom he would appoint to the KNF, but one candidate is the current chair, Jacek Jastrzębski, first nominated by the PiS premier in 2018.

The premier’s office did not comment

‘We believe the outgoing government should now not be nominating high-profile officials’

and the regulator said that “appointing the head of the KNF is the prime minister’s decision”. Morawiecki does not need parliamentary approval.

“Jastrzębski is better than some other terrible PiS candidates mentioned, but he is absolutely Morawiecki’s man and he easily accepted the very weak PiS candidates who took charge of our state financial institutions,” said one opposition politician. “We need a regulator who is politically neutral.”

Another uncomfortable bedfellow for Tusk is the president of the National Bank of Poland, Adam Glapiński, who started his second six-year term in 2022. Glapiński is a friend of PiS leader Jarosław Kaczyński. Ahead of the election, he shocked markets in September with a big interest rate cut even though Poland still had double-digit inflation.

During his election campaign Tusk pledged to remove Glapiński as soon as he took power, calling him “incompetent and indecent”.

But on Friday Glapiński warned Tusk against trying to oust him, saying attempts to do so were part of an opposition plan to push Poland into euro membership, which would require central bank backing.

Tusk wanted Poland to adopt the euro when he was prime minister over a decade ago, but he has not revived recently an idea that has become unpopular with most Poles, according to opinion polls.

Once in office, Tusk will need to tread carefully when purging institutions of PiS appointees to avoid a repeat of the political interference he accused PiS of deploying in its eight years in power.

Premiership proposal

Portugal central bank chief faces ethics probe

BARNEY JOPSON — MADRID

Portugal central bank governor Mário Centeno is facing an ethics review by an independent watchdog after he was proposed as prime minister by outgoing Socialist premier António Costa, who quit last week over a corruption scandal.

Costa’s proposal has triggered a public spat between Centeno and Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa, the president, who has the power to appoint prime ministers.

Costa, who resigned over corruption claims among public officials, had urged Rebelo de Sousa to appoint Centeno as his replacement rather than call new elections. But instead the president called a general election for March 10.

A central bank official confirmed its ethics commission, comprising three people from outside the bank, was to meet yesterday to consider questions including potential conflicts of interest.

Centeno said on Sunday: “I had an invitation from the president and prime minister to reflect on and consider the possibility of leading the government. I was very far from reaching a decision.”

But Rebelo de Sousa’s office yesterday disputed Centeno’s account.

“The president of the republic denies that he invited anyone, including the governor of the Bank of Portugal, to head the government, before having heard the political parties with parliamentary representation and the Council of State [an advisory body],” it said.

After meeting those two groups, Rebelo de Sousa decided to dissolve parliament at the end of this month. “He also denies having authorised anyone to contact anyone for this purpose, including



Spat: Mário Centeno’s version of the affair was contradicted by president

ing the governor of the Bank of Portugal,” the president’s office added.

In response, Centeno clarified his position, saying that Costa had “invited me to reflect on the conditions that could allow” the bank governor to become premier. He said “the invitation for this reflection resulted from the conversations that the prime minister had with the president of the republic” but stressed that Rebelo de Sousa “did not invite me to head the government”.

Rebelo de Sousa, a former head of the opposition Social Democrats, became president in 2016, taking on a role that is required by the constitution to be politically neutral. There have been tensions between him and Costa in recent years on a variety of issues.

António Leito Amaro, vice-president of the Social Democrats, said that in recent days Centeno had “demonstrated that he is an actor of the Socialist party”. He told the paper Público: “[Centeno] lost the legitimacy and objectivity to be governor.”

Costa named Centeno as head of the central bank in 2020.

Additional reporting by Martin Arnold

Companies & Markets

Exxon aims to take leading role in lithium production

- Oil major bets on battery material
- Drilling expertise offers advantage

MYLES MCCORMICK — HOUSTON

ExxonMobil plans to begin producing lithium in 2027 in a major strategic pivot, as the biggest western oil producer bets it can use its expertise in drilling and processing to become a leading player in the battery metal.

The company said yesterday it had begun work to extract lithium from underground brines in the southern US state of Arkansas, where it has acquired the rights to 120,000 acres of land in the Smackover formation.

“We think we’re going to build a profitable and high-growth business for the long term here. So it’s a big deal,” said Dan Amman, head of Exxon’s low-carbon solutions business, adding the

‘We’re going to build a profitable and high-growth business for the long term here. So it’s a big deal’

project built on the company’s “existing knowhow”. He told the Financial Times: “We’re drilling wells 10,000ft underground into these saltwater reservoirs. That’s obviously directly in our wheelhouse and capability skillset.”

The move comes as the energy transition drives a surge in demand for the battery metal. The International Energy Agency has predicted consumption could increase by a factor of more than 40 between 2020 and 2040, on the back of rapid growth in the use of lithium-ion batteries needed for electric vehicles and energy storage.

Exxon — which has faced criticism that its low-carbon spending is dwarfed by its outlay on future oil and gas production — did not say exactly how much it would invest in the new business, which will be branded Mobil Lithium.

Amman said the investment would “ramp up into the billions over time”.

Last month, the company announced a \$60bn deal to buy Pioneer Natural Resources, the biggest oil producer in Texas, in a move analysts described as a doubling down on fossil fuels.

Exxon’s shift into lithium is the first by an oil supermajor. Koch Industries, Occidental Petroleum and Norway’s Equinor have been exploring a move into the battery metal.

The company is betting its expertise in drilling, pumping and processing oil and gas will give it an advantage in lithium produced from salty brines.

“We have, since the very beginning, stayed focused on what I’d say is the molecule side of the equation — in carbon capture and hydrogen and biofuels,” Exxon chief executive Darren Woods told analysts recently.

“Lithium — and production of lithium from brine water — is . . . really an extension of a lot of the current capabilities that we have in our upstream.”

The returns on lithium projects are also higher than renewables and more in line with oil and gas.

Most lithium today is extracted either by mining and crushing ore-bearing rocks — largely in Australia — or by pumping brine out of underground reservoirs and using huge ponds to separate the lithium through evaporation — largely in South America.

Exxon plans to use a novel method known as direct lithium extraction, or DLE, in which it will drill into deep saltwater reservoirs, pump out brines and use chemical processes to separate the lithium before reinjecting the water underground. Goldman Sachs has said DLE could have a revolutionary impact comparable with the US shale boom but it remains unproven at scale.

Additional reporting by Harry Dempsey in Singapore

High demand Middle Eastern carriers place orders for more than 100 jets at Dubai show



A Boeing 777X wide-body aircraft at the show staged at Al Maktoum airport outside Dubai — Ali Haider/epa-EFE/Shutterstock

SYLVIA PFEIFER AND PHILIP GEORGIADIS — LONDON

Middle Eastern airlines placed orders worth tens of billions of dollars for more than 100 aircraft on the opening day of the Dubai air show, underscoring the rebound in the aviation industry even as regional tensions run high.

Emirates placed an order for 90 of Boeing’s coming 777X aircraft, the largest twin-engine jet, valued at \$52bn at list prices. Its low-cost sister, Flydubai, followed with an order for 30 Boeing 787-9 Dreamliners.

The US plane maker also picked up a commitment from Royal Jordanian for the same wide-body aircraft.

The flood of orders comes despite concerns over a fall in demand for air travel in the region due to the conflict between Israel and Hamas.

Bookings for flights to the Middle East declined in the three weeks

following the Hamas attacks on Israel, dropping from 13 per cent above 2019 levels to 13 per cent below, according to industry data provider ForwardKeys.

Yet demand for the industry’s biggest jets is soaring after a downturn following the pandemic, which dented long-haul travel.

Much of the demand is expected to be driven by Middle Eastern airlines. Boeing is forecasting that wide-body aircraft for long-haul travel will make up 45 per cent of deliveries to the region over the next 20 years as it grows as a transit hub.

The US group projects delivery of 3,025 new commercial aircraft in the Middle East by 2042, including 1,350 wide-body planes.

“The big Gulf carriers continue to believe strongly in the superconnector model and therefore anticipate some growth,” said Edmond Rose, a consultant in the region.

Middle Eastern airlines are forecast to grow over the next two years and reach 115 per cent of pre-pandemic capacity by 2025, according to the International Air Transport Association, a trade body.

Regional profitability is forecast at \$9.41 net profit per passenger this year, in line with the US and more than double that of European carriers.

Boeing won an order for 90 of its narrow-body 737 Max jets from Turkey’s SunExpress, while Airbus reached an agreement in principle with Turkish Airlines for what it said was a “significant commercial aircraft order”, understood to be for as many as 355 jets.

Airbus also agreed a follow-on order for 30 of its A220-300s single-aisle jets with Latvian carrier airBaltic.

Additional reporting by Claire Bushey in Chicago

Continental resorts to jobs axe in push for annual saving of €400mn

PATRICIA NILSSON

Continental has announced thousands of job cuts as an “initial” step towards improving competitiveness, as one of the largest suppliers to the car industry battles to remain competitive in the electric vehicle era.

The German business yesterday said measures designed to save €400mn annually would affect a “mid-four-digit range . . . across all parts and all levels” of the 100,000 people employed by its automotive division, which makes up roughly half of the group’s workforce.

Philipp von Hirschheydt, head of automotive, referred to the cuts of “administrative” roles in sales, research and development as well as production as “initial measures”.

Continental in 2019 warned that 30,000 jobs would disappear in the next 10 years, as the company needed to invest in the transition to EVs. Nearly 10,000 people have since left the company. An additional 10,000 jobs are under review as part of that cost-cutting programme.

The company has, alongside other suppliers, been hit by the chip shortage, which depressed car production, and soaring inflation, which has raised costs that have proved difficult to pass on to their customers, the carmakers.

Margins at Continental’s automotive unit have fallen behind several rivals, sparking the company to consider selling investment-hungry divisions such as its autonomous driving arm.

Rival Schaeffler last month announced a bid for EV specialist Vitesco, which was spun out of Continental two years ago, arguing that the arrival of Chinese brands in Europe would spur the need for car parts suppliers in the continent.

Continental last week slightly raised its expectations for the sales growth of cars this year, which chief financial officer Katja Garcia Vila said was mainly “coming from China”.

The European industry is facing growing competition from China rivals that have come to specialise in EVs, ahead of a ban on sales of new cars fuelled by diesel and petrol by the EU in 2035.

Continental, which last year made just under €40bn in sales, said it would provide a further update on the latest round of job cuts at its capital markets day on December 4.

Booming US Treasury arbitrage carries a real regulatory risk

INSIDE BUSINESS

FINANCE

Jonathan Guthrie

Some weird stuff is forbidden in the US. It is illegal to bring live snakes to Mardi Gras in Louisiana. North Carolina forbids drunken bingo playing. But no law yet prohibits “recklessly impair[ing] the basis trade”. This is the esoteric misdeed imagined by Ken Griffin, chief executive of hedge fund group Citadel, in a recent Financial Times interview.

The basis trade is an arbitrage between the price of Treasuries and futures contracts on them. Watchdogs are worried hedge funds are basis trading so prolifically that snarl-ups could destabilise markets that help set the cost of US public debt.

A Securities and Exchange Commission plan to register hedge funds as Treasury dealers is gaining ground as a result. This would count as reckless impairment in Griffin’s view. He thinks tougher scrutiny of banks is a better solution. You cannot blame a person for talking their own book. But it is reasonable to scrutinise basis traders as well as banks serving them via their prime broking arms. A modest arbitrage has burgeoned into a behemoth.

Basis trading may now account for the bulk of record short selling of Treasury futures. Shorting in the key two, five and 10-year maturities hit about \$660bn of underlying notional value last week,

according to data from the Commodity Futures Trading Commission.

This is all thanks to the small premium, or “basis”, at which the future trades above the underlying security. This erodes and finally disappears when the futures contract expires. Hedge funds can make a turn by shorting the future and buying the underlying bond.

This may be worth tiny fractions of percentage points, according to Jens Foehrenbach of Man Group, a UK-based hedge fund group. For heftier returns, leverage is deployed. Basis traders transact in futures by posting slivers of margin and may borrow 100 per cent of their cost for Treasuries.

Basis trading is sometimes described as “riskless”. This is not strictly true. Traders may be exposed to fluctuations in short-term interest rates. They also shoulder the risk of margin calls if futures prices rise. The worry is that if basis trades go bad, hedge funds would dump Treasuries en masse.

It is a moot point how damaging this would be systematically. It is true that \$660bn of short positions sounds like a lot. But outstanding Treasuries are worth some \$26tn.

There are arguments on both sides on whether disorderly unwinds exacerbated wobbles dangerously in the Treasuries market in March 2020. Certainly, some basis traders lost their expensive shirts then.

But, as Foehrenbach wryly notes: “The world economy shut down around that time.” He adds: “Basis trades added to volatility. But they did not bring down the system.”

Regulators should consider curbing bank lending, as Griffin suggests. But

they should also keep a close eye on big hedge funds such as Citadel. That is where the risk of basis trading is concentrated. If it turns toxic, volatility in Treasuries would be a bigger threat to financial stability than the risk of defaults to banks. These are, for the most part, well capitalised.

Taxpayers are more likely to foot a bill for intervention to stabilise Treasuries than for lender bailouts.

In 2015, the Volcker rule curbed proprietary trading by US investment banks. Trading-oriented hedge funds have expanded accordingly. Prime brokers supply credit, off-the-peg strategies and job-hopping recruits. Proprietary trading still makes a turn for Wall Street banks, albeit in interest and service income for prime brokerage rather than capital gains.

It makes little sense, however, to regulate larger hedge funds as dealers. This is not what they do, regardless of how brutally they stretch the term “investor”. Moreover, there is a size threshold for dealer status many hedge funds would take care to avoid breaching. That would distort market behaviour.

Hedgies are not, as a breed, strongly motivated by social mission. However, basis trading has some utility in preventing Treasury futures from trading wildly out of whack with underlying bonds. A big gap implies higher costs for fresh US debt.

The real challenge for watchdogs such as the SEC is to understand hedge funds and prime brokers as symbiotic organisms. Between them, they arbitrage regulatory risks every bit as skilfully as price discrepancies in Treasuries. This should not be forbidden in the way snakes at Mardi Gras are. But it should certainly be probed more closely.

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Legal Notices

Tacora Resources Inc.
Notice of Solicitation Process

On October 10, 2023, Tacora Resources Inc. (the “**Tacora**”) sought and obtained an Order under the *Companies’ Creditors Arrangement Act*, R.S.C. 1985, c. C-36 as amended (the “**Initial Order**”) granting, *inter alia*, a stay of proceedings in favour of Tacora and appointing FTI Consulting Canada Inc. as monitor (in such capacity, the “**Monitor**”).

Pursuant to an order granted by the Court on October 30, 2023 (the “**Solicitation Order**”), Tacora, with the assistance of Greenhill & Co. Canada Ltd. (“**Greenhill**”), and under the supervision of the Monitor, has initiated a solicitation process (the “**Solicitation Process**”) to solicit interest in, and opportunities for: (a) a sale of all, substantially all, or certain portions of the property or the business of Tacora; or (b) an investment in, restructuring, recapitalization, refinancing or other form of reorganization of Tacora or its business as a going concern, or a combination thereof. The Solicitation Process also provides the ability for interested parties to investigate and conduct due diligence regarding an opportunity to arrange an offtake, service or other agreement in respect of the business.

The Solicitation Process is a two-phased process. Qualified interested parties who wish to submit a bid in the Solicitation Process must deliver a non-binding letter of interest to Greenhill with a copy to the Monitor in accordance with the Solicitation Order, by no later than 12:00 p.m. (Eastern Time) on December 1, 2023. Binding offers must be submitted by no later than January 19, 2024, at 12:00 p.m. (Eastern Time) in accordance with the Solicitation Order.

Copies of the Initial Order, the Solicitation Order and all related materials may be obtained from the website of the Monitor at <http://cfcanada.fticonsulting.com/tacora/>

Any party interested receiving additional information about, or in participating in, the Solicitation Process should contact Greenhill at ProjectElement2023@greenhill.com.

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COMPANIES & MARKETS

Pharmaceuticals

Novo obesity drug cuts heart attack risk

Danish group cheered by trial indicating reduced death rate in Wegovy users

HANNAH KUCHLER — LONDON

Novo Nordisk’s weight-loss drug Wegovy cut the risk of death 18 per cent in a trial that the Danish pharma company hopes will persuade more health systems and insurers to pay for the treatment.

Martin Holst Lange, executive vice-president of development at Novo Nordisk, said data showed in more detail how the drug was “incredibly powerful” in tackling cardiovascular risk.

Lange said that payers would be interested in the impact the drug had on mortality and expensive conditions, pointing to the “quite profound” effect it had in cutting the risk of heart attack 28 per cent.

In August, initial data from the Select trial sent shares in Novo Nordisk up as much as 16 per cent, as investors became excited that the results could win over any health systems and insurers reluctant to cover the new class of weight-loss drugs.

Wegovy has a US list price of more than \$1,300 a month.

The full data was announced at an American Heart Association congress at the weekend and was published

in the New England Journal of Medicine.

The results were published after Eli Lilly last week received US Food and

The data was announced at an American Heart Association congress and published in the NEJM

Drug Administration approval for its obesity treatment Zepbound, which will compete with Wegovy, and AstraZeneca entered the race for a weight-loss pill after a partnership deal with Chinese biotech Eccogene.

Novo Nordisk’s trial studied more than 17,600 people aged above 45 with obesity who had cardiovascular disease, but not diabetes. About 458 patients taking a placebo died during the trial, compared with 375 people taking Wegovy, representing an 18 per cent reduced risk of death.

There was a 15 per cent decline in the risk of death from cardiovascular causes specifically, though the numbers did not quite meet the bar for statistical significance.

The paper comes after the preliminary results showed that patients who took Wegovy had a 20 per cent lower chance of suffering a cardiovascular event such as a stroke or heart

attack than participants who received a placebo.

Lange said the trial also showed that the drug had an impact on other conditions such as kidney disease.

Last month, Novo Nordisk ended a trial designed to monitor the effect of Ozempic, a diabetes drug that contains semaglutide, the same active ingredient as Wegovy, on chronic kidney disease because the early results showed it was likely to be very successful.

That data will be published in the next couple of months.

“I expect to see really, really interesting and exciting data on the impact of semaglutide on chronic kidney disease,” Lange said.

Energy

Biden offshore wind targets will not be met, claim turbine manufacturers

AMANDA CHU — NEW YORK

The Biden administration’s plan to increase offshore wind generation capacity by 2030 will not be met, executives at the biggest turbine manufacturers have said, warning that the sector needed a reset to become economically viable.

The White House has set a goal of installing 30 gigawatts of offshore wind capacity by 2030, enough to power 10mn homes, and has made the target key to its plans to cut carbon pollution.

