

INTERNATIONAL

Corruption scandal

EU parliament head backs tougher regime

President calls for broader measures once inquiry into bribery affair ends

ALICE HANCOCK — BRUSSELS

The European parliament's president has backed more ethics reforms in the wake of a corruption probe by Belgian investigators amid criticism that her initial proposals were insufficient. Roberta Metsola said she wanted her 14-point plan to be delivered "within a month", but additional measures including proposals for an EU-wide ethics body and an inquiry into corruption in the parliament could follow once the current criminal investigation was wrapped up.

"What we are facing is criminal corruption of the most basic, elemental and historic [kind]," Metsola said in an interview.

Four suspects are in Belgian custody on corruption and money laundering charges, of whom three have worked in the European parliament.

They are Pier Antonio Panzeri, who served three terms as MEP until 2019; Francesco Giorgi, his former aide, parliamentary assistant and husband of Eva Kaili, herself an MEP who until her arrest was also a vice-president of the parliament. Belgian prosecutors have asked the parliament to lift the immunity of two further lawmakers, a process that will start today.

Metsola defended her initial set of reforms, which she laid out in detail last

week. "These are measures to address it, not to purge it for ever, because I can never predict what will be the next [scandal]," she said.

The measures include cutting off the access of former MEPs turned lobbyists,

'What we are facing is criminal corruption of the most basic, elemental and historic [kind]'

making publication of meetings mandatory, and banning informal groups that promote external interests.

In addition, convicted lawmakers could be stripped of their generous EU pension after two years, Metsola said, a

measure that she discussed with political group leaders on Thursday.

Setting up an independent ethics body for all EU institutions, which would enforce rules, is also being considered in the longer term. But it would have to be proposed by the European Commission as parliament lacked the legislative power to do so, Metsola said.

The commission has said that it is looking to set up a "truly inter-institutional" ethics body and would "move swiftly" to establish it.

Still, several EU lawmakers argue that the president's reforms fall short of what they called for in December, for instance a ban on MEPs accepting trips paid for by third countries.

"The plan of Metsola is a start but cannot and should not be the end. I hope

and assume that the discussion [among the parliamentary leaders] has made that clear," said Paul Tang, a Dutch socialist MEP.

Manon Aubry, a leftwing French lawmaker, also found the reform plans wanting. "Parliament is going through the worst scandal in its history and its credibility is in question," Aubry tweeted. "To go back on the sly on the proposals adopted in December would be a disgrace."

The controversy has broken at a crucial time for the parliament, which this year starts to gear up for European elections in 2024. The European parliament has been repeatedly criticised by transparency campaigners for being entirely self-policed.

Additional reporting by Javier Espinoza

Central Europe

Former Nato general takes lead over Babiš in Czech poll

RAPHAEL MINDER — WARSAW

Retired general Petr Pavel edged ahead of billionaire ex-prime minister Andrej Babiš after the first round in the Czech presidential election, making the former Nato commander the favourite for the run-off election in two weeks.

Babiš, who last week was acquitted of fraud charges related to €2mm of EU funds, secured 35 per cent of the first-round vote while his main rival Pavel gained 35.4 per cent. Turnout in the vote, which followed a fiercely fought campaign, was 68 per cent, up from 62 per cent in 2018.

While the Czech constitution grants executive power to the government rather than the president, recent holders of the office have at times wielded significant influence over foreign policy, including incumbent Miloš Zeman who is backing Babiš to succeed him.

When he was prime minister, Babiš caused alarm in Brussels because of his unflinching admiration for Donald Trump, who only last month was elected US president at the time. In this month's presidential campaign, he has cast himself as an outsider ready to challenge the presidency a coalition government that he blames for pushing the country into an economic slowdown.

"Unfortunately we've had some episodes of a president pushing his powers to the very limit and it's then very difficult to block this," said Czech member of the European parliament Ludek Niedermayer. "People like Zeman have used the opacity of our constitution to gain more power."

Zeman, who is completing his second term in office and is prevented by the constitution from running again, stirred controversy by involving himself in foreign policy and embracing Russia and China as key partners. He only turned his back on Russian president Vladimir Putin after Moscow's all-out attack on Ukraine last February.

Pavel, who chaired Nato's military committee between 2015 and 2018, said he entered politics to "restore integrity" to the presidency and reverse Zeman's foreign policy drive.

The former Nato general won an outright majority of the votes in the capital Prague while Babiš fared better in the countryside and less densely populated regions, according to the preliminary breakdown of the vote on Saturday.