But project cancellations, including Danish developer Ørsted’s decision to pull two offshore projects in New Jersey, and soaring costs had thrown the strategy into peril, said executives.

The 2030 target was “widely and regretfully acknowledged” to be unrealistic, said Josh Irwin, senior vice-president of offshore wind at Vestas, the largest offshore wind manufacturer.

“These cancellations and delays go beyond growing pains,” Irwin said. Vestas lacked the certainty needed to move forward with plans to build a US factory. “The US industry is in the middle of a fundamental reset to restore economic viability.”

Richard Voorberg, chief executive of Siemens Energy North America, made similar comments this week, saying the

“These cancellations and delays go beyond growing pains. The industry is in the middle of a reset’

administration’s 2030 offshore wind target was now a “tall order”.

“The market’s got a problem. You look at Siemens Energy, you look at GE, you look at Vestas, the big players, we’re all losing money . . . That’s not a sustainable model,” he told the FT’s Investing in America summit last week.

The warnings from the largest wind manufacturers came as developers move to cancel or renegotiate contracts after suffering steep losses.

Aside from Ørsted, Avangrid and Shell have cancelled projects, and BP and Equinor reported \$840mn in impairments last quarter from their two New York projects after the state rejected their requests to renegotiate contracts.

Just one offshore wind project is in full operation in the US, generating 30 megawatts of electricity per year off the coast of the state of Rhode Island.

The delays pose a risk to US plans to halve its emissions by 2030 as well as Joe Biden’s ambition to create a domestic offshore wind manufacturing sector in an effort to create jobs while breaking dependence on foreign supply chains.

The Inflation Reduction Act included about \$370bn worth of sweeteners to stimulate domestic cleantech manufacturing. At least 10 offshore wind ports and five projects to build vessels and structures for offshore wind have been announced since the IRA passed.

But rising project costs and expectations that interest rates will remain higher for longer are hurting the sector’s prospects, analysts have said.

Vestas has agreed to supply offshore wind projects in New Jersey and New York and plans to build a nacelle factory. But the facility, for which the planned capital expenditure has not been announced, could be shelved if the Atlantic Shores, a project planned by Shell and EDF Renewables offshore New Jersey, does not go ahead.

The developers have warned that “tens of thousands of real, well-paid and unionised . . . jobs are at risk”.

Transport. Cash crunch

Alstom fights to restore investor confidence

French trainmaker’s shares have fallen as series of setbacks follows Bombardier unit deal

SARAH WHITE — PARIS

In 2021, Alstom hailed its acquisition of Canadian rival Bombardier’s train operations as a “unique moment” that would ensure the French company emerged a winner as a new golden age dawned on the global rail industry.

Less than three years later, the sound strategic logic of the €5.5bn deal has been overshadowed by a series of setbacks, the most recent of which has contributed to a cash crunch at the world’s second-largest train manufacturer.

Problematic contracts at Bombardier, together with a broader struggle to manage inventory and the production of its trains, forced Alstom early last month to slash its projections for free cash flow this year.

Now, with billions of euros wiped from the group’s market capitalisation over the past four weeks, chief executive Henri Poupart-Lafarge is under mounting pressure to restore confidence in a company that has more than 80,000 employees and supplies trains in markets from Australia to Saudi Arabia.

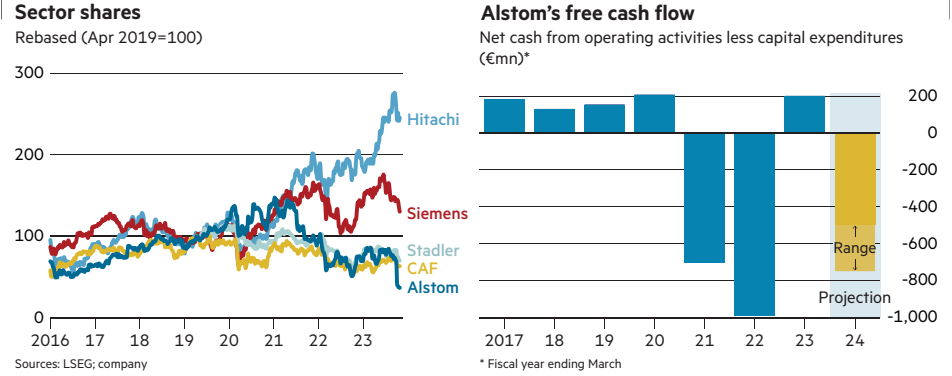
As well as the perils sometimes hidden in acquisitions, the crisis at Alstom highlights the high-stakes challenge train manufacturers face in managing inventory, orders and cash flow at a time when many governments have championed busier railways as part of the answer to global warming.

“If Alstom has a problem, the whole of France would find itself pretty stuck,” given that the company supplies most of the country’s trains and metros, said an executive at a rival manufacturer. “It can pose a major industrial risk.”

Alstom has said that the picture will improve as downpayments on contracts trickle in, allowing the company to convincingly extol the benefits of a deal it struck not long after EU regulators quashed its planned merger with Germany’s Siemens. But the immediate risk is that the group is stripped of its prized investment grade rating — a move that would strain its finances further.

Poupart-Lafarge, a company veteran and one-time financial chief who has had the top job since 2016, faces some unenviable choices. Analysts say the 54-year-old may have no option but to sell assets. Those at JPMorgan estimated that Alstom, now valued at about €5bn, needed a cash inflow of at least €1bn in the next 12 months to preserve its investment grade status.

Moody’s rates Alstom Baa3, just a notch above junk status. After Alstom axed its cash flow projections, Moody’s cut the French industrial group’s out-



Alstom’s inventory, orders and cash flow are a problem for chief executive Henri Poupart-Lafarge, below

Philippe Lopez/AFP/Getty Images



look to negative and said disposals looked necessary to ensure its ratio of gross debt to core profits heads towards 3.7 over the next 12 months, from above 4.5. “We need to see that pace,” Moody’s analyst Nathalie Tuszewski said of Alstom, which had €2.13bn in net debt at the end of March.

The punishment meted out by the stock market since last month’s disclosure is in part a reflection that it was not the Bombardier deal’s first red flag: shortly after completing the acquisition, Alstom warned on disruptions to cash flow. But the October revelations were “a major blow to management’s credibility”, according to Deutsche Bank analysts.

While Alstom does not have large bond or long-term loans maturing in the next two years, the maker of France’s high-speed TGV trains has drawn more on its short-term commercial paper

facility in recent months, adding to its costs. The alternative to selling assets, say bankers and analysts, is a highly dilutive capital increase.

Just over an hour after issuing the warning and barely weeks into the job, Alstom’s finance chief Bernard Delpit sought to dispel investors’ fears, declaring: “I will state simply: an equity raise is not on the table.”

Alstom’s biggest shareholder is the Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec pensions fund that took its stake as part of the Bombardier deal and now holds 17 per cent. French state-backed investment bank Bpifrance is the second-largest, with 7.4 per cent. Both declined to comment.

Alstom, which has been the second-worst performer on France’s blue-chip CAC 40 index over the past month, is expected to give more information on its finances when it reports first-half

‘If Alstom has a problem, the whole of France would find itself pretty stuck . . . It can pose a major industrial risk’

Technology

FTX-hit The Block sold for \$70mn valuation

SCOTT CHIPOLINA AND NIKOU ASGARİ LONDON

Crypto media group The Block has been sold to venture capital group Foresight Ventures, securing its future after the collapse of FTX revealed it had relied on loans from Sam Bankman-Fried.

Singapore-based Foresight said yesterday it would take a majority stake in The Block in a deal that values the US media group at \$70mn. The stake had been held by Michael McCaffrey, who resigned as chief executive of The Block last December when it emerged he had borrowed \$43mn in undisclosed loans from Bankman-Fried’s Alameda trading company to support the media company and buy property. Earlier this

month, Bankman-Fried was convicted of fraud and money laundering in New York for taking billions of dollars of customer deposits to help fund spending by Alameda, which led to FTX’s collapse.

After the disclosure of its reliance on lending from Alameda, The Block has focused on building a stronger institutional customer base, with a database of industry deals and subscription-based news. Foresight is investing \$56mn for an 80 per cent stake in the company, said a person familiar with the matter.

Investors poured about \$30bn worth of capital into crypto projects in both 2021 and 2022, but this year investment has slowed to just \$7bn at the end of September, according to figures from capital markets data provider PitchBook.

Foresight said The Block would

continue to operate as an independent business. “We think The Block is one of the crown assets in the crypto media space,” said Forest Bai, Foresight chief executive. “Our view is that the media aspect will continue to drive education and adoption in the space.”

McCaffrey had taken two loans, totalling \$27mn, according to The Block reports, to buy out shareholders and back the group. A third, worth \$16mn, was used to buy Bahamian property.

“No one at The Block had any knowledge of this financial arrangement besides [McCaffrey],” said Bobby Moran in December 2022, the company’s chief revenue officer at the time.

Foresight’s portfolio includes investments in Mandarin-language news sites.

See FT Big Read

Travel & leisure

General Atlantic takes slice of Joe & the Juice

WILL LOUCH AND DARIA MOSOLOVA

US private equity firm General Atlantic has agreed to take a controlling stake in Joe & the Juice, increasing its investment seven years after initially putting money into the Danish sandwich chain.

General Atlantic is increasing its interest from about 50 per cent to as much as 90 per cent in a deal valuing Joe & the Juice at about \$600mn, according to a person familiar with the matter.

The transaction will see existing shareholders, including Swedish investment firm Valedo Partners, cash out. The investment will be used to reduce Joe & the Juice’s debt load and help the company expand into markets such as the US, the person added.

The deal highlights private equity’s

continuing interest in high-street food chains despite a mixed record. Private equity-backed chains such as Prezzo and Côte Restaurants have had to undergo restructurings to stay afloat. Burger chain Byron Burgers has also suffered financial difficulties.



The café chain has more than quadrupled its revenue since 2016

Founded in Copenhagen in 2002, Joe & the Juice sells juices, coffee and sandwiches. The chain has expanded rapidly in recent years with the help of private equity money, more than quadrupling its revenue since 2016 as a growing number of consumers choose businesses that emphasise organic and sustainably sourced ingredients.

Since General Atlantic first invested in 2016, the company has doubled the number of stores it owns to more than 360 globally. Some of this growth has been driven by its expansion in the US, where it now has about 70 stores.

General Atlantic, which manages more than \$77bn, is best known for backing fast-growing technology and consumer companies, including TikTok’s parent company ByteDance.

COMPANIES & MARKETS

EV makers slash prices to recharge demand

Mass market car buyers are proving less forgiving than early adopters as they assess the drawbacks of battery motoring

PETER CAMPBELL — LONDON

Carmakers in leading western markets have significantly increased the range and scale of discounts they offer on electric vehicles in a bid to counter weaker-than-expected appetite for battery models among mainstream buyers.

Sales and financial data compiled by HSBC shows carmakers are, for the first time, having to offer deals on battery models to shift vehicles that previously had months-long waiting lists.

In the UK, the average discount in October was 11 per cent below the recommended retail price. In the US, discounts on EVs were at 10 per cent. A year ago, discounts were barely offered in Germany where companies are now cutting prices by about 7 per cent to attract buyers.

Rising prices, negative publicity on charging and safety, political attacks on EVs as well as greater caution from mass-market buyers have contributed to a sharp deceleration in sales growth.

It is the first global slowdown in EV demand since sales took off three years ago, raising concerns that car companies will be forced to sacrifice profitability by offering discounts in order to hit clean air or emissions targets across the world.

“There are clear signs of carmakers pushing EVs,” said Mike Tyndall, autos analyst at HSBC. “This was almost unthinkable at the start of the year.”

‘Carmakers [are] pushing EVs. This was almost unthinkable at the start of the year’

In the UK, two-thirds of new EVs sold are on offer or have heavily discounted interest rates for financing, according to numbers from AutoTrader. In the US, discounts offered on EVs have tripled in the past 12 months.

Discounting in Germany has remained steady at 7 per cent over the past few months but some carmakers there are still offering up to a fifth off their best-selling models.

Tesla, meanwhile, has consistently cut prices in Europe, the US and China to support vehicle sales, denting resale values of models from rival brands.

The warning signs have started flashing. VW delayed plans for a fourth battery factory, citing “sluggish” EV demand in Europe, while Mercedes-Benz blamed a “brutal” price war in China for falling profits. “The whole market has suddenly come off the boil,” said one senior auto executive.

Until recently, carmakers ploughed billions into developing EVs, spurred on by tightening emissions rules and the promise of an ocean of untapped consumer demand.

For years, the growth of the EV industry was held back by supply and some of the oversupply comes as manufacturers ramp up production. Nevertheless, decelerating demand growth has led to discounting that threatens the long-term pricing of the segment.

The slowdown comes as carmakers struggle to convince a new tranche of buyers to switch from petrol or diesel. After the enthusiasm of the early adopters, the mass market is proving much less forgiving of the drawbacks of battery motoring.

“We were always going to come to the point where the early adoption phase was going to finish, and you were going to need to make the transition to mass adoption,” said Alex Smith, who runs Volkswagen in the UK.

“At that point, you have a slightly dif-



Tariffs

New Delhi ponders Tesla's call for lower import duty

India is considering a request from Tesla to lower tariffs for imported electric vehicles, according to government officials, as Elon Musk's group explores setting up a plant in the country.

Tesla has asked New Delhi for an initial tariff concession that would allow it to offset India's steep customs duty of 70 per cent for cars worth less than \$40,000, and 100 per cent for cars worth \$40,000 or more, said two officials.

"Their view has always been that they need some tariff concessions at least in the interim period," one of the officials said. He added: "It would have some kind of sunset clause."

Tesla had requested the concession as a precondition to building a plant. The lowered tariffs would apply to all EV makers.

The officials said the reduced rate under consideration would be 15 per cent for EVs of all prices, but added that the policy had not been agreed yet.

"We want to create a package which is good for India and which doesn't become a curated package for one company," one of the officials said. "Others are free to take advantage of this window, subject to meeting these kinds of requirements."

Tesla executives have met Indian officials at least three times in the past year. In June, Prime Minister Narendra Modi met Musk in New York during a state visit and asked him to consider

India as a manufacturing base. Piyush Goyal, India's commerce minister, is set to travel to San Francisco this week to attend meetings of the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity, a US-led scheme, and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum. One Indian official said Goyal might meet Musk.

A bet on India would be a bold but risky one for Tesla. India's EV market is in its early stages and focused largely on two-wheel vehicles, and any car would need to be competitively priced.

In talks with India's government, Tesla said it could make a vehicle for less than \$30,000 that it would sell in India and potentially export, using the country as a production hub.

Tesla did not respond to a request for comment.

An Indian factory would be Tesla's sixth vehicle plant, including its upcoming Mexico facility, and mark an expansion into a vast car market that is dominated by lower-cost vehicles. Musk previously suggested Tesla would make a cheaper model than its \$39,000 Model 3, provisionally called the Model 2.

It is expanding factories globally as it heads towards an unofficial target of making 20mn cars a year by the end of the decade; an ambition that would see it become larger than industry leaders Toyota and Volkswagen combined.

John Reed and Peter Campbell

ferent consumer mindset, people who want a really high degree of rational convincing and have slightly higher bars on the conditions they demand before making a switch."

Those higher bars include price, greater worries over charging infrastructure and bad publicity about charging and safety.

The primary concern was infrastructure, said Thomas Becker, head of sustainability at BMW. "As soon as people have the confidence that infrastructure is not what's going to stop them, then the other factors kick in."

Price has always been an issue for EVs, which tend to be more expensive than petrol cars while being cheaper to run.

Previously, falling battery prices and technology improvements put EVs within striking distance of petrol rivals. Consumers who could charge at home would find their overall costs – sometimes called the "total cost of ownership" – were on a par with engine cars.

However, higher interest rates pushed up financing costs and put an end to that. Car prices have risen across the board but the price of EVs increased faster, with leasing costs increasing more for battery-run cars because of a steeper fall in resale values.

Three years ago, one leading European car group offered some petrol and electric models at the same leasing rate at the same profit margin. Today, the

Sales drive: a Tesla showroom in Berlin. The electric-car maker has consistently cut prices in Europe, the US and China

Schoening/ImageBroker/Shutterstock

vehicles are far apart on financing costs, according to an executive.

And while many business buyers receive generous tax incentives, retail buyers are finding the increased prices harder to swallow, especially in markets such as the UK that have wound down purchase incentives.

"Retail demand has been more challenging," admits Fiona Howarth, who runs the lease business Octopus EV, which sells cars in the UK and US. "Interest rates and residual values had made monthly payments higher, so finance deals are now much more expensive across the board," she said.

This leaves the carmakers with an unpalatable choice: sacrifice margin to hit EV targets or hold the margin firm and slow the transition to electric and risk losing ground to other rivals, especially Chinese manufacturers.

Steep price cuts have already come in for several best-selling models, according to HSBC. In Germany last month, there was 20 per cent off the BMW i4, 11.5 per cent off the MG4 and 11 per cent off the Dacia Spring, which is a new lower-cost model from Renault's entry-level brand.

In the UK, the electric Fiat 500 and the Peugeot 208e – both models from Stellantis – were discounted by more than 22 per cent, while VW ID3 and its sister car, the Škoda Enyaq, were offered with 12 per cent off. In the US, Hyundai

‘Customers who thought they had to go with an EV are suddenly told there are alternatives’

was discounting the Ioniq 5 by \$9,400, while Ford cut \$6,700 from the price of a Mustang Mach-E, whose buyers separately qualify for a partial EV tax credit.

Yet there is another leading factor that is putting people off buying an EV: government policy. There are now cracks in the once dead-certainty that EVs were the only option for the future.

The decision by Brussels this year to allow new petrol cars running on synthetic e-fuels to be sold after 2035, a concession handed to Germany after lobbying, sent shockwaves across the bloc.

"People are very confused because they hear different messages in Europe now," said Linda Jackson, head of Peugeot. Customers who thought they had to go with an EV are suddenly told there are alternatives, no matter how niche.

In the UK, the decision to postpone a ban on selling new petrol cars from 2030 until 2035 has changed the mood music on EVs. "Anyone who was almost [about to buy an EV] has thought they have five more years now," said Darren Ardron, who runs the Perrys dealership group in the UK.

Consumers have also been bombarded with negative stories from anti-EV media outlets in several countries about long queue times for chargers and claims about battery fires.

"The idea of people seeing media reports all the time about queueing at a charger, that wouldn't be good," said BMW's Becker, who added he did not have to queue once at a charging station while taking an electric road-trip across France this summer.

But, despite the growing pessimism surrounding the industry, some executives are taking a long-term view.