Economist Danuše Nerudová, who was hoping to become her country's first female head of state, came an unexpectedly distant third.

Pavel is now favourite to win the presidency because Nerudová and some of the other contenders have already indicated that they would support anybody but Babiš in the runoff election on January 27-28. A runoff is needed because no candidate won an absolute majority of votes on Saturday.

Capucine May, eastern Europe analyst at risk intelligence company Verisk Maplecroft, said Babiš would be a president that sought "to be as politically involved as possible", undermining the governing coalition of Czech prime minister Petr Fiala. In contrast, she said, a Pavel victory would "warmer relations with the EU and stable policymaking as the ruling coalition would be bolstered by a supportive president".

Ukraine. War of attrition

Russia pays high price for victory in Soledar

Kyiv's 'meat grinder' tactics deplete Moscow's forces but prove costly for both sides

JOHN PAUL RATHBONE AND BEN HALL LONDON

Frontline dispatches from a besieged Donbas town depicted apocalyptic scenes of destroyed buildings and blood-soaked fields. Despite its lack of military significance, Ukrainian forces stood their ground, inflicting heavy casualties on their Russian foes, depleting their ammunition and recapturing – and opening the way for two subsequent successful counteroffensives.

This "meat grinder" strategy was deployed last summer in the eastern town of Severodonetsk.

Military analysts say Kyiv has pursued the same tactic in north-east Ukraine around Soledar, whose capture by Russia on Friday may prove to be another pyrrhic victory for Moscow.

The fall of the salt-mining town, where fighting has raged for more than two weeks, could make it harder for Ukraine to hold nearby Bakhmut, a city of symbolic importance whose seizure would bring Russia its first significant military success since last summer.

But Moscow's capture of Soledar – and possibly eventually Bakhmut – could matter less than the losses inflicted on its forces in the fight.

One adviser to Ukraine's defence ministry, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said Kyiv's strategic approach to Soledar and Bakhmut was the same as in Severodonetsk.

After that battle, Ukraine's forces went on to rout Russian troops and recapture Kharkiv and Kherson.

Similarly, Ukraine's soldiers, reinforced with western-supplied armour, could potentially take advantage of Russia's manpower losses in Bakhmut to launch a powerful counter-offensive, the adviser said.

"From a purely military perspective, a Severodonetsk 2.0 strategy is fine for Ukraine – so long as the fight costs the Russian forces disproportionately more than the Ukrainian army," said Franz-Stefan Gady, a senior fellow at the International Institute for Strategic Studies think-tank.

"That is the horrible and inhuman



Front line: Ukrainian forces fire a rocket launcher on the outskirts of the eastern town of Soledar, which Russian forces captured on Friday

an estimated cost of thousands of casualties

Armen Sotgiy/AFP/Getty Images

Armen Sotgiy/AFP/Getty Images

That is in line with US estimates that 4,000 of Wagner's 50,000 mercenaries have been killed on the Soledar-Bakhmut front line, with 10,000 injured.

Yevgeny Prigozhin, leader of the Wagner group, has acknowledged heavy losses. In a video released over the new year, the Russian warlord was filmed

visiting a basement filled with bodies near the front line.

But although defenders typically suffer fewer casualties than attackers, especially in urban settings, the fight is not one-way. "The Ukrainians are taking losses every day," said a western official. "Russia is calculating that Ukraine will run out of resources first. There are possibly tough times coming. The Ukrainians are not bulletproof."

The battle for Soledar and Bakhmut has also absorbed thousands of Ukrainian soldiers who could be deployed elsewhere.

Konrad Muzyka of Rochan Consulting, a Poland-based military consultancy, estimated that as many as 12 Ukrainian brigades, equivalent to about 50,000 troops, had been sent to the Bakhmut front. The large number meant soldiers could be rotated to keep them fresh and maintain their combat readiness, Muzyka said, adding that this was "one of the lessons the Ukrainians learnt after Severodonetsk".

While Russians burn out their men, Ukrainians burn through their combat potential

Anthony King, an urban war expert at Britain's Warwick university, said: "Ideally [for Kyiv], Ukraine will be able to hold the line [around Bakhmut] with minimal forces and prepare for a spring counteroffensive. But it could be that Ukrainian forces get fixed [around the city] instead. Russia's strategy may not be as stupid as it looks."

Additional reporting by Polina Ivanova in Berlin

Israel

Netanyahu's reforms draw large-scale protest in Tel Aviv

JAMES SHOTTER — TEL AVIV

Tens of thousands of Israelis took to the streets on Saturday night to protest against the hardline new government and its plans to impose sweeping curbs on the power of the judiciary.

Police estimated that about 80,000 people attended the biggest demonstration in the liberal bastion of Tel Aviv, where protesters chanted "no democracy without the High Court" and waved placards with slogans such as "Save Israel".

Smaller protests also took place outside the presidential palace in Jerusalem and in the northern city of Haifa.

The demonstrations are the biggest show of public defiance since Benjamin Netanyahu returned to power last month at the head of a coalition widely regarded as the most rightwing in Israeli history.

Israel's rightwing parties have long demanded an overhaul of the judiciary, arguing that the top court has become increasingly activist over the past three decades and has used powers that were never formally granted to push a broadly leftwing agenda.

However, the government's proposals would destroy judicial independence and give parliament a "blank cheque" to pass any laws it wanted, even if they violated basic civil rights.

If the changes were implemented "the 75th anniversary of Israel's independence will be remembered as the year in which the country's democratic identity was dealt a fatal blow", she said.

Protesters who flocked to Habima Square in downtown Tel Aviv on Saturday night, despite bursts of heavy rain, expressed similar concerns. "If there are no [checks and balances], we can even end up like Hungary or other places

where democracy died. So we have to stop it now before it is too late," said Eran, a middle-aged Tel Avivian who joined the protest with his wife Ilana.

"We need to keep Israel as a normal state so that the rest of the world will still talk to us. [If these judicial reforms are passed] the world will look at us like a crazy state... We want to be a free country where you can dress as you like and say what you want."

Omer, who joined the protest with his partner and three-month-old son, said that he had decided to attend because he was worried that the government's plans would undermine democracy.



Government officials sought to play down the significance of the protests and insisted that they would not be deterred from carrying out their programme. "Tens of thousands of people were at the demonstrations tonight. In

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INTERNATIONAL

Fed and ECB at odds over their roles in tackling climate change

Disconnect between two banks stems from mandates rather than ideology

CHRIS GILES AND DARIA MOSOLOVA
LONDON

An apparent gulf has opened between central banks on either side of the Atlantic over their role in battling climate change.

Jay Powell, chair of the US Federal Reserve, said the guardians of the world's currencies should "stick to our knitting and not wander off to pursue perceived social benefits that are not tightly linked to our statutory goals".

"We are not, and will not be, a climate policymaker," Powell told a conference organised by the Swedish central bank last week.

At the same event, Isabel Schnabel, a member of the six-person executive board of the European Central Bank, advocated greater action to address climate change. The German economist pledged to "ensure that all of the ECB's policies are aligned with the objectives of the Paris Agreement to limit global warming to well below 2C".

The stark difference in approaches raises questions over whether monetary policymakers should lead the fight against global warming.

The ECB's position is clear, if a little convoluted. It worries that high interest rates to control inflation will undermine the green transition by raising the cost of investing in wind, solar, hydrogen and other clean energies necessary for moving to a net zero carbon world.

But Schnabel was clear that this concern was subordinate to the ECB's mission to control inflation. While she recognised a "dilemma" about the damage

high rates pose to green investment, the answer was to control inflation so borrowing costs could come back down.

"By bringing inflation down in a timely manner, monetary policy restores the conditions that are necessary for the green transition to thrive," she told the conference, demonstrating the ECB's settled stance on monetary policy after raising rates rapidly to 2 per cent in recent months.

The Fed's governors do not have a similar dilemma to resolve, so the US policy is simpler. "Restoring price stability when inflation is high can require measures that are not popular in the short term as we raise rates to slow the economy," Powell said, adding that the Fed's independence allowed it to take the necessary measures on rates.

They are aligned on two other important issues. First, that the primary role for green intervention lies not with independent central banks but with governments. And both agree that central banks have a role when supervising the banking system in ensuring commercial banks understand and manage financial risks from global warming. These include weather-related risks to infrastructure that banks have financed or fossil fuel assets that might become near-worthless in future.

The most significant divergence is in how much they want to talk about their role in addressing climate change.

In sticking to its "knitting", the Fed does not want to make any waves on the subject, while the ECB has made a commitment to analyse, advise and act to



A protest in Washington last year. Below, Isabel Schnabel and Jay Powell
Draw: Angerer/Getty Images



reduce carbon emissions. Addressing climate change was an important outcome of its 2021 strategy review, where it made a commitment to further incorporate environmental concerns into its monetary policy framework.