Lakshmi Moorthy, UK head of BNP Paribas' leasing group Arval, said it would "take time" for consumers to be confident to make the switch.

"We must remember: these are the early blips on what is a longer journey."

Oil & gas

Baker Hughes chief says geopolitical risks at 50-year high amid European boom in LNG

MYLES MCCORMICK AND JAMIE SMYTH
HOUSTON

Geopolitical risks are at their highest level in half a century, the head of one of the world's biggest oilfield services companies has said, raising concerns about energy supplies and helping to fuel a boom in liquefied natural gas.

"From a historical context I've heard people say, you go back to the oil embargo of 1973 – that being somewhat similar," said Lorenzo Simonelli, chief executive of Baker Hughes, in an interview with the Financial Times.

During his tenure, the geopolitical climate had never been so fragile, he added. "This is, from a political standpoint, very fluid."

His comments come as the conflict between Israel and Hamas in the Middle East adds to an already febrile geopolitical environment as Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine nears the end of its second year.

Baker is one of the world's three lead-

ing providers of oilfield services alongside SLB and Halliburton, responsible for drilling wells and laying pipes across the world, from Texas to West Africa. It is also a top supplier of LNG equipment at a time when demand for seaborne gas is surging, as Europe weans itself off Russian gas and global energy demand rises.

Oil prices jumped to more than \$130 a barrel last year after Russian troops entered Ukraine. They spiked again last month to almost \$100 a barrel after Hamas militants attacked Israel. They have since eased, to about \$80 on Friday, as concern that this crisis could spark a wider Middle East conflict receded and bearish economic data damped demand outlooks.

Israel is not a significant producer of crude, and Simonelli said the conflict there had not "changed the outlook" for supply or demand. Analysts have said a big intervention by Iran, which has ties to Hamas, could propel prices upwards.

"Base case is that this is hopefully con-

tained within the situation that it is currently – sad as it is – and things continue to be tight," he said. "But clearly, if there's a worsening and deterioration and an escalation of the situation, things will change."

Russia's weaponisation of its gas exports over Ukraine has spurred European demand for LNG exports – in particular from the US – with an uptick in the buildout of facilities for which Baker supplies equipment.

Baker forecasts it will book almost

\$9bn of LNG equipment orders across 2022 and 2023, more than three times the amount in the previous two years. Global installed capacity will need to rise to 800mn tonnes per annum by the end of the decade from around 410mn tpa this year to meet demand, it said.

Simonelli said Baker had a backlog of LNG contracts that extended to 2050 and Russian pipeline gas had little prospect of re-emerging in the short term as a competitor to LNG, even if the Ukraine conflict ended.



Lorenzo Simonelli expects the buildout of LNG projects on the US Gulf Coast to continue as Europe replaces Russian imports

Nicky Loh/Bloomberg

"I think Europe has been shown the difficulties of being so dependent on one energy source," said Simonelli, who lives in Houston but is originally from Tuscany, Italy.

European gas prices rocketed to more than €300 per megawatt hour after the Ukraine invasion and the market has remained jittery as the continent scrambles to replace cheap Russian imports. A warm winter last year and successful efforts by European nations to build up stocks have helped.

"There is a slight sigh of relief right now, because it seems still like a relatively mild winter at this moment," said Simonelli. "But if there's a serious winter, it's still going to have an impact on Europe."

He said the buildout of LNG projects on the US Gulf Coast would continue as American exporters look to meet the boom in European demand.

"What you're seeing play out is exactly those final investment decisions associated with the incremental pro-

duction, that's going to be required to meet the need," said Simonelli, pointing to 65mn tpa worth of projects being greenlighted this year, with a similar volume next year.

Europe's LNG boom has drawn criticism from climate activists, who warn it could derail the continent's emissions reduction aims. But Simonelli said the fuel had helped cut emissions by replacing coal as a provider of baseload power and would continue to be part of the energy mix for many years.

"You still have a lot of coal usage in Europe as well, so there's plenty of opportunity as we go forward to continue to displace coal," he said. "Eventually, you'll continue to see the cleaner aspects of natural gas, if you think of net zero LNG, the application of carbon capture usage and storage."

"This is a good moment for LNG," he added. "If you look at affordability, security and sustainability, natural gas and LNG is not just a transition fuel but a destination fuel."

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Equities. Risk premium

Stock investors face up to tough reality of higher interest rates

Fund managers turn to new data sources to woo clients as flows into equity funds dry up

NICHOLAS MEGAW — NEW YORK

Equity specialists at some of the largest asset managers are brushing up on their history and digging into new data sources to persuade clients to keep investing in stocks in a world of higher interest rates.

After a decade of gains, the US Federal Reserve’s historic series of interest rate rises in the last year has transformed the outlook for equities.

Pension funds and wealth managers are already investing less of their funds in stocks, attracted instead by the high interest on offer from money market funds and bond holdings.

Net flows into equity funds have been practically flat so far this year, according to data from EPFR.

But specialist portfolio managers are keen to stress that there are still opportunities in the stock market even if the years of broad gains driven by loose monetary policy are over.

“If you look back at history, it’s the post-[financial crisis] period that is the anomaly,” said Tony Despirito, chief investment officer for fundamental equities at BlackRock.

“The equity risk premium — the relative reward of stocks versus bonds — was incredibly favourable. Now it’s back to long-term averages but that is still quite good. That’s the perspective investors need.”

Higher interest rates reduce stock valuations by reducing the appeal of potential future earnings.

If investors can earn a yield of almost 5 per cent on low-risk assets such as two-year US Treasury bonds, companies need to make a stronger argument to convince them to bet on long-term growth.

US stocks may have bounced recently on hopes that the Fed will not lift rates any further but, even if those hopes prove accurate, few are expecting a return to the prior period of easy money.

In their most recent forecasts in September, officials from the central bank

‘We’re in a market that favours people with long-term experience or at least students of the history’

projected that the federal funds rate could still be as high as 4.9 per cent by the end of 2026.

Even the minimum forecast of 2.4 per cent would be well above where it sat for most of the period between 2008 and 2022.

“For much of the past 15 years or so . . . we had the perfect cocktail for equities,” said David Donabedian, chief investment officer at CIBC Private Wealth Management. “This is different, and I think it’s going to be different for sometime.”

Eric Veiel, head of global equity at T. Rowe Price, the \$1.3tn fund manager,



Net flows into equity funds have been practically flat so far this year but specialist portfolio managers are keen to stress that there are opportunities

FT montage/Bloomberg/ Dreamstime

said the shift would impact both short- and long-term demand for stocks.

In the short-term, he said, many investors would be tempted to “sit in really short-duration fixed income or cash and wait to see a few more cards flip over” given the uncertain economic climate.

Over the longer term, assets such as high-yield bonds — which currently yield an average of about 9 per cent — have become an attractive alternative to stocks.

The recent performance of Wall Street’s S&P 500 highlights the tougher environment but also shows how some companies can still generate big returns.

The index has climbed 14 per cent year to date but the gains have been

driven almost entirely by a few large tech companies.

The majority of companies in the index have declined and the version of the index that assigns equal weight to each individual company has dipped 1 per cent.

Amy Wu Silverman, an equity derivatives strategist at RBC Capital Markets, joked in a note last month that “it’s a rates world and equities are just living in it”.

Research by Citi’s equity sales team last week noted that the US government’s quarterly auctions of 10- and 30-year Treasury notes — which are “not normally on the radar” for equity investors — had begun to have a bigger impact on stock markets than major

economic data releases such as the monthly payrolls report.

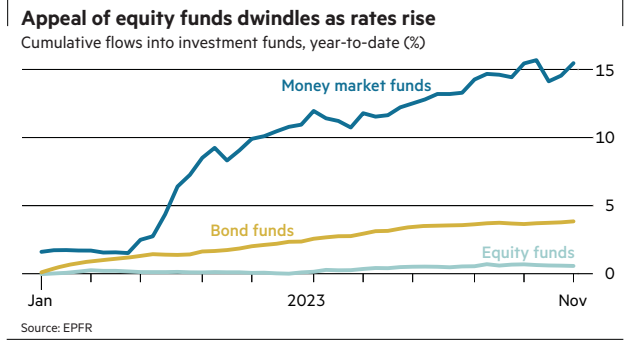
Still, the outsized gains of companies such as Nvidia — whose shares have more than tripled thanks to enthusiasm about the potential of artificial intelligence — show that some stories have been able to cut through the noise around interest rates.

Sinead Colton Grant, BNY Mellon’s head of investor solutions, said: “Investor calibration has to change . . . It is perfectly possible to have portfolio allocations to equities that perform well in those environments but you do need to be more selective.”

Along with AI, portfolio managers are trying to find winners and losers from other secular trends such as the emergence of weight-loss drugs such as Ozempic or the growth of “reshoring” production in response to geopolitical tensions and trade barriers.

They are also trying to distinguish between companies that will be directly affected by higher borrowing costs and those that have been unfairly penalised in the rising rate environment.

Veiel was looking for opportunities in sectors such as utilities and healthcare where indiscriminate selling had hit good groups as well as bad. “Commoditised selling creates distortions . . . it doesn’t mean all the companies [in a sector] will be buys, but you want to go through and resharpen your pencil.”



FT

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Goldman Sachs’ basket of “high-quality” companies — US businesses with stable earnings and relatively low debt levels — has returned 17 per cent this year compared with less than 1 per cent for its equivalent basket of highly indebted and less profitable groups.

Closely studying a company’s balance sheet and debt profile should not be a novel experience for an equity investor.

But the extended period of low rates means that even relatively senior analysts and portfolio managers have never invested in a “normal” interest rate environment.

Veiel said investors needed to be wary that a stock may look cheap compared to valuations in the past but “we need to be making sure we frame our analysis not just versus the last five years”, said Veiel. “You can’t build a valuation premise on going back to lower rates. We have folks who’ve been around 30-plus years, and we lean on them in these environments.”

BlackRock’s Despirito agreed that “we’re in a market that either favours people with a lot of long-term experience or at least students of the history of the market”.

Analysing a company’s debt and refinancing risks, he said, was “an easy financial exercise . . . but people don’t always pay attention. Indices definitely don’t.”

Commodities

Investors miss out on sugar rush as ETFs are dumped amid price surge

WILL SCHMITT — NEW YORK

Investors have missed out on the latest sugar rally as exchange traded funds devoted to sugar have suffered outflows despite soaring prices for the commodity.

Poor crops in India and Thailand due to the re-emergence of the El Niño weather system and export restrictions in India have pushed sugar prices to levels not seen in more than a decade.

Some investors cashed out after a jump in sugar prices earlier in the year and did not return to the market, meaning they did not enjoy the bump in the second half of 2023, according to investment flow data from Morningstar.

There was a combined \$25m in net outflows from the Teucrum Sugar exchange traded fund (CANE) in the US and the WisdomTree Sugar exchange traded commodity (SUGA) in the UK over the year to October.

Even so, the two sugar investment vehicles overcame plummeting prices in late June to generate returns of about 70 per cent, according to Morningstar.

“Investors sold out after the spring rush and they have not come back,” said

Jake Hanley, senior portfolio strategist at Teucrum.

Assets in US commodities ETFs on the whole have fallen from about \$141.8bn in January 2022 to about \$124.4bn as of September 2023, even as US ETF assets overall have steadily grown, according to Morningstar.

While prices of soft commodities such as sugar and cocoa have soared to multi-year highs in recent months, costs of other critical agricultural commodities such as wheat and corn have plummeted on the back of bumper crops in



Prices of soft commodities such as sugar have soared to multiyear highs

big producing countries. Energy ETFs have been a recent bright spot while funds for precious metals like gold have suffered outflows, according to data provided by Invesco.

When it comes to sugar-specific investment vehicles, investors do not appear to have chased performance over the second half of the year, despite prices that rose beyond spring’s highs.

Investors in single-commodity funds like CANE and others that Teucrum specialises in were predominantly hedge fund traders and commodity trading advisers, Hanley said.

“A big part of my job is to educate folks on why they might consider exposure to sugar specifically and agriculture in general,” Hanley said.

WisdomTree’s director of macroeconomic research, Aneeka Gupta, acknowledged that investors seemed to have lost out on the rise in the price of sugar and may not buy back in.

Gupta added that she thought logistical problems affecting exports from Brazil might mean that the sugar price could climb even higher.

Additional reporting by Susannah Savage in London

Telecoms

Telecom Italia boss defends KKR deal as only way to secure group’s future

SILVIA SCIORILLI BORRELLI — MILAN

The chief executive of Telecom Italia has argued the group’s proposed €22bn deal to sell part of its business to KKR is the only way to ensure its future, despite objections from its biggest shareholder, Vivendi.

In his first interview since a nine-month negotiation over the deal ended, Pietro Labriola said: “It’s not like we’ve suddenly pulled a rabbit out of a hat . . . the group has discussed the network sale at least five times since 2013.”

Telecom Italia’s board last week accepted the offer for its fixed-line phone and internet network, which would be split from its services business.

French media conglomerate Vivendi, which had sought a more than €30bn price for the deal, has said the board’s decision was “unlawful” without a shareholder vote.

It is now threatening the company with legal action but Telecom Italia’s lawyers told analysts on Thursday that no complaint had been lodged yet.

“The board of directors, including representatives of our largest shareholder, unanimously approved an

industrial plan which envisaged a sale of the network as a way to leverage the company, and that’s exactly what we did,” Labriola told the Financial Times.

The deal will allow junk-rated Telecom Italia to cut its debt from the current €26bn to €14bn and has prompted rating agencies Fitch, S&P and Moody’s to place the group in review for a rating upgrade.

“In the past, it was easier to take a

‘We put it back together like a Lego set multiple times to see if there were other ways forward’

wait-and-see approach,” Labriola said, adding: “Now, with our interest payments rising, it was no longer possible.”

Telecom Italia’s interest payments have risen to €1.3bn in the nine months to September, wiping out its margins over the period.

In 2022, it took a €2bn impairment charge after issuing three profit warnings in 2021, the last one right after KKR’s first €33bn offer, which envis-

aged taking the group private and led to the ousting of Labriola’s predecessor.

The reshaping of the company has often pitted management against Vivendi — which has spent €4bn since 2015 to build a 24 per cent stake.

Telecom Italia’s share price has fallen from €1 per share in 2015 to the current €0.26 and Vivendi has had to write down its investment twice.

“We took the company apart and put it back together like a Lego set multiple times to see if there were other ways forward and there weren’t,” said Labriola.

He added that the group had also considered a demerger as well as selling other assets, including its profitable Brazilian operations, to reduce its debt.

“But those weren’t viable plans . . . Brazil is where 30 per cent of our [earnings] come from,” said Labriola.

He also rejected criticism that shareholders had not been given a vote on the KKR deal, saying this was not required because “Telecom Italia’s corporate purpose will not change”.

But he offered angry shareholders an olive branch. “Let’s sit down and talk,” he said, suggesting any legal action would be a distraction from business.

COMPANIES & MARKETS

The day in the markets

What you need to know

- Wall Street edges lower as investors look ahead to US inflation data
- Treasury bonds sell off but losses are pared in later trading
- European stocks bounce back from falls in previous session

Wall Street stocks edged lower yesterday ahead of the latest inflation data, which traders hope will indicate that the US Federal Reserve has finished lifting interest rates.

The benchmark S&P 500 lost 0.1 per cent by midday in New York and the tech-heavy Nasdaq Composite was 0.3 per cent lower as investors looked ahead to today's numbers on consumer prices. Long-term Treasury yields rose after Moody's, the credit rating agency, lowered its outlook for the country's pristine credit rating from "stable" to "negative" late on Friday.

Yields on benchmark 10-year Treasuries rose as much as 7 basis points before falling back to trade 2bp higher.

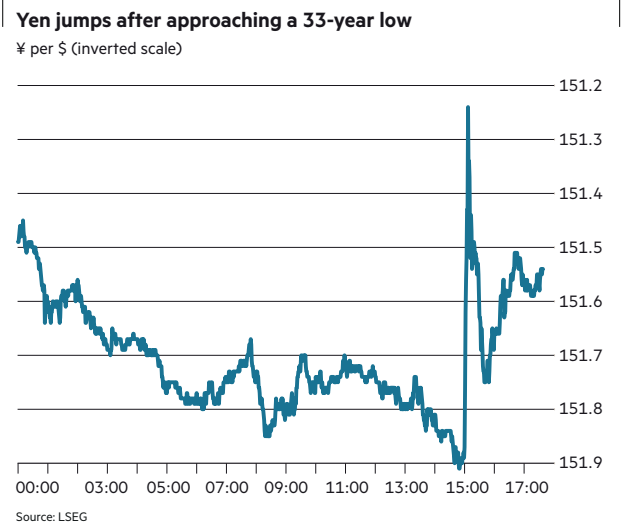
US equities have made gains in nine of the past 10 trading sessions and Treasury yields have fallen back from multiyear highs on signs that inflation in the largest economy is rapidly cooling.

Analysts and economists hope that lower price pressures will push the Fed to cut rates from their 22-year high.

Some investors doubt that the more optimistic sentiment on markets will last.

Adam Turnquist, chief technical strategist for LPL Financial, said the gains had largely been driven by a handful of large tech companies, "raising questions over the sustainability of the advance".

The monthly inflation data from the



Bureau of Labor Statistics is expected to show that headline inflation cooled to a rate of 3.3 per cent in the year to October, according to economists polled by Bloomberg.

Trading in the Japanese yen — which has been sinking in recent weeks towards its lowest point in 33 years — was volatile.

The currency fell as low as ¥151.92 against the dollar, before jumping 0.5 per cent, only to retrace its gains to trade 0.1 per cent higher.

Analysts put the sharp moves down to rumours of potential government intervention to boost the yen. "It could be

the ministry of finance checking prices — that can get the market quite jumpy," said Jane Foley, head of FX at Rabobank. "But right now, it appears no one has seen any evidence of intervention, as the market has settled."

European equities made gains, having dipped more than 1 per cent on Friday.

The region-wide Stoxx Europe 600 was up 0.8 per cent, led higher by a strong performance for energy and financials.