Concrete action is more limited, but the ECB has begun to tilt its portfolio of corporate bonds towards companies with better climate scores, something Schnabel committed to extending last week. The ECB is also looking at setting tougher environmental conditions if banks want to use bonds as collateral in the central bank's financing operations.

The Fed does not have a corporate bond portfolio, having unwound its coronavirus programme in 2021, and has no plans to "green" its collateral framework.

The Fed has a tightly defined mandate

of seeking "maximum employment and price stability", while the ECB has a wider remit, which says it should also support the eurozone's economic policies so long as price and financial stability are maintained. These policies include a green transition, so ECB rate-setters have concluded they have a responsibility to take some action.

The differences, though small compared with the rhetorical gulf, relate to different political pressures. The Fed must demonstrate it is not straying from its clearly circumscribed freedom to act on inflation and employment; the ECB faces pressure to do more to aid the transition – so long as it does not lose control of inflation.

Nick Robins, professor at the London School of Economics, said all central banks now recognised climate change's

The stark difference raises questions over whether central banks should lead the fight against global warming

"material risks" to financial systems. "Where they diverge depends on the differing mandates they are given by legislators and the political environment they operate in – and these differences were on display [last] week."

But the ECB's looser interpretation of its remit comes with risks. Paul Tucker, former deputy governor of the Bank of England, said green policies could backfire on unselected European central bankers if they became controversial.

"Although climate change is vitally important, Powell is right that independent central banks cannot decently make discretionary choices in this area in order to, as it were, tax polluters," Tucker said, warning that "elected governments could impose legal constraints on the assets that central banks can buy or lend against".



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INTERNATIONAL

South America

Peru cracks down as violent protests spread

President declares state of emergency after dozens die in clashes with police

JOE PARKIN DANIELS — BOGOTÁ

Peru has declared a state of emergency in capital city Lima and three other regions as protests against President Dina Boluarte spread.

More than 42 people have been killed during the unrest triggered by the ousting and arrest of leftist former president Pedro Castillo in early December, after he attempted to close Congress ahead of a vote on his impeachment.

The state of emergency, which will last 30 days, grants the military powers

to restore order and limits rights to movement and assembly.

The port of Callao, just outside Lima, and the southern provinces of Puno and Cusco are also covered by the measures announced late on Saturday night, following the completion of a 50-day nationwide state of emergency that began last month.

Puno has seen the worst of the violence, with 17 people killed during clashes with police last Monday alone.

Cusco, home to the ancient Machu Picchu ruins and vital to Peru's tourism industry, has also been heavily affected. Protests there have intermittently closed operations at the region's main airport over the past month.

Demonstrators have shut ground

transport across the country, threatening to disrupt copper production.

Attempting to quell the discontent, Boluarte — who served as Castillo's vice-president and hails from the same leftwing party — has previously pledged to bring elections forward from 2026 to April 2024.

She lost several ministers this week in the fallout from the violence. On Friday she apologised for the bloodshed during the protests, but rejected protesters' calls for her resignation.

"Some voices from violent and radical factions are asking for my resignation and provoking the population into chaos, disorder and destruction," she said in a televised address. "I will not resign. My commitment is with Peru."

Peru is no stranger to political dysfunction, having had six presidents since early 2018. The economy, driven by mining exports, has largely remained healthy. But the bloodshed of the current protests marks some of the most intense violence in decades. The country's attorney-general has launched investigations into the deaths of protesters in several districts.

Also driving the protests is widespread anger at Peru's entrenched inequality, with much of the country's wealth and investment concentrated in Lima.

Castillo, a former primary school teacher and subsistence farmer from the rural Chota province in the northern Andes, represented a break with the sta-

tus quo. He remains in pretrial detention on charges of rebellion for his brazen attempt to rule by decree.

Meanwhile the country continues to disapprove of the new leadership. A poll by the Institute of Peruvian Studies published yesterday found that Boluarte has a disapproval rating of 71 per cent, with Congress even more unpopular at 88 per cent.

"The majority of Peruvians see lawmakers as part of the problem and partly responsible for the extreme polarisation between branches of government," said Verónica Ayala, a political science professor at the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru. "I don't think that early elections would resolve the political crisis we're in."

Tigray conflict

African peace envoy puts Ethiopia war death toll at 600,000

DAVID PILLING — LONDON
ANDRES SCHIPANI — NAIROBI

The brutal civil war in northern Ethiopia may have left as many as 600,000 people dead, making it one of the world's deadliest conflicts of recent times, according to the African Union's lead mediator in the peace talks that ended the two-year conflict.

"The number of people killed was about 600,000," former Nigerian president and African Union envoy Oluksenu Obasanjo told the Financial Times in an interview.

He recalled that on November 2 last year, the day the peace agreement was signed in Pretoria, Ethiopian officials said: "We have stopped 1,000 deaths every day."

Fighting broke out in Ethiopia's northern Tigray region in November 2020 after Addis Ababa accused Tigrayan fighters of attacking the federal army and spread across the neighbouring Amhara and Afar regions.

Former Kenyan president Uhuru Kenyatta and the US played a big role in the peace talks but Obasanjo was also an important mediator in the process. The breakthrough followed rapid negotiations between the government of Ethiopian prime minister Abiy Ahmed and the Tigray People's Liberation Front, the party that controls Tigray.

Tim Vanden Bempt, who is part of a research group investigating civilian atrocities in Tigray at the University of Ghent, said Obasanjo's 600,000 estimate might be roughly correct. Tigray was blockaded for long periods, making independent analysis of what went on, including how many people died, extremely difficult, say experts.

"Based on reports from the field, the number of dead could be somewhere between 300,000 and 400,000 civilian casualties only — this from atrocities, starvation and lack of healthcare," Vanden Bempt said. In addition, he said there were unofficial estimates of between 200,000 and 300,000 battlefield deaths, though these could not be accurately verified.

The war in Tigray was marked by waves of violence against civilians, including massacres and rapes, by the armies of Ethiopia and neighbouring Eritrea, as well as Tigrayan fighters, regional forces from Amhara and militias sucked into the conflict.

The fighting endangered the unity of Ethiopia, a federal patchwork of 80 ethnic groups, which had been one of Africa's fastest-growing economies before war broke out.

If Obasanjo's estimate stands, it would put deaths in Ethiopia at about three times the number estimated to have died following Russia's full invasion of Ukraine last February, although accurate numbers are difficult to ascertain there, too. It would also be a much higher death toll than during the five decades of civil war in Colombia.

Daniel Bekele, Ethiopia's human rights chief, said casualty estimates should be treated with caution. "We will probably not be able to know the full number of casualties. We need to be cautious about overly exaggerated death toll estimates by all sides."

Some Ethiopian officials believe the true casualty figure is closer to 80,000 or 100,000, about the same number that died in a 1998-2000 border war between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

US Congress. Budget confrontation

Republicans draw battle lines on debt ceiling

Hardline lawmakers seek deep spending cuts before agreeing to increase borrowing limit

JAMES POLITI, LAUREN FEDOR AND COLBY SMITH — WASHINGTON
ANDREW EDGECLIFFE-JOHNSON
NEW YORK

US Treasury secretary Janet Yellen on Friday fired her first warning shot of the year to Congress about the need to raise America's debt limit — and did not mince her words about the potential peril ahead.

"Failure to meet the government's obligations would cause irreparable harm to the US economy, the livelihoods of all Americans, and global financial stability," Yellen wrote to lawmakers.

Newly empowered hardline House Republicans are already demanding deep spending cuts in exchange for raising the borrowing limit beyond its current level of \$31.4tn. The White House and Democrats insist that they will not entertain a deal on that basis.

"This is not a time for panic. We are many months away from the US being unable to meet all of its obligations," said Shah Akabas, director of economic policy at the Bipartisan Policy Center, a Washington think-tank. "But it is certainly a time for policymakers to begin negotiations in earnest. We've seen all too many times that they end up at the eleventh hour with their backs against the wall and no resolution in sight."

On Friday, Yellen laid out what the Treasury estimates to be the timeline for a deal. The US will hit the debt ceiling on January 19, and at that point it will begin preserving cash using "extraordinary measures" to get around the need for new borrowing above the limit. Yellen added that there was "considerable uncertainty" around the duration of those special steps, but they should last at least until early June.

Business groups are getting nervous. Suzanne Clark, president and chief executive of the US Chamber of Commerce, the country's largest business lobby group, said she had heard from her members a "clear, emphatic emotion about the need to not default on our debt, to not play chicken with the full faith and credit of the United States". Kevin McCarthy, the Republican House speaker, struck an upbeat tone on the subject during a press conference on Thursday, saying he had a "very good conversation" with Joe Biden last week-end and told the president he wanted to

Pressure point: Republican House Speaker Kevin McCarthy has struck an upbeat tone on the debt ceiling but is in a weak position to force a compromise on rebels in his own party
Shuran Huang/Bloomberg

"sit down with him early and work through these challenges".