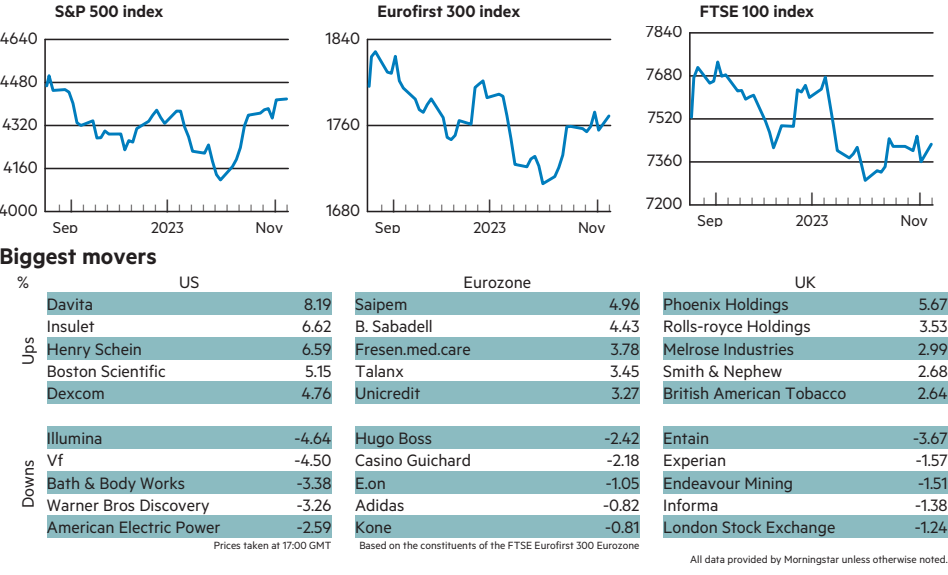
London's benchmark FTSE 100 rose 0.9 per cent while the CAC 40 in Paris climbed 0.6 per cent. **Stephanie Stacey, George Steer and Mary McDougall**

Markets update

	US	Eurozone	Japan	UK	China	Brazil
Stocks	S&P 500	Eurofirst 300	Nikkei 225	FTSE100	Shanghai Comp	Bovespa
Level	4418.64	1768.84	32585.11	7425.83	3046.53	120314.39
% change on day	0.08	0.75	0.05	0.89	0.25	-0.21
Currency	\$ index (DXY)	\$ per €	Yen per \$	\$ per £	Rmb per \$	Real per \$
Level	105.914	1.069	151.685	1.225	7.294	4.915
% change on day	0.050	0.187	0.139	0.410	0.043	-0.078
Govt. bonds	10-year Treasury	10-year Bund	10-year JGB	10-year Gilt	10-year bond	10-year bond
Yield	4.630	2.712	0.872	4.482	2.654	10.989
Basis point change on day	1.390	-0.300	1.920	-2.100	-0.500	1.500
World index, Commods	FTSE All-World	Oil - Brent	Oil - WTI	Gold	Silver	Metals (LMEX)
Level	440.87	82.74	78.50	1941.65	22.50	3587.60
% change on day	0.30	1.61	1.72	-0.81	-0.24	-1.46

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

Main equity markets



Wall Street

In the top half of the S&P 500 index was aircraft maker **Boeing** following a report stating that Beijing was looking at ending its freeze on the 737 Max.

Bloomberg said the Chinese government was considering announcing a commitment for this aircraft during this week's Apec Summit.

Providing a further fillip for Boeing was some brisk business at the Dubai Airshow, which included an order for 90 777X aeroplanes alongside five more 787 jets from Emirates.

Work management platform **Monday.com** jumped on the back of a chunky earnings beat, reporting third-quarter earnings of 64 cents per share, more than three times higher than Wall Street estimates.

Monday also lifted its full-year outlook, forecasting revenue \$723mn to \$725mn, up from \$713mn to \$717mn stated in August.

Biopharma group **Aclaris Therapeutics** plummeted after ditching development of Zunsemetinib, its experimental drug aimed at treating rheumatoid arthritis.

In a mid-stage trial, Aclaris found "no notable differentiation between Zunsemetinib and placebo across any measures of efficacy at week 12", it said.

Doug Manion, chief executive, said: "We are deeply disappointed with the results of this trial." *Ray Douglas*

Europe

New business buoyed French IT group **Solutions 30**, which announced a partnership with GlasfaserPlus, a joint venture between Deutsche Telekom and the IFM Global Infrastructure fund.

The new contract was linked to the rollout of fibre-to-the-home networks, starting with the Saarland and Bayern regions of Germany.

A vote of confidence by its chief executive sent Sweden's **Evolution** rallying.

Martin Carlesund bought 99,787 shares in the gaming group, bringing his total stake to 684,710 shares.

Alfen, a Dutch provider of electric grid equipment, was among the session's biggest risers after delivering "a record revenue quarter", said Marco Roeleveld, chief executive.

Third-quarter core profits of €17.3mn was also 54 per cent ahead of analysts' estimates, noted Jefferies, helped by strong growth in Alfen's energy storage and smart grid businesses.

Roeleveld said there were signs that destocking, which had led to softer trade in electric vehicle charging, was coming to an end.

Embattled Swedish landlord **SBB** retreated on reporting a pre-tax loss of SKr3.13bn (\$288mn) in the third quarter, wider than the SKr2.56bn loss from a year ago. *Ray Douglas*

London

Heading the FTSE 100 index was insurer **Phoenix**, which forecast 2023 cash generation of about £1.8bn, up from an earlier range of £1.3bn to £1.4bn, while three-year cash generation was lifted from £4.1bn to £4.5bn.

This came on the back of the merger of the Standard Life and Phoenix Life businesses, which enabled "us to materially upgrade our . . . targets and creates further balance sheet optionality", said Andy Briggs, chief executive.

Sinking to the bottom of the FTSE 250 index was IT provider **Kainos** despite posting revenues and pre-tax profits up 7 per cent and 12 per cent, respectively, for the half year.

Bookings, however, slid 9 per cent to £202mn during the six months, while healthcare revenue, which represents 11 per cent of the total, sank 32 per cent.

Kainos was joined by **FDM** at the tail-end of the mid-cap index after the IT and business consultant warned that 2024 would "be impacted by a lower than previously anticipated number of consultants assigned to clients".

Since its interim results in July, "macroeconomic and geopolitical uncertainty [had] continued to cause clients to delay and defer decisions around project commencements and consultant placements", it said.

Ray Douglas

Productivity gains make a comeback for US economy

Julia Coronado

Markets Insight



Higher for longer has become the mantra in bond markets this year. Mostly it echoes central bankers' strategy in tackling high inflation — raise short-term interest rates high enough and keep them there long enough that they cool economic activity and bring inflation back down to target.

Factors other than monetary policy are also often cited in explaining why inflation and interest rates may remain higher this cycle. They include higher government budget deficits around the world and fragmentation in global supply chains as rising geopolitical tension alters trading relationships, creating a higher underlying run rate on inflation.

These factors are only the dark side of the story: the surge in longer-term bond yields that started this past summer came first and foremost as the US economy proved more resilient than expected while inflation cooled notably faster than anticipated.

This was in direct contradiction to the macro narrative that a recession would be required to bring inflation down.

This outcome stems from the reappearance of the holy grail of economics — productivity gains. Productivity facilitates growth without inflation, since you are combining resources in ever more efficient ways. It can also be associated with higher equilibrium interest rates, since the economy does not rely on low interest rates to grow and thrive.

Economists generally assume a growth trend in the US around 2 per cent that embeds an assumption that productivity will grow at about 1.5 per cent a year and population growth will be in the neighbourhood of 0.5 per cent.

In the year to September 30, non-

farm business sector productivity grew 2.2 per cent after an abysmal performance the year before, twice the 10-year trend before the pandemic of just 1.1 per cent per year.

Some of the bounceback can be traced to recovering global supply chain operations. Pandemic-related frictions were a major source of sand in the gears of business operations in 2021 and 2022 and inflation in consumer and industrial goods prices.

This year has seen a rapid normalisation in supply chain operations and an attendant cooling in goods inflation.

This source of productivity improve-

This year has seen a rapid normalisation in supply chain operations and a cooling in goods inflation

ment could be shortlived, since recovering supply chains won't continue to lower unit production costs.

The real question is whether productivity can continue to grow at a healthy pace. There are two reasons to think the productivity performance could improve on the lacklustre performance following the financial crisis of 2008-09.

The first has to do with the sizzling hot labour market recovery. Record amounts of people quit their jobs in the past few years. These rates have come back down nearer pre-pandemic levels, which can provide a short-term boost to productivity as the costs of hiring and training new workers comes down.

The churn of workers in recent years could also pay longer-term dividends as it may mean that workers are matched

up with employers who are a better fit.

In a recent poll from the Conference Board, 62.3 per cent of US workers said they were satisfied with their jobs in 2022 — up from 60.2 per cent in 2021 and the highest level recorded since the survey began in 1987.

Another byproduct of a hot labour market is that we had the first recession without an extended fall in business investment, a hallmark of most downturns. Businesses kept investing in equipment and intellectual property at a historically high rate to meet the needs of remote work, as well as offset some of the need for workers amid a very tight labour market.

The technological tools companies have at their disposal to re-engineer business processes and realise efficiencies have arguably never been more abundant. If they realise anything close to a historical average return on investments made over the past few years, we may very well be in for a better productivity trend this cycle.

The proof will be in the pudding as to whether inflation can continue to cool without pronounced economic weakness. If we are not on an improved productivity trend, then rates may not stay higher for longer. Central banks will be forced to bring inflation down the hard way through a recession that would likely drive longer-term interest rates down at the expense of risky asset prices.

The current constellation of higher longer-term rates and higher housing and equity prices effectively banks on a better productivity trend — and there are at least a few reasons for some optimism.

Julia Coronado is founder and president of MacroPolicy Perspectives

FT FINANCIAL TIMES



SWAMP NOTES: FOLLOW THE RACE TO 2024

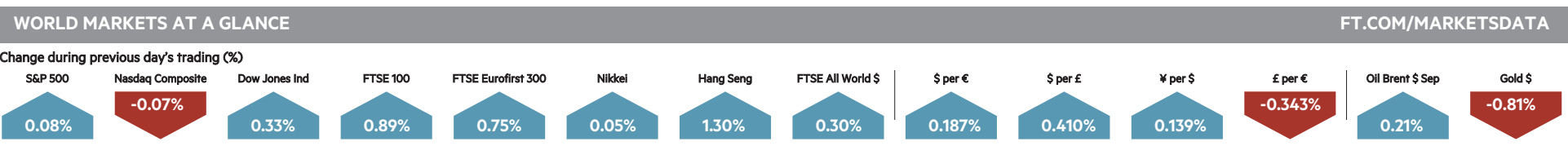
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MARKET DATA



MARKET DATA

FT500: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

[illegible]

FT 500: TOP 20

	Close price	Prev price	Day		Week		Month
			change	change %	change	change %	
ASendB	2343.00	2330.00	13.00	0.56	224.00	9.11	20.32
ASendB+Pw	17870.00	16950.00	920.00	5.43	490.00	8.6	26.66
ASendB+Pw	94653	95752	-1099	-1.16	76.69	7.13	0.75
Broadcast	94653	95752	-1099	-1.15	76.69	7.5	7.21
Broader	16026	16800	-554	-3.34	115.56	7.4	2.44
HybridFlow	24020	22200	820	3.53	10.00	7.2	12.57
Circle	388	397	-9	-2.26	0.25	7.2	0.06
Applied Mater.	149.79	150.68	-0.89	-0.59	10.32	6.7	2.00
Boeing	205.68	196.65	9.03	4.59	3.70	6.6	11.13
Dining	89.15	88.27	0.88	1.00	4.25	6.1	5.68
Walt Disney	89.15	88.27	0.88	1.00	4.25	6.1	5.68
United	530.02	528.69	2.03	0.38	28.39	6.1	0.46
CLM Corp	524.79	534.25	-4.47	-1.02	35.28	6.0	8.62
Banking Holdings	3145.36	3074.23	71.13	2.31	102.80	5.9	6.61
HonkaiGAA	62.94	61.92	1.02	1.65	2.42	5.8	7.68
Design	253.66	261.56	-2.90	-1.11	7.79	5.6	2.23
Mitsubishi	10055.00	9897.00	158.00	1.60	350.00	5.3	7.44
Hitsuda	887.51	883.58	3.93	0.44	40.45	5.3	-9.95
United	24.65	23.87	0.78	3.27	0.43	5.2	7.50
Amudrive	24.68	25.03	-0.35	-1.40	1.36	5.1	5.29

FT 500: BOTTOM 20

	Close price	Prev price	Day		Week		Month	
			change	change %	change	change %	change	change %
Illumina	93.81	98.37	-5.56	-5.64	-14.47	-16.9	-27.32	
ChinaPots	16.80	16.72	0.08	0.48	-2.44	-12.3	-17.17	
ChinaPots	44.51	43.55	0.96	2.20	-0.46	-1.0	-10.16	
Corteva	44.51	43.55	0.96	2.20	-0.46	-1.0	-10.16	
FC Pf	14.23	14.90	-0.67	-4.50	-1.05	-10.8	-78.63	
Shenwanhong	0.08	0.08	-0.00	-1.32	-0.00	-0.0	-8.64	
Shenwanhong	9.29	9.40	-0.11	-1.17	-0.95	-10.0	-75.71	
King	223.08	224.79	-1.72	-0.76	-23.84	-10.3	-14.71	
King	37.30	37.15	0.15	0.40	-0.40	-1.1	-16.96	
AirPods	264.64	265.46	-0.82	-0.31	-25.94	-9.2	-7.26	
Diogen	2889.50	2850.00	39.50	1.35	327.50	8.1	-6.77	
Diogen	228.28	224.65	3.63	1.62	-24.45	-8.8	-7.07	
SHI Pros	77.40	76.90	0.50	0.65	-7.90	-8.7	-8.63	
American	2031.50	2018.10	13.40	0.64	-199.50	-8.4	-9.10	
Softbank	5762.00	5790.00	-28.00	-0.48	-490.00	-8.2	-11.81	
WestEd	54.62	55.14	-0.52	-0.93	-3.90	-7.5	-8.00	
EdSciSci	75.13	75.92	-0.79	-1.04	-5.22	-7.4	-1.39	
Walgreen	20.23	20.76	-0.53	-2.55	-1.01	-7.1	-12.99	
Walgreen	27.09	26.85	0.24	0.89	-2.26	-6.9	-8.65	
Walgreen	25.05	29.48	-4.43	-17.8	-1.00	-3.8	-5.85	
Regal on the FT Global 500	29.05	29.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.0	0.00	

BONDS: HIGH YIELD & EMERGING MARKET

Row	Iss	Red date	Coupon	Ratings			Bid price	Bid yield	Day's chge yield	Mtn's chge yield	Spread vs US
				S*	M*	B*					
10	High Yield USS										
	ICA Inc.	04/24	8.36	BB-	Ba2	BB	113.75	4.24	0.00	0.12	
11	High Yield Euro										
	Industrial Finance Services S.A.	04/21	7.25	-	-	B	71.10	28.73	0.00	0.64	25.98
12	Emerging USS										
	Peru	03/19	7.13	BBB+	A3	BBB+	104.40	2.60	-	-	0.34
	Poland	01/26	4.50	-	Baa2	BBB-	109.50	2.33	0.16	0.52	1.28
	Tanzania	04/14	6.00	-	Ba2	Ba2	111.25	9.98	-0.01	-0.02	0.49
	Zimbabwe	04/26	3.25	-	A2	A	112.22	9.98	0.03	0.16	-0.07
	Mexico	05/26	11.50	-	Baa1	BBB-	149.00	1.61	0.00	-0.12	0.56
	Turkey	03/27	6.00	-	Baa2	BB+	101.26	5.62	0.00	0.17	0.37
	Turkey	03/27	6.00	-	B2	B2	102.88	5.43	0.14	0.83	4.38
	Ukraine	08/07	4.13	BBB+	A3	BBB+	103.50	3.66	0.01	-0.02	0.08
	Russia	06/28	12.75	-	Baa3	BBB-	168.12	1.48	0.07	0.05	-
	Brazil	02/47	5.63	-	Ba2	BB-	101.48	5.72	0.08	0.80	-
13	Emerging Euro										
	Peru	04/21	2.88	BBB-	A3	BBB+	103.09	0.05	0.01	-0.09	-0.19
	Mexico	04/23	2.75	BBB+	A3	BBB+	107.76	0.78	0.00	-0.07	-1.56
	Brazil	04/23	2.75	-	Baa1	BBB-	105.48	0.26	-	-	-

BONDS: GLOBAL INVESTMENT GRADE

Row	Inv	Iss	Red date	Coupon	Ratings			Bid price	Bid yield	Day's chge yield	Mth's chge yield	Spread to US
					S ⁺	M ⁺	F ⁺					US
Investment	SS Financial Corp.	01/28	6.88	BBB+	Baa1	A		129.00	2.54	-0.01	-0.05	
	Goldman Sachs Group, Inc.	02/28	5.00	BBB+	A3			117.21	2.47	0.00	0.32	
	BankAmerica Corp.	03/28	6.80	BBB+	Baa1	A		127.69	2.72	-0.01	0.06	
	TEC LLC	04/28	6.34	BBB+	Baa2	A		128.27	2.80	0.00	-0.11	
	United Utilities PLC	01/29	6.88	BBB	A3			130.43	2.62	-0.07	-0.22	
Euro	carlyle's Bank Corp.	01/29	4.50	A	A1			98.46	5.02	0.00	0.02	
	Micro											
	Electricite de France (EDF)	04/30	4.63	A	A3	A		137.45	0.82	-0.01	0.10	
	Goldman Sachs Group, Inc.	02/31	3.00	BBB+	A3			124.42	0.68	0.00	-0.11	
	BankAmerica Sachs Group, Inc.	02/31	3.00	BBB	A3			121.70	0.93	0.00	-0.02	
Latin	in Ireland	04/31	0.75	AA+	Aa1	AA+		111.98	-0.27	0.00	-0.05	-0.87
	on Mexico											
Sterling	Fin	06/26	1.09	-	Baa1	BBB-		98.73	1.34	-0.02	-0.14	0.27
	ing Fin B.V.	06/30	6.25	BBB	Baa2	A		137.45	2.19	-0.03	0.02	
	ing Fin B.V.	06/30	6.25	BBB	Baa2	A		139.68	2.08	-0.03	0.01	0.40

Source: Interactive Data Pricing and the Reference Data LLC, an Fitch Data Services company. US \$ denominated bonds NY close, all other London close. S⁺ = Standard & Poor's M + Moody's S, F = Fitch.

VOLATILITY INDICES

	Nov 13	Day High	Prev	52 wk high	52 wk low
IX	14.60	0.43	14.17	30.81	12.68
IXD	11.67	0.26	11.41	29.67	3.00
IXDN	16.74	0.79	17.55	32.80	5.15
IXX	15.11	0.21	15.31	33.30	

CBOE VIX S&P 500 Index Options Volatility, VXD: DJIA Index Options Volatility, VXXN: NASDAQ Index Options Volatility
 Deutsche Borse, VDAX: DAX Index Options Volatility.

BONDS: BENCHMARK GOVERNMENT

	Red Date	Coupon	Bid Price	Bid Yield	Day High	Wk High	Month High	Year High
Australia								
	05/30	1.25	76.71	4.58	0.09	-0.09	0.18	0.87
	02/02	1.00	88.01	2.31	0.09	-0.05	0.07	0.62

	02/47	1.30	87.33	3.60	0.04	-0.02
Belgium	06/27	0.80	92.65	2.98	0.05	0.07

Canada	08/27	1.60	66.04	3.81	0.03	-0.01	-0.13	0.86
	09/25	1.25	95.59	4.80	0.01	0.19	-0.11	1.02
	09/29	1.25	94.89	3.89	0.02	0.16	-0.18	0.75
Denmark	11/29	2.75	85.17	1.66	-0.02	0.08	-0.15	0.25
	11/29	0.50	87.44	2.80	0.06	0.06	-0.09	0.58
	11/39	0.54	117.55	3.09	0.05	0.04	-0.10	0.70
Finland	09/24	0.00	96.96	3.77	0.01	0.05	-0.02	1.73
	09/29	0.50	86.42	3.08	0.08	0.08	-0.11	0.56
	05/28	0.75	90.00	3.01	0.01	0.08	-0.08	0.78
France	05/48	2.00	72.53	3.73	0.05	0.01	-0.11	0.87
	08/29	0.00	86.32	2.59	0.06	0.09	-0.04	0.67
	08/48	1.25	71.26	2.89	0.04	0.00	-0.10	0.88
Greece								
Ireland	01/28	3.75	101.28	3.42	0.04	0.00	-0.28	-0.52
	05/26	1.00	95.02	3.10	0.06	0.12	0.01	0.97
Italy	02/45	2.00	76.07	3.63	0.04	-0.03	-0.05	0.78
	02/25	0.35	96.90	3.75	0.01	0.08	-0.12	0.09
	05/30	0.40	89.55	2.13	0.03	0.09	-0.07	0.69
Japan	02/49	3.45	80.00	1.85	0.05	0.02	-0.22	0.73
	04/25	0.05	99.90	0.12	0.00	-0.02	0.03	0.08
	12/29	0.10	97.55	0.51	0.02	-0.03	0.08	0.33
Netherlands	12/49	0.40	72.58	1.71	0.00	-0.11	0.01	0.28
	01/27	0.75	92.61	2.90	0.06	0.10	-0.03	0.86
	01/47	2.75	93.37	1.26	0.00	-0.03	-0.11	0.87
New Zealand	05/31	1.50	77.90	5.08	0.10	-0.12	-0.34	0.69
	08/40	2.50	114.09	3.14	0.05	-0.09	-0.23	0.74
Norway								
Poland	08/30	1.38	85.47	3.86	0.06	0.08	-0.25	0.56
	01/27	2.50	90.00	5.24	0.00	0.27	0.02	-2.05
Portugal	04/47	4.00	80.00	5.54	0.00	0.14	-0.34	-0.22
	04/27	4.13	103.21	3.12	0.05	-0.11	-0.01	0.79
Spain								
	10/29	0.60	85.10	3.40	0.07	0.10	-0.12	0.74
	10/48	2.50	79.86	4.30	0.05	0.04	-0.13	0.96
Sweden	08/30	0.13	111.00	2.04	0.04	0.00	0.01	1.56
	03/29	3.50	106.51	2.97	0.04	-0.04	-0.10	1.02
Switzerland	04/28	0.40	112.35	1.11	0.02	0.05	0.02	0.35
	06/29	0.00	94.25	1.06	0.02	0.04	-0.01	0.24
United Kingdom								
	01/27	1.25	88.98	4.21	0.06	0.04	-0.01	0.90
	01/47	1.50	53.85	4.76	0.04	-0.01	-0.16	1.26
United States								
	03/25	0.50	93.70	5.29	0.04	0.19	0.07	1.07
	02/30	1.50	82.89	4.69	0.01	0.14	0.03	0.86
	02/50	0.25	59.10	2.34	0.01	0.02	-0.13	0.61

GILTS: UK CASH MARKET

Lot #	Price ¢	Change in Yield					52 Week		Amn
		Yield	Month				High	Low	
			Day	Week	Year	Year			
0.125¢ '24	98.90	5.00	0.20	0.40	-0.79	56.74	98.98	96.10	35.50
2¢ '25	95.55	4.58	0.22	0.22	-1.93	47.27	97.27	92.80	39.80
0.125¢ '26	91.22	4.33	0.46	0.23	-0.24	36.59	92.38	87.71	35.92
1.25¢ '27	89.63	4.23	0.71	0.48	-2.76	26.85	93.30	86.03	40.90
0.5¢ '29	82.84	4.25	0.47	0.00	-2.52	27.63	87.71	78.95	28.92
1.25¢ '30	82.45	4.25	0.71	0.39	-0.75	27.16	110.24	74.34	35.80
4.25¢ '36	97.70	4.49	0.00	-1.10	-1.54	25.07	110.65	94.63	31.88
2.5¢ '37	97.21	4.72	-0.21	-0.00	-1.87	28.61	117.12	92.92	31.69
3.75¢ '52	84.65	4.74	-0.42	-1.87	-2.27	35.92	110.80	79.70	25.11
4.5¢ '54	98.21	4.64	-0.21	-0.64	-2.11	35.92	110.80	83.11	25.13

151 benchmarks & non-merging stocks
 Dispositions in millions of FTD (mln) of stock

GILTS: UK FTSE ACTUARIES INDICES

Price Indices	Nov 13	Day's chg %	Total Return	Return 1 month	Return 1 year	Yield
Up to 5 Coupon						
Up to 5 Years	81.56	-0.03	2383.54	1.64	1.42	4.39
5 - 10 Years	143.86	-0.01	3194.04	0.98	1.88	6.73
10 - 15 Years	147.74	-0.05	3500.80	0.90	-1.15	4.51
5 - 15 Years	143.50	-0.06	3196.75	0.98	-2.86	4.34
Over 15 Years	189.81	0.25	3364.30	1.84	-15.31	4.67
All stocks	128.70	0.05	2936.54	1.09	-5.77	4.56

INTEREST RATES: OFFICIAL

INTEREST RATES: OFFICIAL				
Nov 13	Rate	Current	Since	Last
US	Fed Funds	5.25-5.50	26-07-2023	5.00-5.25
US	Prime	8.50	26-01-2023	8.25
US	Discount	5.00	01-08-2023	5.25
EURO	Repo	4.50	14-09-2023	3.48
UK	Repo	5.25	03-08-2023	5.00
Japan	Overnight Call	0.00-0.10	01-02-2016	0.00
Switzerland	Libor Target	-1.25-0.25	15-01-2015	-0.75-0.25

	Over night	Day
Nov 13 (Libor: Nov 10)		

[illegible]

BOND INDICES

	Index	Day's change	Month's change	Year change	Return 1 month	Return 1 year
Markit iBoxx						
ABF Pan-Asia unhedged	203.75	-0.41	2.15	0.02	2.11	7.67
Corporates(E)	332.70	-0.24	1.67	2.96	1.90	2.99
Corporates(E)	214.56	-0.20	0.61	3.50	1.00	3.71
Giurante Sov(E)	210.17	-0.36	0.94	1.28	1.14	-2.38
Europe	261.21	-0.35	1.97	1.30	1.93	-7.19
Overall(E)	274.21	-0.32	1.81	-1.54	1.85	-4.68
Overall(E)	207.85	-0.30	0.85	1.79	1.11	-0.85

Sterling Corporate (£)

	Index	Day's change	Week's change	Month's change	Series high	Series low
CREDIT INDICES						
Market Traxx						
Crossover 5Y	404.37	-6.70	-14.06	-46.12	475.45	404.37
Europe 5Y	74.14	-1.54	-5.05	-30.19	74.14	74.14
Japan 5Y	71.83	-1.42	0.61	-4.24	80.75	70.59
Senior Financials 5Y	85.39	-1.79	-4.79	-12.50	103.71	85.39
Emerging Markets						
Crossover CDSX 5Y	211.26	-3.87	4.83	-26.10	245.20	206.43
Europe CDSX 5Y	129.86	-1.86	-1.86	-12.70	132.70	129.86

Websites: markit.com, ftse.com. All indices shown are unhedged. Currencies are shown in brackets after the index names.

	Price	Yield		Month return	Value stock	Market	No of stocks
		Nov 10	Prev				
Can 4.25% '26	106.32	2.097	2.067	0.48	5.25	67554.85	8
Y 0.10% '25	97.89	1.748	1.738	0.01	12.79	245799.82	9
Uoe 1.00% '25	128.34	1.548	1.534	0.10	35.93	230008.03	7
UK 0.125% '26	98.51	0.762	0.705	0.14	13.45	504255.91	31

JK 2.00% '35	240.44	0.800	0.818
JS 0.625% '26	95.09	2.970	2.974

	S&P 25% '28	104.51	2.540	2.547	0.33	16.78	1989727.88	48
Representative stocks from each major market source: Merrill Lynch Global Bond Indices T Local currencies. T Total market								
Percentages are market value weighted. For UK Gilt inflation factor is applied to price, for other markets it is applied to par amount.								
BONDS: TEN YEAR GOVT BONDS								
	Bid Yield	Spread vs Bond T Bonds	Spread vs Bond T Bonds		Bid Yield	Spread vs Bond T Bonds	Spread vs Bond T Bonds	
Australia	4.58	1.99	-0.10	Netherlands	2.50	0.31	-1.78	
Austria	3.12	0.52	-1.57	New Zealand	5.08	2.49	0.93	
Canada	3.89	1.30	-0.80	Norway	3.86	1.27	-0.89	
Denmark	2.80	0.21	-1.88	Portugal	3.12	0.53	-1.57	
Finland	3.08	0.49	-1.61	Spain	3.40	0.81	-1.28	
Germany	2.59	0.01	-2.10	Sweden	1.34	0.25	-3.35	
Italy	2.13	-0.46	-2.56	Switzerland	1.06	-1.53	-3.63	
Japan	0.51	-2.08	-4.18	United States	4.69	2.10	0.00	

ET FINANCIAL



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ARTS

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POP

Little Simz
Alexandra Palace, London
★★★★★

Ludovic Hunter-Tilney

Rap’s tradition of boasting acquires a different character with Little Simz. The Londoner can big herself up with the best of them, like the line in one of her songs that says, “I’m Jay-Z on a bad day, Shakespeare on my worst days.” It’s a comically over-the-top comparison, as bragging usually is in hip-hop. But Simz, aka Simbiatu Ajikawo, isn’t merely joking at such moments. She also sounds as if she’s setting herself the most strenuous possible challenge.

Her two nights at Alexandra Palace represented a hard-won victory. Simz performed with swagger at the first of these shows, but also the kind of intent that speaks of toil and sacrifice. Selling out the big London venue was a landmark moment for her. She used to go to the neighbouring ice rink as a child, and four years ago opened for the band Jungle on the same stage. “London, right now I need you to understand that you are witnessing greatness,” she announced solemnly during her set. “It took me a while but I’m finally here.”

Telling 10,000 people they’re in the presence of greatness is a large claim; made from confidence rather than arrogance, she added. Behind the statement lay the hard route to the top. In an age when the term “indie” has become a vague generic label, the 29-year-old is a genuinely independent artist. Major label deals have been turned down in favour of self-released records. Success – including the 2022 Mercury prize for her album *Sometimes I Might Be Introvert* and a role in the hit television drama *Top Boy* – has come on her own terms.

The struggle for self-belief was the topic of the opening song, “Silhouette”, from her latest album *No Thank You*. “Got here on my own,” she rapped, and also, “How could I ever doubt my



A deft display of hip-hop handography: Little Simz — Katja Ogrin/Redferns

truth?” This was a kind of self-battle rap, conducted by a solitary Simz on the capacious stage. Orchestral fanfares resounded throughout the song, an epic soundtrack for her lonely campaign.

These musical parts were pre-recorded. Silhouettes of gospel singers and orchestral musicians were shown on a long curved screen behind the rapper. She moved gracefully around the stage with microphone in hand, gesturing with the other in a deft display of hip-hop handography. Her outfit was stylishly monochrome: designer sunglasses, black bomber jacket, white untucked shirt, black tie, black cargo trousers, black and white trainers.

Camera-toting fans at the foot of the stage also wore white shirts and black ties. Simz has formed a strong bond with

This was a kind of self-battle rap, conducted by a solitary Simz on the capacious stage

her public: she manages to inspire warmth with her iron will to succeed, as well as inspiring respect. Not a sound was heard when she requested a moment’s silence for the “bleak” state of the world currently. At other points there were long periods of applause between songs as she stood in the dark lit by a single white spotlight.

The songs were mostly drawn from *No Thank You* and *Sometimes I Might Be Introvert*. Both albums were made with Dean Josiah Cover, aka Inflo, a child-

hood friend who has become one of the UK’s most distinctive producers. The music had elements of orchestral soul, vintage R&B, 1960s Afrobeat and classic hip-hop, assembled in a way that sounded contemporary rather than backward-looking. Simz’s rapping was the catalyst. She tended to use the same even tone, but her switches in pace and patterning were masterful.

She was joined by a pair of musicians on bass, guitar and keyboards for the second part of the set. Simz occasionally played guitar too, and operated a synthesiser for the evening’s only flub, a messy synth-pop version of “Protect My Energy”. Guest singer Cleo Sol appeared for hip-hop/soul number “Woman”, a high point. That song had been the set closer for the previous dates in the tour (minus Sol). But here Simz ended with an even better choice of closing number, “Gorilla”, an anthem that manages to be at once bombastic and laid-back.

“Charged up, fully bared up, I’m unleashing” were her last words. In the Shakespearean saying, some are born great, some achieve greatness and some have greatness thrust upon them. Little Simz is determined to achieve it.

littlesimz.com

Barenboim Jr pursues musical reconciliation

CLASSICAL

West-Eastern Divan Ensemble
Queen Elizabeth Hall, London
★★★★★

Richard Fairman

It was hard to avoid the images of 300,000 pro-Palestinian protesters streaming across central London on Saturday afternoon. Their march calling for a ceasefire in Gaza filled news channels and overshadowed a more modest event a couple of hours later that had a similar message at its heart.

It is salutary to be reminded that dialogue in the region is an ongoing project to be measured not in days, but decades. It was 1999 when Argentine-Israeli conductor Daniel Barenboim and Palestinian-American academic Edward Said founded the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra.

Their aim was to break down barriers by bringing together equal numbers of young Israeli and Arab musicians to play alongside each other in a spirit of mutual respect and co-operation.

Its smaller offspring, the West-Eastern Divan Ensemble, followed in 2019 to mark the orchestra’s 20th anniversary. Although it is a chamber-music group, the goals are the same, and this is the cross-border ensemble that was playing at Southbank Centre while, outside, the pro-Palestinian marchers were making their way home.

The only disruption in the hall came not from demonstrators but the more mundane problem of a faulty string, when Michael Barenboim, son of Daniel and leader of

the ensemble, had to stop Mendelssohn’s String Quintet No 2 in B Flat, Op 87, briefly to resting his violin. (He also played the viola in the concert.)

In the choice of programming, Barenboim is his father’s son, mixing core German masterpieces and intellectual contemporary music.

The 21st-century works here were three short morsels by Elliott Carter, all written when he was more than 90 years old. Each of them – one a viola solo, the others both duos – was less than five minutes and presented atonal music with concentrated argument and wit.

As he played in every item, Barenboim was the defining presence of the evening, not least because the first violin is also dominant in the Mendelssohn quintet, where he led a performance of invigorating energy.

To end, three wind players joined the ensemble, including British horn-player Ben Goldscheider, principal horn with the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra. The work was Beethoven’s Septet in E Flat, Op 20, performed with a high level of skill and spirit, earning the players a well-deserved encore in the form of a movement of Schubert’s Octet.

During his father’s recent illness, Barenboim has found himself fronting the work of the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra not only in terms of its music, but also its work for peace. Is there a plan for succession? Daniel Barenboim will be an almost impossible act to follow, but the Barenboim-Said mission needs to be kept on the road.

west-eastern-divan.org



The West-Eastern Divan Ensemble in quintet mode — Pete Woodhead

From shrapnel to sculpture

A Newcastle show of Matt Rugg’s abstract artworks brings to life his thoughtful use of rough materials.
By Jonathan McAloon

In April 1942, German bombs fell next to the childhood home of artist Matt Rugg, blowing the windows in. Over the coming days, the young boy collected shrapnel and raided abandoned, bombed-out houses for treasures. It seems as if Rugg went on to spend his 60-year career within a post-war aura of renewal and reconstruction, demonstrating all the beautiful forms shrapnel might take.

Matt Rugg: Connecting Form at Newcastle’s Hatton Gallery is the first major retrospective of the artist (1935-2020). Abstract sculpture can often seem serious and austere, perhaps even confrontational – but in the pieces gathered here, composed of a range of media, there’s a familiar, even lived-in quality. Rugg’s favoured materials are part of what surrounds us: plastic-coated wire mesh, which the artist collected when passing workmen constructing a tennis court; sheet metal which, in a 1984 untitled work, can be made to look soft and furled. Gentle, even.

The Hatton show coincides with the centenary of the first fine-art degree to be given in the UK: it was awarded at what is now Newcastle University, which houses the gallery. And it was here that, starting in 1956, Rugg took the revolutionary Basic Course offered by luminaries Victor Pasmore and Richard Hamilton. Seeking to align art-teaching with what was actually being produced by living artists, it focused on the rudiments of line and abstract form, design and industrial materials. This proved so influential that, with the agitation of Pasmore, a version of it became compulsory across all British art schools a few years later.

While a student, then a teacher, of the Basic Course, Rugg was in his element, making sculpture from industrial refuse and driftwood along the banks of the River Tyne. The work was an immediate success and, judging by the quality of

the show, immediately complete. Gallery spaces have been arranged in such a way that works from different periods, whether freestanding objects, drawings or paintings, speak to each other like long-lost companion pieces. A vocabulary of motifs and themes preoccupied Rugg – a facet that curator Harriet Sutcliffe demonstrates with real subtlety.

From as early as the 1960s, critics described Rugg’s style as half-painterly, half-sculptural. It’s not much of a leap from the inches-thick impastos Frank Auerbach was painting in the 1960s to Rugg’s early wall-mounted reliefs. Take “Boomerang” (1962), a sequence of wood pieces – some geometric, some softly curved and unctuous – arranged on a square ground, but which seem to protrude from the wall organically, like the antlers of a stag in his velvet, or bracket fungi on a log.

Nor does there appear to be much difference, in terms of texture and material, between “Painted Unit Relief” (1963), bought by the Tate two years after Rugg graduated, and the stratified canvases of Howard Hodgkin. The same can be said for “Grey Notation” (1978-79), a 3D rectangular grid of steel mesh the height and thickness of a respectable canvas, through which the white gallery wall and the shadows cast upon it become part of the effect.