But McCarthy would not explicitly guarantee that Republicans would ultimately vote to raise the debt ceiling, saying: "We want to make sure, we don't want to put any fiscal problems into our economy and we won't... We have got to change the way we are spending money wastefully in this country."

After Yellen released her letter on Friday, Karine Jean-Pierre, the White House press secretary, reiterated that the Biden administration did not believe a debt ceiling increase should be tied to any negotiation, since it was done to fulfill past borrowing commitments made by lawmakers and presidents of both parties. "This should be done without conditions," she said. "There's going to be no negotiation over it."

The Biden administration has also said that it does not intend to take executive action — such as minting a trillion-dollar platinum coin, a proposal that has been floated — to avoid a default without congressional intervention.

Some centrist Republicans and Dem-

ocrats have been considering whether they can circumvent their party leadership with a rare parliamentary manoeuvre known as a "discharge petition" to force a vote on a bill to increase the debt limit.

But such steps to defy the top brass on Capitol Hill rarely succeed, and involve a lengthy process that would be ill-suited to the tight timeframe of this debt ceiling stand-off. Some lawmakers are also becoming more outspoken about overhauling or even eliminating the debt ceiling, though that too may be hard to achieve quickly.

Ben Koltun, director of research at Beacon Policy Advisors, said part of the problem on the Republican side was that many rank-and-file House lawmakers were facing their first debt ceiling stand-off in the majority with a Democratic president.

Since they did not necessarily recall the market turmoil that surrounded the last brush with a default in 2011, they saw it as a "shiny object" to force budgetary concessions.

Meanwhile, McCarthy is in an espe-

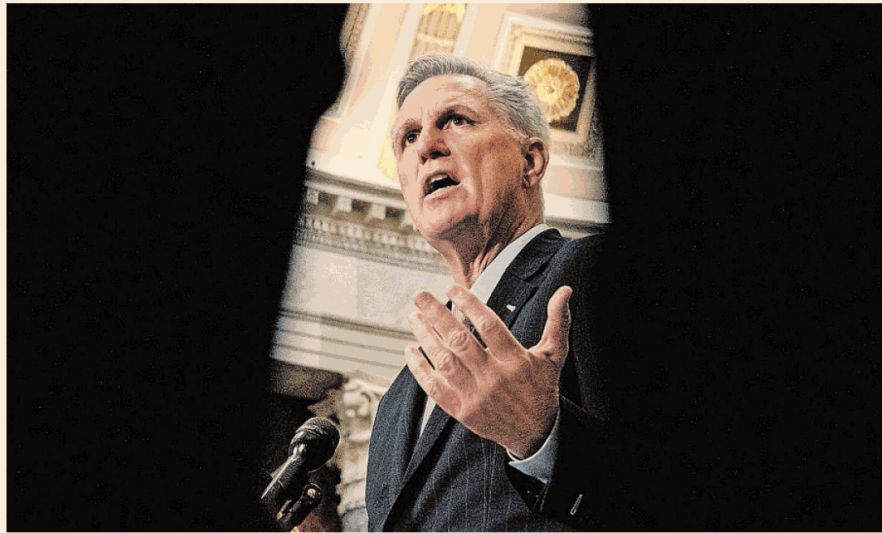
'We've seen all too many times that they end up at the eleventh hour with their backs against the wall and no resolution in sight'

cially weak position to force a compromise on any rebellious members of the Republican party, after agreeing last week to a rule that would allow any single lawmaker to motion to remove him from his post. And former president Donald Trump has already waded in, urging Republicans to play "tough" in the upcoming talks.

One moderating force over the coming weeks could be Senate Republicans, who are warning their colleagues in the House that they will have to find common ground with the Democrat-controlled upper chamber for any legislation.

"Our friends in the House will have to realise that what passes the House isn't necessarily going to be what passes the Senate," John Cornyn, the Texas Republican, told Punchbowl News this week. But economists and policy watchers still see a treacherous path to any deal.

"Most policymakers would prefer to avoid a debt limit crisis, but the leverage given to the hardline Republicans in the House raises the odds that one will occur," wrote Nancy Vanden Houten of Oxford Economics.



Quarterly expansion

Zero-Covid rebound in spotlight as Beijing prepares for disappointing growth data

TOM MITCHELL — SINGAPORE

China's National Bureau of Statistics will tomorrow release what is likely to be its third consecutive disappointing estimate for quarterly expansion, as the world's second-largest economy falls well short of the government's annual growth target of 5.5 per cent — already the lowest mark in decades.