Rugg was resistant even to the label of sculptor, preferring to be seen as something between sculptor, painter and draughtsman. Despite selling well since his twenties and being included in the big surveys, Rugg decided to adopt a low profile as he continued to make and teach, by this point at Chelsea School of Art. He didn’t give a solo exhibition of his work between 1970 and 2011. This has perhaps unfairly skewed received opinion about his place in the shaping of British art.

The show-stopping *Anatomy* series is presented here as the artist’s final word about form and medium. Eight galvanised steel-wire sculptures, suspended from the ceiling, appear like large, mid-air pencil drawings. Over four decades, Rugg worked with this wire, which he painstakingly manipulated by hand, twisting and binding into lengths of metal rope.

That the metres-long hanging tendrils, creepers, metal nooses and lassos of the *Anatomy* series were a product of his later phase is a testament to his vigour and commitment. Even after his death, we can see in his work how the sharp edges of a spent material might be refashioned into something bracing, positive, and forward-looking.

To January 13, hattongallery.org.uk



‘Anatomy VIII’ (2015) by Matt Rugg is woven from steel wire
Colin Davison

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FT BIG READ. CRYPTOCURRENCIES

Following the trial of Sam Bankman-Fried, the industry must choose between accepting regulation and becoming mainstream, or withdrawing to the fringes of finance.

By Scott Chipolina

Rebuild or retreat?

Hours after Sam Bankman-Fried, co-founder of FTX and poster child of the crypto industry, was convicted of fraud and money laundering, one of FTX’s venture capital backers had his say.

“Immediately after FTX collapsed, we extensively reviewed our due diligence process and evaluated our 18-month working relationship,” said Alfred Lin, partner at Sequoia Capital. “We concluded that we had been deliberately misled and lied to.”

Crypto sceptics would argue that Lin and FTX’s other mainstream backers were hardly the first to be taken in. Ever since bitcoin was created in 2009, the industry has variously been associated with illicit trading, such as the now defunct Silk Road marketplace, or business failures such as the 2014 collapse of crypto exchange Mt Gox

At the height of his power, Bankman-Fried was seen as the industry’s most likely route to respectability. In Washington, he testified before congressional committees, supported more regulation and became a major political donor. In the Bahamas, where FTX was based, Prime Minister Philip Davis championed the company as a marquee acqui-



sition as the Caribbean country’s economy sought its next economic boost.

Meanwhile, FTX secured celebrity endorsements and signed sponsorship deals with Major League Baseball, the Miami Heat basketball franchise and the International Cricket Council.

But on November 2, a 12-person New York jury needed less than five hours to reach unanimous agreement that Bankman-Fried was guilty of seven charges. “Sam Bankman-Fried perpetrated one of the biggest financial frauds in American history,” said US attorney for the Southern District of New York Damian Williams. “This kind of fraud, this kind of corruption is as old as time, and we have no patience for it.”

As crypto’s former leading light contemplates a possible lengthy jail sentence, the industry he championed could go one of two ways: either it collectively regroup and tries – all over again – to be accepted in the world of mainstream finance, or it falls back on its longstanding image as a niche market for speculators, day traders and those who fervently believe money should remain separate from the state.

For John Reed Stark, former chief of the Securities and Exchange Commission’s office of internet enforcement, the trial verdict is “a death knell” for crypto, Web 3 and blockchain. “This is an industry that has run its course,” he says. “If it all went away tomorrow, it wouldn’t impact a single person on the planet other than the speculator.”

But others believe the industry can recover from the debacle of the Bankman-Fried trial and become a part of mainstream finance. “Crypto’s public image is at an all-time low, but the industry isn’t done yet,” says Charles Storry, head of growth at crypto futures index platform Phuture.

“That the jury came back so decisively really highlights how far and how deeply a key symbol of the industry had fallen”

An inglorious history

The ignominious conclusion of Bankman-Fried’s career follows more than a decade of industry non-compliance with traditional financial rules, run-ins with regulators around the world and accusations that cryptocurrencies are used to fund terrorism and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The industry’s carbon footprint is roughly equivalent to a country the size of Ukraine.

FTX’s bankruptcy in 2022 capped off a crisis of confidence that resulted in popular digital assets such as bitcoin and ether losing over half their value. Other firms like Terraform Labs and Three Arrows Capital also collapsed.

In response, lawmakers and regulators in multiple jurisdictions stepped up their oversight of the sector to unprecedented levels during 2023. US regulators have issued a blitz of enforcement cases and lawsuits against some of the biggest crypto companies still standing. They include US-listed Coinbase – which is facing an SEC lawsuit after allegedly violating securities laws – and Binance, FTX’s great rival and the world’s largest crypto exchange. The Commodity Futures Trading Commission sued Binance, alleging it illegally



accessed US customers and knowingly facilitated potentially illegal activities.

Three months later, the SEC filed a lawsuit of its own against Binance, alleging that it had mixed customers’ cash with a separate trading firm owned by its chief executive Changpeng Zhao. Both Binance and Coinbase have denied the allegations and said they will fight their respective lawsuits.

In the wake of the October 7 atrocities, Israeli law enforcement authorities closed more than 100 Binance accounts and identified about 150 crypto donation initiatives affiliated with Hamas, prompting renewed calls for a crackdown. “This industry came to prominence after the failure of Mt Gox and the controversy of Silk Road . . . throughout its history, it has had multiple scandals,” says Charley Cooper, a former chief of staff at the CFTC.

“The majority of doctors are not defrauding the healthcare system, the majority of lawyers are not violating court ethics. The Wall Street guys, you can call them greedy, but they’re not breaking the law,” Cooper adds.

Yesha Yadav, professor of law at Vanderbilt Law School, describes Bankman-Fried’s conviction as “a monumentally important moment” that highlights how far a key symbol of the industry has fallen. “It’s hard to imagine a bigger reputational hit,” he adds.

Those working in the industry are concerned that their career prospects could be damaged as a result. One professional who contacted the Financial Times says he is “a little concerned with how being affiliated with crypto could be perceived for recruiting for traditional industries.”

He has lost money with FTX and Voyager, another crypto firm that collapsed last year. “The experience has made me a lot more conservative,” he adds.

Cryptoglasnost

After FTX filed for bankruptcy, influential voices in the sector called for a renewed focus on transparency.

Binance’s Zhao said “all crypto exchanges” should provide proof of reserves and committed his own business to “full transparency”. Days later, rival exchange OKX said it was launching its first proof of reserves “to set a new standard of transparency, risk management and user protection”.

But according to figures from industry data provider CCData, only about a third of crypto exchanges currently offer proof of reserves or alternatives, such as audited financial statements.

Those exchanges that have offered some form of financial transparency to their customers account for about 81 per cent of the market, but that is down from 86 per cent in March – and about the level it was in November 2022, when FTX went bust.

According to Jacob Joseph, research analyst at CCData, this suggests that “proof of reserves might have become less discerning to users compared to the early months after the collapse of FTX”.

James Newman, co-head of perFORM Due Diligence Services Limited, says the largest exchanges “have taken steps to bring additional transparency over the assets they hold”.

“However, there are many that have been slow in adopting proof of reserves,” he adds, saying it is “likely symptomatic of the continued dominance of retail

money held on exchanges who do not speak as one voice”.

Retail traders – individuals trading for themselves – have been instrumental in the sector’s growth. But many feel it now needs to widen its appeal. “Crypto’s survival relies on external support and belief from other industries,” says Storry. “Retail is on board, but we now need institutional backing to take the industry to the next level.”

There are signs this is happening. In the summer, payments giant PayPal became the first major financial institution to launch a US dollar-pegged crypto token. The company has offered trading in the world’s most popular cryptocurrencies since 2020, but the launch of a stablecoin – a crypto asset whose price tracks that of a more recognised asset, often a conventional currency – was a major boon for a troubled sector.

Even greater hopes for institutional backing rest on BlackRock, the world’s largest asset manager, gaining SEC approval to launch a spot bitcoin exchange traded fund. That would allow investors to speculate on bitcoin using a mainstream and regulated product.

Last month, as speculation grew over BlackRock’s application possibly being approved, bitcoin’s price surged to \$35,000, erasing all the losses it had racked up since the crypto market crisis began in May 2022.

“There are signs of entry into this industry if you know where to look: we are talking about BlackRock launching a bitcoin exchange traded fund and PayPal launching a dollar-pegged stablecoin,” says Ilan Solot, co-head of digital assets at financial services firm Marex.

But nothing is set in stone. The SEC, led by chair Gary Gensler, has so far resisted approving any such applications and may never give BlackRock – or any other candidate – the green light to take bitcoin to the mass market.

Lawmakers have also turned more circumspect. Last month, Senator Cynthia Lummis and Representative French Hill urged the Department of Justice to consider criminal charges against Binance and Tether, the largest trading exchange and the largest stablecoin issuer, respectively.

Following Hamas’s attack on Israel, more than 100 lawmakers from both major political parties in the US signed a letter urging the Biden administration to outline the steps it is taking to mitigate cryptocurrencies being used as a

Leading exchanges such as Binance and Coinbase are facing greater scrutiny, while trading levels in bitcoin have fallen since the Bankman-Fried conviction

FT montage/Bloomberg

means of financing terrorism.

“It’s going to be harder to get legislation passed in the US, and there will now be a colder reception in Congress,” says one crypto industry lobbyist in Washington. It remains to be seen in 2024, whether Coinbase and Binance are as willing – or even as able – to lobby regulators and politicians as FTX once was.

Back to first principles

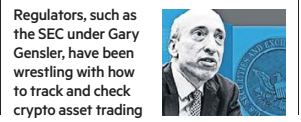
The irony of crypto’s push for respectability is not lost on Reed Stark, the ex-SEC executive. “All of these crypto guys are now crying out for a bitcoin ETF, but started the bitcoin project because they were upset about the 2008 banking crisis. They were upset about the government being able to surveil their financial transactions,” he points out.

“So what do they do? They rally around one of the biggest financial services companies in the world because there’s nothing left. It’s the ultimate hypocrisy,” he adds.

But while many in the industry pin their hopes on a mainstream future, another branch would prefer crypto to go back to its roots. Erik Voorhees, founder of crypto platform ShapeShift and an unabashed libertarian, last month issued a rallying cry to those faithful to the original crypto cause.

“Why do we accept this world in which we are free to transact only on the conditional approval of strangers?” he asked. “This of course is not freedom. It is subservience, it is serfdom, and that the chains bear lightly down in most cases should not lull us into forgetting that the chains exist.”

Instead of walking head first into an increasingly hostile crowd of regulators and lawmakers, Voorhees and others want the industry to go back to first principles: permissionless finance that stands as an explicit rejection of the establishment, government oversight



and unelected regulators. “What prevents the man of tomorrow from even greater servitude? We do . . . we are building the economic defence of modern society against plunder and restriction by the state, we are saying no to the perpetual encroachment of permissioned existence,” he added.

Balaji Srinivasan, author, investor and former chief technology officer at Coinbase, launched the Network State conference last month in a bid to “build the parallel establishment”.

Speakers at the event in Amsterdam included Vitalik Buterin and Anatoly Yakovenko – the minds behind the popular ethereum and solana crypto blockchains, respectively – and the Winklevoss twins – who founded the Gemini crypto exchange.

“This is a meeting of all the people building the parallel establishment. That’s more than parallel money. It’s parallel media, parallel education, parallel science, parallel construction, even parallel cities,” Srinivasan said.

After the demise of crypto’s former poster boy, the decision to retreat from a losing battle with lawmakers and regulators may be tempting, but it is a decision that risks undermining a market that is already thinly traded.

At the start of 2023, it would have required the purchase of more than 1,400 bitcoins – about \$23mn at the time – to move the price of the token by more than 1 per cent, according to numbers shared by data provider CCData.

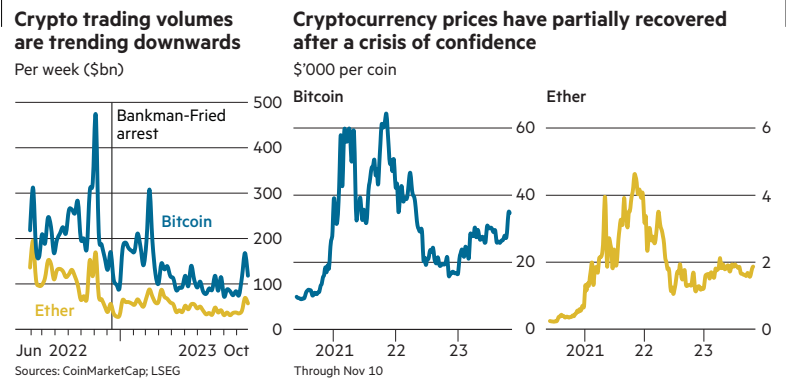
But by the end of April, it would have taken only 462 bitcoins – then worth about \$13mn – to achieve the same market movement. This was the lowest point of market depth for bitcoin and tether, the world’s largest stablecoin, since May 2022.

Today’s numbers have improved, but still do not portray a widely traded market with retail momentum and fresh money coming in; it would now take 752 bitcoins, worth about \$26mn, to move the price of the coin.

Solot, of Marex, says Bankman-Fried’s guilty verdict “has been priced in for a long time”. But, he adds, “if this proved to be the major fork in the road where crypto adoption slowed down or even failed, the risk . . . is that you would only have internal money sloshing around in the market, and it basically atrophies.”

“There would be no new money, there would be no growth.”

‘Retail is on board, but we now need institutional backing to take the industry to the next level’



The FT View



Cameron’s return reflects a vacuum in strategy

Sacking Braverman was overdue but re-embrace of ex-premier is a gamble

Just six weeks ago, Rishi Sunak proclaimed himself to be a “change” prime minister who would break with 30 years of failed consensus. Now he is bringing back as foreign secretary a man who was Conservative premier for six of the past 13 years. The return of David Cameron — despite how his premiership ended and the controversies he has attracted since — at least injects some heft into a cabinet of lightweights. The ejection of Suella Braverman, who as home secretary was both inflammatory and inept, is similarly positive. Even if this reshuffle raises the quality of the team, however, it represents yet another switch in direction for a government that is thrashing around in search of a strategy.

Sunak, in truth, waited too long to sack Braverman. With her talk of “hur-

ricanes” of migrants, of “failed” multiculturalism, of “hate” marches and of homelessness as a “lifestyle choice”, she habitually engaged in ugly, dog-whistle politics. Her publication of an opinion article last week accusing police of favouritism towards left-wing protesters, not cleared by Downing Street, amounted to open defiance. She clashed with her own department and achieved little in “stopping the boats” from crossing the Channel or improving the handling of asylum-seekers.

Moving James Cleverly from foreign secretary to replace Braverman at the Home Office seems to have been motivated largely by a need to open the right slot for Cameron. But if the Supreme Court rules this week against the plan Braverman championed to deport asylum-seekers to Rwanda, his appointment could at least lessen frictions inside government. Braverman may call for Britain to leave the European Convention on Human Rights, which Cleverly is said to be against.

The strange re-embrace of Cameron seems to represent a return to presenting the Sunak government as a competent, stabilising force — after September’s dalliance with “radicalism” — and a tacking back towards the political centre. It is unlikely to convince.

Cameron and Sunak are not aligned on many policies. The former premier made the Conservatives electable again in 2010, embracing green issues and same-sex marriage and steering them away from being the “nasty party”. Today’s prime minister has sometimes seemed closer in his social conservatism to Braverman. He has recently watered down net zero targets, and scrapped a high-speed rail link to Manchester, moves that Cameron has criticised.

While Cameron was said to have worn the mantle of high office with ease, his gamble on a Brexit referendum he believed he could win backfired on a historic scale. He can also claim few successes on the foreign policy front. The 2011 intervention he backed in Libya left

The move injects some heft into a cabinet of lightweights but Sunak and his predecessor are not aligned on many policies

the country close to being a failed state. He was dovish towards China — which his party now sees as a growing threat. After leaving office, Cameron’s lobbying for Greensill Capital led to his being accused of a serious lack of judgment.

His return to government seems destined to set up a bruising clash with the Tory right, for whom the sacked Braverman may become a figurehead. A flaring of internecine struggles will make it all the harder for Sunak to woo back centrist voters and convince them he has any credible programme. Many will in any case see the latest reorganisation of cabinet chairs as the last gasp of an administration that is out of ideas.

The UK system grants governments some flexibility over election timing. Downing Street’s instinct will be to hold on as long as possible in hope of an unlikely turnaround in fortunes. Many beyond the parliamentary Tory party will rightly feel that the sooner the British people are given a chance to express their views at the ballot box, the better.

Opinion Warfare

Ukraine’s naval battle evokes America’s past



Rose Gottemoeller

When I was ten, I got into reading about naval strategy and tactics — I really liked a book I had on Horatio Nelson. My hands-down favourite, however, was *Sea Captain from Salem* by Leonard Wibberley, the tale of a fishing captain with the unlikely name of Peace of God Manly.

He was recruited by Benjamin Franklin to convince the French that the infant US could harry mighty Britain near its own shores. And so he did, taking on the British Navy so successfully that — according to the story — the French ponied up needed military assistance. The rest of this history is well-known: the French fleet helped the US to defeat Britain once and for all in 1781, at the Battle of Yorktown.

I haven’t read the book for sixty years, but I’ve been thinking about it a

delivery vehicles, using everything from jet skis to inflatable boats to unmanned watercraft to attack Russian positions. And they have launched attacks against president Vladimir Putin’s signature project, the Kerch Strait Bridge linking Crimea with the mainland. The Russians are struggling to defend it.

Thus, the Ukrainians have succeeded in hampering not only Russian naval operations out of Crimea, but also threatened military logistics. Sevastopol’s role as a warehouse hub that supplies Russian invaders has been weakened.

The Ukrainians have used this to their advantage, opening a shipping corridor after the Russians suspended the UN-sponsored grain deal in July. Of course, these shipments are not without risk. On November 8, a Russian missile struck a Liberian-flagged cargo vessel at Odesa, killing the Ukrainian pilot and injuring several crew members. However, Ukrainian authorities insist that the corridor remains open. In a November 9 report, the Ministry of Restoration stated that six fully loaded vessels had left Odesa that day, and five more were waiting to enter the port. Since August, they reported, 91 vessels have shipped 3.3mn tons of agricultural and metal products from Ukrainian ports. This volume is significant, given Russian attacks on Ukrainian port infrastructure.

These food exports help sustain Ukraine’s economy but they also help hungry people across the globe. Ukraine’s “mosquito navy” is owed a debt of gratitude for making this happen. But they cannot do it all on their own. The air and missile defences that the US and its Nato allies have provided, combined with Ukraine’s missile defences, deny Russia air superiority over both Ukrainian territory and its Black Sea littoral. In this way, commercial shipping is defended from the air until it reaches the waters adjacent to Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey, Nato countries which Russia dares not attack.

Which brings me back to the sea captain from Salem. He succeeded in harrying the mighty British navy in their own waters. The reward was French military assistance, including a naval fleet, which was decisive in beating the British.

The scrappy Ukrainians are taking on a superior force and succeeding in controlling it. To sustain that control, they need our continuing help. This should not be difficult for Americans to understand — it is as much our experience as theirs. It is the history of our revolt against the British and the birth of our nation.

The writer is a lecturer at Stanford University and former deputy secretary-general of Nato

Letters

US global leadership is on the line in next year’s election

I understand Martin Wolf’s concerns about a second Donald Trump administration (“A Trump win would change the world”, Opinion, November 8). Wolf is right that, in his first term, Trump initially picked traditional Republicans as advisers for foreign policy and defence, which slowed Trump down. A Trump 2.0 administration would start with Trumpian true-believers, a scary thought.

However, I am not sure whether a post-Biden Democratic party is going to

be all that much better, other than perhaps on climate and in tone. Biden’s former boss, Barack Obama, left a mess in Libya in 2011 while “leading from behind” and then failed to follow up on his own redline against Syria’s use of poison gas in 2013. When Russia invaded Ukraine in 2014, Obama wouldn’t even give them anti-tank weapons and left the problem to Europe to solve. We know how that worked out.

The growing progressive wing of the Democratic party doubts whether we

have the moral authority to lead. Plus they care more about increasing social programmes in the US than spending on defence. While Biden is of a generation that wants to lead and thinks we should help defend Ukraine and Israel, and Taiwan, even he isn’t proposing the level of defence spending we need to actually do that.

As for Trump’s 10 per cent across-the-board tariff, how much different are the various subsidies and made-in-America programmes that Biden has passed? They don’t sound as bad, but

the substance and misplaced selfishness is much the same.

What the US needs is a leader who can explain to the American people why we need to take the lead in foreign policy, defence and trade. And why it is for our benefit, as well as the world’s, for us to do so.

It took world war two to produce such leaders the last time. Let us hope that it won’t take another such catastrophe to do it again.

Patrick J Allen
River Forest, IL, US

Catalan amnesty only fuels its sense of entitlement

What the editorial “Amnesty for Catalan secessionists is a gamble worth taking” (FT View, November 7) failed to address is the core of the “Catalan issue”, which is none other than the region’s sense of entitlement. The fledgling and feeble return to democracy in Spain some 40-plus years ago was legally and territorially structured to appease all potential voices of discontent in a nascent and unassertive society. The result was a decentralised unitary state which entitled certain regions, particularly Catalonia and the Basque country, to ample devolution and electoral powers.

They were always needed to establish a parliamentary majority. That allowed small nationalist parties, with the collusion of mainstream ones, over decades to hold the national balance of power and in doing so harvest levels of devolution and privileges unheard of in any western democracy or in potentially secessionist regions like Scotland.

The current episode ups the ante with a challenge to the constitutional



order and the equality of all Spaniards before the law. But the problem will not be solved with yet more concessions. The editorial dubbed it an “expedient policy”, but there is no solution to a systemic sense of entitlement.

Andrés Núñez-Lagos
Madrid, Spain

It’s time western donors rewrote their Africa script

David Pilling’s article on the need for big ideas in Africa (“Small isn’t beautiful when it comes to development”, Opinion, November 6) was music to my ears.

Africa has been failed by the development community, which has been too enamoured by the romance of small and medium-sized enterprises and smallholder farming — neither of which were ever deployed by any middle or high-income country as a route to development.

The reality is most African countries today aim to replicate China’s development pathway of state-led industrialisation, open markets but authoritarian government.

To remain relevant, western donors must entirely rewrite the development script and remember how their own paths to riches were paved with infant industry protections and extensive government intervention.

A narrow and transparent focus on key infrastructure and pro-market regulation would avoid millions of donor cash being siphoned off into

Swiss bank accounts (a phenomenon openly admitted by the World Bank!), and ensure that sub-Saharan Africans can live lives of dignity and promise.

Emily Brearley
Founder and Chief Executive, Solution42.Org, Washington, DC, US

Electoral bonds are far from a boon for India’s PM

Martin Staniforth suggests that “it is because Narendra Modi’s Bharatiya Janata party is losing state elections that it is introducing electoral bonds with the aim of reversing the trend”, (Letters, November 8).

Unfortunately (for him), there is just a small problem with this thesis: these bonds, which allow individuals or companies to anonymously donate money to a political party, were introduced in the Budget speech in February 2017, and became effective in the financial year 2017-18.

As the BJP has lost more state elections than it has won since then, the policy seems to have been anything but a boon for Modi’s party.

Gopi Krishna Maliwal
Central, Hong Kong

OUTLOOK MIDWEST

Can the secrets of living to 100 translate to ordinary urban life?



by Patti Waldmeir

don’t want to live forever — but 100 sounds like a nice round number. Apparently, I’m not alone: *Live to 100: Secrets of the Blue Zones*, the Netflix documentary that chronicles rare corners of the world where people live the longest and happiest lives, hit the Netflix global top 10 list soon after it was released in August.

Of course, the quest for immortality is as long as human history, but this really is different. Dan Buettner, the National Geographic fellow who has spent decades researching and popularising the concept of Blue Zones, is trying to “reverse engineer” longevity — not by mixing an elixir or scaring people into better habits, but by changing the physical and social environments that kill them too early.

I was raised in one such environment: the public transport desert of a 1960s American suburb. In the US Midwest where I now live, it still takes effort to be healthy: I drive every day, because I can. Living for eight years as the FT’s Shanghai correspondent, when a licence plate cost more than a car, I couldn’t afford not to take the bus. So a lot of walking was built into my daily routine.

That is perhaps the chief longevity insight from Buettner’s Netflix study of five Blue Zones: move every day, preferably because you don’t have a choice. His zones were Okinawa, Japan; Sardinia, Italy; Ikaria, Greece; Nicoya, Costa Rica, and Loma Linda, California, and he says a long life is more about environment than

behaviour. Buettner boils it down to this: move naturally; eat beans; stay connected; drink alcohol and eat in moderation; have a reason to live.

But do these longevity secrets travel from a hilly Sardinian village to flat Midwestern plains? Can we recreate the social and cultural cohesion of an isolated island in politically, racially and culturally divided America?

Plenty of US towns seem tempted to try: 75 North American communities have set up Blue Zones projects since the first one in 2009 in Albert Lea, Minnesota, a town of 18,000 people. And not a moment too soon: US life expectancy is dropping and fell to 76.1 years in 2021, the lowest since 1996.

Cathy Malakowsky, Blue Zones project lead for Albert Lea, took me to see rubbish bins that double as bike racks, bumped-out sidewalks that help pedestrian safety and completed walkways that used to “lead nowhere”. “It’s about small steps, a little bit at a time,” she says. According to a 2018 case study, Albert Lea residents have enjoyed a 2.9-year increase in projected lifespan and \$8.6mn in healthcare cost savings since 2009.

But Jennifer Furler, a national project leader for US Blue Zones, says that lifespan is based on self-reported results from the group’s “true vitality” test. I took that test, and it predicted my healthy lifespan to be 68 — my current age. And despite changing Albert Lea’s built environment, downtown streets were still empty at lunchtime on a work day. At the Hy-Vee supermarket, which boasted

a “Blue Zones” checkout when the project was launched, staff say that is “long in the past”.

That doesn’t mean nothing has changed. Dr Sumit Bhagra, medical director for Mayo Clinic Health System in Albert Lea, tells me it’s “a step in the right direction”, adding “20 per cent of people in any population have a yearning for change but not the structure for change” — and that’s where Blue Zones can help.

Joan Wichmann, from one of Albert Lea’s original “walking moai” support groups — a Okinawa concept — says she walks daily with another member, and adds “you have to make it fun”. But Okinawans didn’t walk for “fun” — they walked because they had to.

Gina Lovasi, urban health expert at Drexel University, is cautiously optimistic about Blue Zones, which are funded by a mix of state and local governments, or grants from health systems. But, she asks, “will it ever be incorporated into the identity of the people of Albert Lea, when the origin story came from somewhere else?” People won’t start cutting their grass by hand with a machete just because it’s healthier, she notes.

I want to live to 100 — but not as much as I want to use a robot vacuum cleaner instead of a broom. Humans are hard to change: and a few recipes from Sardinia and insights from Okinawa may not do much to alter that, at least in my lifetime.

The writer is a contributing columnist, based in Chicago

Opinion

Sunak reshuffle shows a government running on empty



This week Rishi Sunak is mainly defying the Tory right. The prime minister’s recent political strategies have had the lifespan of a mayfly but, with his latest reshuffle, he appears to have reached an important and accurate conclusion — there is no point in trying to appease unbiddable hardliners who never wanted him there in the first place.

By sacking Suella Braverman as home secretary, and bringing back David Cameron as foreign secretary, Sunak has ensured that the top three jobs in his government are now in the hands of centre-right pragmatists, even if the older all-male line-up hardly projects the image of change he seeks to claim.

The message many Tories will take

from the sacking of Braverman and the second coming of Cameron is that the prime minister has broken with the hardliners and culture warriors who are alienating moderate Tory voters. The new health secretary, Victoria Atkins, is likewise from the liberal wing of the party.

If there is a political strategy here, it suggests the party is now more concerned about the loss of liberal-leaning southern voters than Leave-minded northern ones — though whether any of these will view Cameron as a welcome return must be debatable. Sunak himself will see this reshuffle as about replacing underperformers.

It remains to be seen how committed he is to defying his right flank on policy issues like net zero, immigration and culture wars. The risk is that by defenestrating the standard bearer of the right in cabinet, he has unleashed a determined angry caucus who will destabilise his premiership as part of a push to seize the leadership after the election. Braverman, too, will not go quietly.

Even so, her sacking was inevitable and overdue. Sunak never really wanted

her at the top of his cabinet. Her appointment was the grubbiest of the grubby deals forced on him to secure the leadership. While they did disagree on some issues — such as the levels of legal migration and whether or not to leave the European Convention on Human Rights — the real problems were her intemperate remarks, failure to work as

The Tory right may see it as the excuse to go into total opposition to a leader there on sufferance

a team player and ineffectual performance as home secretary.

Braverman may have believed what she was saying but she was also playing a double game against both the prime minister and her own department, while positioning herself for a future leadership election and alienating moderates. The final straw was her attacks on the police over the pro-Palestine march, which critics say also embold-

ened the far-right violence around the Cenotaph last weekend.

Her replacement, James Cleverly, has won admirers as foreign secretary for his basic diplomatic skills and pragmatic approach. A longstanding Brexiter, Cleverly is also a team player, a figure from the centre-right and an opponent of the UK leaving the ECHR.

But it is Cameron’s return which has really caught Westminster by surprise. The case for the former prime minister is that he is experienced, serious and with a grasp of world affairs. Against this, the list of his foreign policy achievements is pretty short. His Brexit negotiations were calamitous for his cause. He was also badly damaged by the Greensill lobbying scandal, which may partially explain his desire to ensure a different final chapter for his political career.

Cameron’s past views on a number of key issues will alienate many Tory MPs. He opposed the cut in the overseas aid budget, he fought Brexit and, perhaps most contentiously among his colleagues, he pushed the policy of closer engagement with China. While his party was becoming ever more hawkish, Cam-

eron was working on plans for a UK-China investment fund. His return also links Sunak with the period of Tory austerity many would prefer to forget.

This then is a reshuffle which has improved the top of the government but highlighted its core weakness. The need to reach back into the past for a foreign secretary suggests a government running on fumes. These changes also suggest that Sunak will eschew an early election. It is hard to imagine Cameron returning for just a few months.

The Tory right does not take rebuffs with equanimity. It may see this as the excuse to go into total opposition to a leader who was there on sufferance and who they do not see as a true Conservative. While a direct leadership challenge remains unlikely, Sunak must know the risk he has taken. If he is lucky he will have significantly improved his government, albeit very late in the day. If not he will have unleashed the malevolent forces which destroyed most of his predecessors. And so far Sunak has not been lucky.

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America’s economy looks resilient — but it may not last



There has been much comment on the current resilience of the US economy. Gross domestic product grew 2.9 per cent over the 12 months to Q3, while employment growth remains strong (non-farm payrolls up 150,000 in October) and unemployment low (3.9 per cent).

This resilience seems surprising given that it comes in the face of the largest cumulative increase in official interest rates in 40 years: the fed funds rate has been hiked by 525 basis points since March 2022 — 425 points in 2022 and 100 this year.

The quantitative effects of monetary policy — both in magnitude and timing — are notoriously uncertain. That said, a central rule of thumb is that each percentage point increase in official interest rates reduces aggregate demand by 1 percentage point, with the major effect coming in the following year. On that basis, the effects of the monetary tightening to date would reduce GDP by around 4 per cent this year, with a further 1 per cent or so in 2024, relative to what it would have been otherwise.

Some estimates are higher. A recent study by the Chicago Fed, which takes into account both actual and expected interest rate changes, calculates that by Q3 this year the Federal Reserve’s tightening has pushed real GDP down by 5.4 percentage points, with a further 3.1 percentage point reduction to come by the end of 2024.

However, the effects of monetary policy, though important, are only part of the story: the other and much more

Monetary policy is only part of the story. The much more neglected element is fiscal policy

neglected element is fiscal policy. And this has been imparting a quantitatively important effect in the opposite direction. At the moment it has two principal elements.

The first, and smaller, of these is the tail-end of the big fiscal boost during the pandemic. Donald Trump’s 2020 and 2021 stimulus cheques, which totalled some \$814bn, or around 3 per cent of current GDP, initially went largely unspent. Subsequently, households started to run these excess savings down, but there is still a significant stock left — in August the San Francisco Fed put the value at some \$500bn, or nearly 2 per cent of GDP. It is unclear how fast these unprecedented excess savings will be spent. The San Francisco Fed expects that “those funds could be available to support personal spending at least into the fourth quarter of 2023”.

The second fiscal policy element is a large expansion in government spending due to a variety of programmes this year. The size of the impulse, estimated on the basis of IMF calculations, is around 2 percentage points of US GDP. And the final effect on aggregate demand stands to be somewhat larger.

Taking all these influences into account, the present resilience of the US economy does not look very surprising. The negative influence of monetary policy by 4 to 5 per cent of GDP is being offset in large part by this year’s fiscal expansion and the running-down of the remaining excess savings cushion.

Next year may well be another matter, however. The spending of excess savings will largely be over and fiscal policy moves into restrictions of around 1 per cent of GDP. Meanwhile the delayed effects of the last two years of monetary tightening stand to be -1 per cent to -3 per cent of GDP.

Of course, policy settings could change. But with the present fiscal deficit approaching 6 per cent of GDP, and given the mood of Congress, any major reversal of fiscal policy in the US looks unlikely. Monetary policy could well ease, particularly if inflation falls sharply, and indeed the market expects the Fed to cut rates by 1.4 percentage points over the coming two years. But even if they do, bond yields, now standing at 4.6 per cent for the 10-year, are likely to prove a dampener on demand.

Either way, we can expect 2024 to bring less talk about the surprising resilience of the US economy.

The writer, a founding partner of Independent Economics, was formerly head of economic forecasting at the OECD

China, Russia, Iran and odds of a US retreat



Joe Biden is not just an old guy. He is also a representative of an old idea — one that dates back to the 1940s.

The US president believes that his nation and the wider world are safer if the US plays the role of world policeman. He argued recently that: “American leadership is what holds the world together. American alliances are what keep us, America, safe . . . To put all that at risk if we walk away from Ukraine, if we turn our backs on Israel, it’s just not worth it.”

The world view that Biden articulated stretches back to the end of the second world war — when the American elite concluded that the isolationism of the 1930s had aided the rise of Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan. The Washington security establishment decided that it would not make that mistake again.

From Harry Truman to Barack Obama, every US president based their foreign policy on a network of global alliances — in particular Nato and the US-Japan security treaty. When he became president, Donald Trump partly broke with this consensus — by treating key allies like Germany and Japan as ungrateful freeloaders.

As president, Biden returned to the traditional alliance-based American approach. But it is possible that he will be the last US leader who wholeheartedly embraces the idea of America as “liberal hegemon” — the academic term for world policeman.

The prospect of the return of Trump to the White House next year raises a huge question mark over the future of America’s global leadership. In his first term, he flirted with pulling the US out of Nato. In a second term, he might actually go through with it. Indeed, if he pursued the most radical version of his “America First” ideology, a second Trump administration could see a complete break with the idea that it is in America’s interests to underpin the security arrangements in three of the most strategic regions in the world — Europe, Northeast Asia and the Persian Gulf.

In each of these regions, America now faces an active challenger — eager to see it depart. In Europe, that challenger is Russia; in Asia it is China; in the Middle East it is Iran. Russia has invaded Ukraine. China has built military bases across the South China Sea and threatens Taiwan. Iran uses proxies such as Hizbollah, Hamas and the Houthis rebels in Yemen to challenge America’s friends across the region.

If the US seriously scaled back its military commitments around the world, China, Russia and Iran would all try to take advantage of the resulting power vacuum. In the meantime, the three countries are working together more



closely. They all eagerly promote the idea of a “multipolar world” — code for an end to American hegemony.

In the US itself, the bipartisan consensus in favour of activist global leadership is visibly fraying. In 2016, the year that Trump was elected, an opinion poll showed 57 per cent of Americans agreeing that the US should “deal with its own problems and let others deal with their own problems the best they can.”

Trump began the process of withdrawing America from Afghanistan and Biden completed it. But Biden then sought to reassert US global leadership, through support for Ukraine and Taiwan — and in his response to the Israel-Gaza war.

By contrast Trump and other leading Republicans, such as Ron DeSantis,

It is increasingly difficult to play the role of global policeman in three major regions simultaneously

have turned against aid to Ukraine. The Republicans remain solid in their support for Israel. But the left of the Democratic Party is increasingly hostile. Opinion surveys show that the American public is increasingly suspicious of China. But whether that would translate into a willingness to fight for Taiwan is open to question.

There are also practical constraints. As security tensions rise around the world, the US is finding it increasingly difficult to play the role of policeman in three major regions simultaneously. One of the reasons that the Biden administration has been relatively stingy in supplying Ukraine with long-range missiles may be that the Pentagon wants to hold back some of its stock — in case they are needed for Taiwan. Ramping up defence spending is also not straightforward, when the US is running a budget deficit of 5.7 per cent of GDP and the national debt stands at 123 per cent of GDP.