The Chinese economy narrowly avoided contraction in the second quarter, posting 0.4 per cent year-on-year growth before expanding 3.9 per cent in the third quarter, in a release that was delayed during the Communist party congress, where President Xi Jinping secured a third term in power.

The fourth-quarter reading will also

What is the likely upside this year for China's post-zero-Covid rebound?

The World Bank is projecting full-year growth of 2.7 per cent for the Chinese economy in 2022, followed by 4.5 per cent this year. Some of China's largest provinces are projecting growth of 5-6 per cent, and the government's official growth target, traditionally announced at the annual session of the National People's Congress in March, is likely to be 5 per cent or higher.

"The exit from the zero-Covid policy has been much faster than expected," said Larry Hu, chief China economist at Macquarie. "Such a dramatic U-turn implies deeper economic contraction in the fourth quarter but faster reopening and recovery in 2023."

traditional economic engines such as the property and technology sectors.

China's incoming premier, Xi protégé Li Qiang, now has an opportunity to redress this imbalance and revive the economy. Recent signals from senior Communist party officials — including visits by high-level cadres to Jack Ma's two companies, Alibaba and Ant Group — have suggested their two-year crack-down on the technology sector is finally coming to an end.

Are efforts to boost the property sector having the intended effect?

Xi's administration will want to support a consumption-led revival rather than unleash yet another credit-driven and, ultimately, unsustainable investment

have quietly relaxed leverage restrictions introduced to reduce banks' exposure to the sector. The rules ultimately pushed one of the country's biggest developers, China Evergrande, into default. As with many Chinese property developers, Evergrande funded its projects with presales. But, as liquidity dried up across the sector and projects



stalled, homeowners worried that they would lose big downpayments, wiping out buyers' confidence in the market.

Is the export boom over?

In US dollar terms, China's exports fell 0.3 per cent year on year in October, the first such decline since the early stages of the pandemic in 2020. November and December's declines, of 8.7 per cent and 9.9 per cent respectively, were even more dramatic.

Overseas consumer demand, which supported China's economy through the pandemic, is weakening and unlikely to recover soon. That will make it harder for the government to reduce high youth unemployment, which has increased from 12.5 per cent to 17.1 per

cent on a per capita basis, will be dashed if this trend cannot be slowed.

China recorded 10.6m births and 10.1m deaths in 2021, putting it on the cusp of its first year-on-year population decline since the Great Leap Forward famine. Initial estimates for China's last 10-year census showed that the population had peaked in 2020, according to people involved in the process, but were ultimately revised upwards to show a small population increase.

Beijing has refused to acknowledge Covid as a cause of death in most cases, for fear of revealing the scale of its failure to protect the population in its haste to exit from pandemic controls.

Officials from the Chinese Centers for Disease Control and Prevention have



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COMPANIES & MARKETS

Colombia's \$20bn takeover battle turns ugly

The fight between a billionaire and a business alliance for control of key companies is now heading for the courts

MICHAEL STOTT — BUENOS AIRES
JOE PARKIN DANIELS — BOGOTÁ

One of Latin America's most bitter takeover battles is heading for the courts after 14 months of hostile bids and mudslinging, in a fight pitting Colombia's most powerful business alliance against a billionaire predator.

At stake are \$20bn of choice corporate assets, the future of the Andean nation's stock market and the probity of its government.

Billionaire Jaime Gilinski fired the opening shot in November 2021 with a bid for food manufacturer Nutresa in partnership with the Abu Dhabi royal family. When Gilinski followed up with tenders to try to win control of financial conglomerate Sura and cement company Grupo Argos, it became clear his aim was to unlock a web of cross-shareholdings protecting the trio from hostile bidders.

This would give Gilinski control of assets worth more than half the country's stock market. Smaller shareholders and pension funds sold quickly, tempted by a large premium on share prices that had performed poorly for years. But crucial investors, including wealthy families based in Colombia's second city, Medellín, refused. That with the cross-shareholdings, has so far denied the bidders victory.

As the battle has intensified, allegations of improper influence, threats, lax corporate governance and biased media coverage have been flying between the Gilinskis and the trio of conglomerates, collectively known as the Grupo Empresarial Antioqueño, or GEA.

After seven bids and \$2.9bn spent, Gilinski owns about 39 per cent of Sura and — with his Abu Dhabi partners — 31.5 per cent of Nutresa. He has seats on the board of both companies but lacks a majority. The Argos bid was abandoned last July. "At the moment, Gilinski... doesn't control anything," said Daniel Guardiola, an analyst at BTG Pactual in Bogotá. "And you don't invest over \$2.5bn not to control anything."