There has long been a school of thought in academia that the US should seriously cut back its military commit-

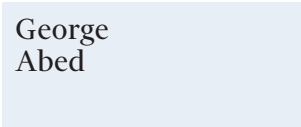
ments overseas. Professors John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt have argued that when it comes to maintaining the balance of power in Europe, the Middle East and Asia — “Washington should pass the buck to regional powers.”

The difficulty is that the regional powers to whom America would pass the buck are ill-equipped to check the regional ambitions of Russia, China and Iran on their own. A Nato alliance without the US would look ineffective at best — and might collapse at worst. Israel and Saudi Arabia would struggle to contain Iran, without US power in the background. Japan, South Korea, the Philippines and Australia would face similar problems with China in Asia.

The consequences of an American retreat from the world would probably be felt last in the US itself. But, as the post-1945 generation understood, even America would eventually be threatened by the rise of undemocratic and expansionist powers in Europe, Asia or the Middle East.

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The world must start preparing for peacemaking in the Middle East



The horrific scenes on October 7, when Hamas attacked towns in Israel, and the terrible sight of devastated neighbourhoods in Gaza are a far cry from that sunny day in September 1993 when Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO leader Yasser Arafat shook hands on the South Lawn of the White House. Overseen by a beaming Bill Clinton, this was a historic moment of peacemaking.

Sadly, Rabin and Arafat are no longer with us and both Israelis and Palestinians are so much the worse off for it. The unprecedented level of death and destruction that has marked this latest episode of the conflict makes the task of peacemaking urgent and a humanitarian imperative. For no matter what happens once hostilities cease, there must never be a return to the status

quo ante that precipitated this tragedy.

While the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has ebbed and flowed since the signing of the Oslo Accords, its recent violent eruption has its roots in the failure by both parties to will the peace they had signed up for.

On the Palestinian side, the performance of the Palestinian Authority in establishing the essential foundations for what was intended to become a modern, democratic state fell far short of what was hoped for. Meanwhile, an increasingly repressive Israeli occupation in the West Bank fed the build-up of deep frustrations on the Palestinian side and removed any remaining faith in faltering negotiations. In Gaza, a stifling, 17-year blockade only deepened the impoverishment and misery of its 2.3mn inhabitants and created the conditions for the rise of a militant Hamas.

Israel, being by far the more powerful of the two antagonists, and the state occupying and dominating the lives of another people, must bear the larger share of responsibility for the demise of the “peace process”. Since the assassination of Rabin at the hands of an Israeli

extremist in 1995, politics in Israel have shifted relentlessly rightward, culminating in the formation of the most extreme coalition government in the country’s history following the last round of elections. The new coalition rejects the two-state solution and has unabashedly encouraged settler violence in the occupied West Bank with a view to ultimately annexing the area.

International pressure is already building to finally address the root causes of the conflict

which, if not ideal, remains the least bad option.

Still, before anyone jumps to premature conclusions, all stakeholders in the conflict, above all Israel and the Palestinians, have an enormous amount of work to do.

On the Israeli side, Netanyahu and his allies on the right cannot make peace. Therefore, through its own traditions and political processes, Israel will need to come up with a government that believes in the two-state solution and is willing to make compromises to attain this outcome.

On the Palestinian side, the political ground has to be cleared of any party that does not accept mutual recognition and a two-state solution. Israel’s announced war aim of eliminating Hamas is ambiguous and, in the end, may not be achievable. Israel alone cannot eliminate Hamas. Hamas can be neutralised as a military threat, and likely diminished as a political force, only by a vote of the Palestinian people. But such a vote will need to take place when Palestinians see credible prospects for a better life of freedom,

dignity and economic wellbeing.

Following the cessation of hostilities, a transformation of the current governance structure in both the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip will be essential. This will require fundamental political reforms to create a democratically elected, representative Palestine government that will then participate in revived, internationally supervised and this time credible negotiations, governed by a firm commitment to achieving peace within an agreed timeframe.

The implementation of such a scheme will require the full and robust commitment of the members of the UN Security Council, especially the US, as well as that of partners in the region — for both financing the massive reconstruction in Gaza and for the transitional security arrangements that will need to be put in place. Without this, an escape from the escalating violence and a return to peacemaking will be impossible.

The writer is a former governor of the Palestine Monetary Authority and ex-director of the Middle East and Central Asia department at the IMF

Twitter: @FTLex

UK M&A laws: butterflies mind

Flip-flops look good on a beach but bad in politics. So it is easy to see why the UK’s plan to pare recently introduced powers to screen foreign takeovers is inspiring snarky comments. This seems like the umpteenth attempt to revive London’s moribund stock market, this time by making M&A easier.

The Takeover Panel, the UK’s statutory mergers and acquisitions umpire, has slipped into a loss. It is financed by fees on deals and filings. City types blame red tape for sapping animal spirits. The government obligingly ditched beefed-up governance legislation last week. Deal doers should also welcome changes to the National Security and Investment Act. This was too broad when it came into force in 2022. Mooted changes appear sensible enough, even amid rising geopolitical tensions.

The NSI is similar in inspiration to US Cfius national security legislation and some EU laws. Any buyer who acquires significant control – say 25 per cent – of a company operating in any of 17 strategic sectors must notify the authorities. The government can also review virtually any transaction it feels concerned about, even if it falls outside designated sectors.

Oddly, the NSI lacks a minimum size threshold. Even the acquisition of a company with no revenue falls under its remit. Buyers do not need to be foreign – even internal reorganisations are caught in the net. As a result, in the year to March 2023, there were 866 notifications. That is almost double annual notifications in the US, points out Veronica Roberts, a partner at law firm Herbert Smith Freehills.

Less than 2 per cent of those deals required conditions or were prohibited, according to analysis by Ian Giles, a partner at Norton Rose Fulbright. In contrast, almost 15 per cent of deals reviewed across the EU were either mitigated, prohibited or withdrawn.

That suggests that the UK net catches too large a flock of butterflies. Careful rewording should hone the NSI’s scope, reducing the legal costs of companies and investors. It would, however, be foolish to imagine that nervous tinkering will have any impact

on M&A and stock market valuations. London has been enervated by Brexit, witch hunts against business and economic uncertainty. A government with little hope of reviving itself has no hope of reviving the City of London.

US meat producers: stick a fork in it

Plant-based meat substitutes were supposed to topple King Beef. But high prices and concerns about excessive processing meant sales have not matched the hype. At the same time, higher interest rates have sapped investor appetite for funding the loss-making sector.

Beef is finding that the biggest threat is coming from itself. Beef prices in the US are at a record high. Years of drought have made cattle more expensive to raise. So have higher labour and fuel costs.

These factors prompted ranchers to send animals to slaughter instead of keeping them for breeding. The US cattle herd is the smallest since 1962. Beef production is expected to decline this year and next.

Paying more for cattle is eating up meat producers’ profitability. Their ability to pass on higher costs to consumers is limited. Shoppers are trading down. They are preferring ground beef, chicken or pork to high-margin sirloin steaks.

Tyson Foods is feeling the squeeze. Operating margins at its beef business, its largest unit, was a negative 6.4 per cent for the fiscal fourth quarter that ended on September 30.

Record beef prices and the strong dollar has also made exports to other countries less attractive. The pressure is not expected to let up soon. Tyson’s \$333mn impairment charge on the beef business during the quarter hints as much.

Chicken and pork – which suffered from lower market prices – offered little support. Tyson swung into a loss of \$450mn for the quarter on a 2.8 per cent decline in sales.

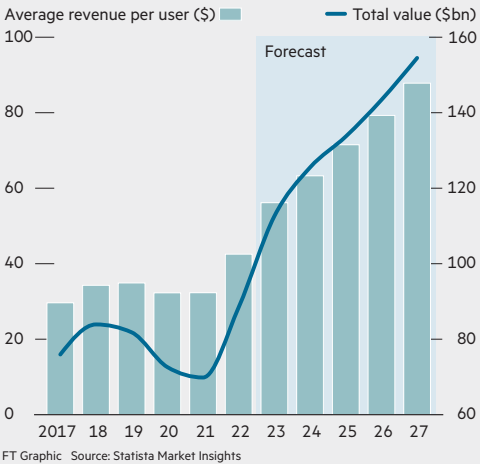
JBS, the Brazilian meat packer, has also seen margins fall sharply for its US beef business. Shares in Tyson and JBS have fallen about 29 per cent and 24 per cent over the past 12 months.

JBS is more diversified profile, but trades at a discount to Tyson on a price

DiDi: hail and hearty

The Chinese ride-hailing market is experiencing steady growth. DiDi Global’s shares have suffered compared with peers following a government crackdown. Elevated youth unemployment supplies Chinese ride-hailing groups with plentiful gig workers.

Chinese ride hailing market



DiDi Global is making a comeback. The Chinese ride-hailing group has posted its first profit since Beijing crackdowns in 2021. Then, regulators probed its data handling and forced a delisting in New York, where it briefly had a valuation above \$80bn. The latest earnings numbers boost the outlook for a Hong Kong listing.

Net income was Rmb107mn (\$14.7mn) on revenues that rose by a quarter to Rmb51.4bn in the third quarter, DiDi said yesterday. This follows a sales jump of more than 52 per cent in the June quarter.

That was quite a feat. DiDi only resumed registration of new users in January after an 18-month ban by Beijing. That gap not only put the brakes on sales growth but allowed

rivals such as Meituan to eat into its market share in the hyper-competitive Asian ride-hailing industry.

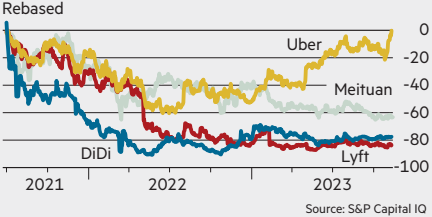
DiDi had a market share of more than 90 per cent before crackdowns started. Since then, competition has surged, with more than 300 ride-hailing apps operating in China. The fallout from the crackdown lingers. DiDi shares have gained around 40 per cent in the over-the-counter market from their May low. But a market value of around \$17bn is a fraction of what DiDi was worth in 2021.

Still, it is not too late for it to attract back lost users. Despite the inroads made by competitors, market share was around 80 per cent last year. DiDi has a history of crushing rivals, including Uber, which sold its China

Record youth unemployment in China



Ride-hailing share prices



to forward earnings basis. With real meat facing real problems, Tyson investors should cut their exposure.

British Land: Simon says

Pain is on the wane in the UK commercial real estate industry. That is the message of British Land. The UK property group is conservatively run. But boss Simon Carter has gone so far as to hint that the cycle has reached an inflection point.

Concrete evidence came in the form of British Land’s decision to find a lucrative new tenant for a building near Regent’s Park in London that Meta never occupied. The alternative

was to accept a surer substitute referred by the social networking group. Rates are peaking in the US, UK and EU. British Land’s portfolio is yielding rents of 6.1 per cent, a big premium to long UK bonds. Even if the property downturn has a little longer to go, further steep declines in British Land’s share price are unlikely.

The UK property group reported solid performance over the six months to September. Occupancy levels remain above 90 per cent across its portfolio of big London office developments, UK retail parks and logistics sites. Rents are growing faster than expected. Property value declines are slowing.

Low office occupancy remains a dark cloud over the sector but bifurcation and strong demand for good quality space are working for British Land.

operations to its rival for \$7bn in 2016. It has strong backers including Tencent and Alibaba.

Costs are rising for US delivery groups. Protections for gig workers are increasing through measures such as minimum earnings guarantees. In China, costs are going down. Record youth unemployment means oversupply of workers in the sector. On an enterprise value basis, Uber trades at 2.7 times forward sales, a premium to DiDi at its current valuation. The market in China is expected to grow 12 per cent a year in the next four years.

DiDi has a good chance of proving that weak profitability is a problem for western ride-hailing and delivery businesses, not their Asian peers.

Meta agreed to pay £70 per square foot back in 2021. The space is worth closer to £90 today. Growth in forecast rents of 3.2 per cent over the past six months has offset a 2.5 per cent decline in property values, pushing average rental yields just 23 basis points higher.

British Land’s share price is in the doldrums, having fallen almost 20 per cent over the past year. It is at a 25 per cent discount to spot gross asset value, thinks analyst Adam Shapton of Green Street. Taking the discount on the shares into account, that equates to a look-through rental yield of more like 8 per cent. Compare that with the 5 per cent on UK long bonds and it looks as if shares have been oversold.

Even if property values fall further, the hit from higher rates is more than reflected in the share price.

Corporate debt: PIK and choose

Carvana, the online used car merchant, recently posted a quarter of significant free cash flow after lengthy losses. Slashing operating costs played a part. But some sleight of hand involving a debt restructuring was also crucial.

The company and bondholders agreed on a debt swap earlier in 2023. The new notes came with a feature that required hefty increases in interest expenses. However, that bump came from adding to the principal balance, rather than via regular cash payments.

“Payments in kind” interest, along with the broader debt workout, are forecast to slash annual cash servicing costs by nearly \$500mn for Carvana.

Increasingly, companies are turning to PIK debt to preserve cash. Creditors, including private credit funds, are happy to accept the delay to returns. But the breathing room will not be enough for many companies.

Earlier this year, WeWork slashed its debt balance by about a quarter and switched most of its interest expense to PIK delivery. It filed for bankruptcy within months. A cash saving could not fix its deep structural problems.

Switching interest costs from cash due today to principal due tomorrow should not inherently change a group’s valuation. However, cash saved today can be invested in growing the business – with a pay-off hoped for in future.

Unfortunately, PIK debt does not come cheap. In the instance of Carvana, the tranches of PIK notes accrue in-kind interest at annual rates of 12-14 per cent.

When switched back to cash, the rates are a few percentage points lower. Analysts at Creditright note that when interest changes back into cash in two years at Carvana, they will exceed their prior level.

For patient bondholders and lenders, PIK debt can be a worthwhile trade. They avoid a messy bankruptcy and increase their ownership claim later if a Chapter 11 comes along later.

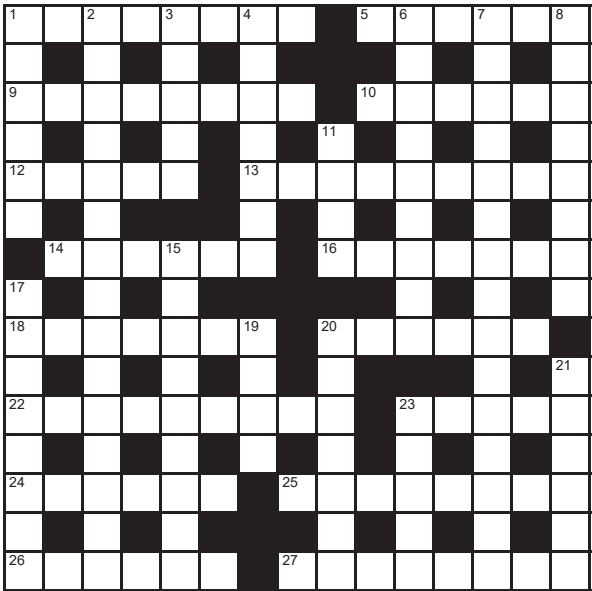
But businesses should be wary of a “finance now, pay later” ethos which may hurt them more in the long run.



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ACROSS

- Participating in more than a wild goose chase (2,6)
- Shortly gauge drug ring (6)
- Nobleman at counter, working (5)
- Fourth grade judo award which will not attract development (5,4)
- Travellers’ delight (9)
- African expresses disapproval over Indian leader (5)
- Hikers’ distressing call (6)
- Publicity broadcast that is plain (7)
- Go miles breaking porcelain (7)
- Civic announcement from them in tears? (6)
- Pompous dwarf’s question about his identity? (5)
- Social worker, female, having short chat before baby is born (9)
- Boatman drooling drunkenly over last of ale (9)
- Relatives — one of them seen in Taunton with leading spinner (5)
- A deception — initially, husband’s upset woman (6)
- Two sets of cards for one on board (8)

DOWN

- Gold fragments on paths (6)
- Pleasure in fraudulent London suburb (9)
- End of term activity before coming out? (9,6)
- Toddler’s bedtime story of a good baron in castle (3,4)
- Maybe stop, turning up mountain track (11,4)
- It happened during the 70s (5)
- Frequently takes papers after round (3-5)
- Drivers should do so and keep quiet (4,2)
- Land of Hope (9)
- The very best having a long time at *The Feathers* (8)
- Arrest secret policeman (6)
- Select group at lake bed, first (7)
- Wound up near Germany (6)
- Old tribe at church function (5)*

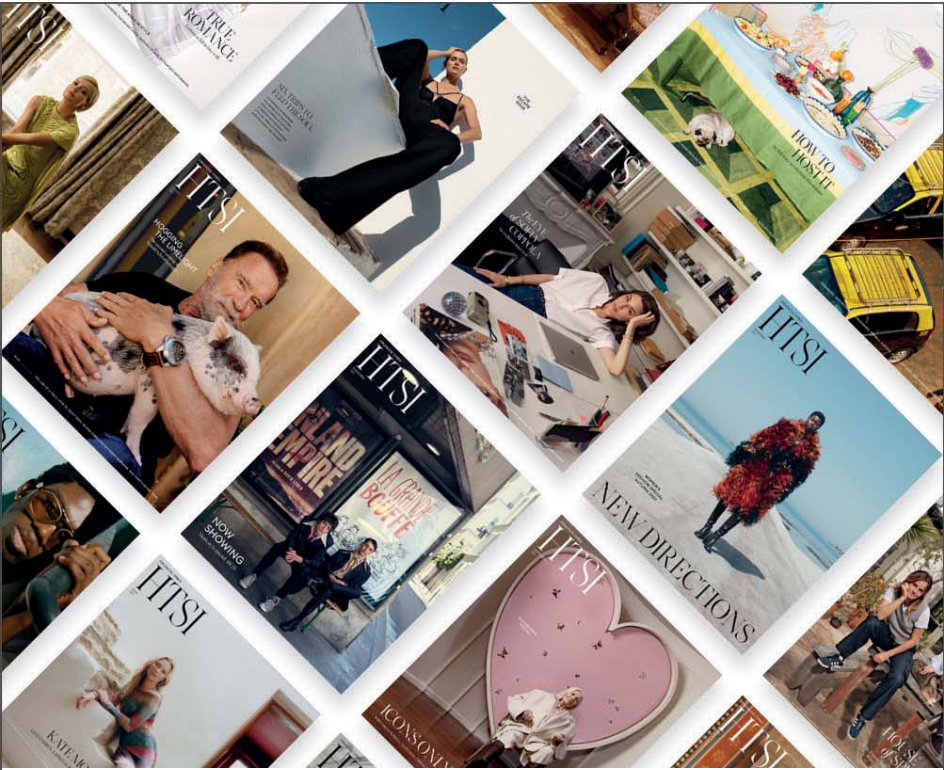
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