Gilinski, 65, has built an empire valued at \$4.2bn by Forbes, including one of Panama's largest property developments and a stake in the UK's Metro Bank. The GEA bids are his most audacious move yet.

Gilinski and his 35-year-old son, Gabriel, who works with him, say their aim is to unlock value by dismantling the cross-shareholdings and improving returns. "The cross-shareholding structure, where managers elect each other and their boards, leads to a lack of accountability and transparency," Gabriel told the Financial Times.

"This group of companies lost 80 per cent of their market value during the decade prior to the tender offers. Their combined market value went from \$27bn to \$7bn."

Some Gilinski tactics have proved controversial. When the initial tenders for Nutresa and Sura failed to secure enough shares, the bidders returned weeks later with fresh ones at higher prices. Most markets do not allow this but supporters of the Gilinskis say it is legal in Colombia and regulators agree.

Sergio Galvis, Sura's US legal adviser at Sullivan & Cromwell, commented: "In the US, it is hard to imagine someone getting away with making successive



Sweet spot: a chocolate factory owned the Nutresa group in Medellín. Below, Jaime Gilinski

LUIS SANTIAGO CUARTAS

tender offers at continually increasing prices."

Executives and shareholders in Sura allege the Gilinskis enjoy a cosy relationship with the current and former Colombian presidents, Gustavo Petro and Iván Duque, helping them secure favourable regulatory decisions. Both denied through their offices involvement in the decisions or favouritism and the regulators said they had followed the law closely.

The Gilinskis have shot back with portrayals of an out-of-touch and pampered GEA management. "The same managers who happily rang the bell in the local stock market while issuing billions of dollars in shares mostly to local pension funds to fuel their empire-building adventures now claim the market doesn't work," said Gabriel Gilinski, who has a seat on the Sura board.

Colombia's news magazine Semana, owned by Gabriel Gilinski, has run stories about GEA management using corporate jets to fly to Caribbean holiday islands, triggering protests from the alliance's management.

"One of the assets of this company is its reputation and the trust in it," Gonzalo Pérez Rojas, Sura's chief executive, told the FT. "You can't destroy 77 years of history with a magazine and a few isolated attacks."

Pérez declined to comment on the specific allegations made by the Gilinskis, citing the continuing legal cases. But Pérez did say Sura "acts in the long-term interests of all its shareholders and the broader stakeholder community" and vowed to "defend it from actions that run counter to our principles and the rule of law".

Daniel Coronel, a former Semana journalist fired by Gilinski, said the Gilinskis "bought Semana magazine for \$10m and... have used it to praise the officials they need, such as the regulators, and to attack those who oppose them". Those close to the Gilinskis counter that the GEA has used El Colombiano, the Medellín newspaper, to advance its cause.

Luis Santiago Cuartas, who resigned from the Sura board because its agenda "was constantly trampled on by a group representing the Gilinski interests" also alleged inappropriate pressure from Gabriel Gilinski. "He told me various times that I was going to be immolated... I felt threatened," he said.

Another former Sura director said Gabriel Gilinski had constantly pressed

'Gilinski... doesn't control anything. And you don't invest over \$2.5bn not to control anything'

'You can't destroy 77 years of history with a magazine and a few isolated attacks'

board members to sell Sura's 35 per cent stake in Nutresa, threatening lawsuits. "He told us we would all end up penniless and in jail," the former director said.

Gabriel Gilinski declined to comment on the specific allegations but said he had always been "very clear about the fiduciary responsibilities of the Sura board to all shareholders".

He accused GEA managers of defending their own interests instead of maximising shareholder value. "These are publicly listed companies, and cannot be run like a country club for the benefit of management and certain shareholder

members who own between 3 per cent and 7 per cent," he said.

Fernando Rodas, a small shareholder in Sura who used to advise the group, has written to the Superintendencia Financiera, Colombia's financial regulator, to question why Gilinski was allowed to keep the Sura and Nutresa bids — and the approval process — secret for months. "This is extremely unusual," he said. "The government has compromised itself."

Andrés Barreto, who served as Colombia's competition regulator until August 2022, said secrecy was granted to pro-

tect the shares, the bidders and to give regulators time to consider the tenders. He said such a practice was allowed by law and had happened before.

Those close to the GEA say Colombia's then president Duque visited Abu Dhabi in November 2021 and signed an agreement with the United Arab Emirates to strengthen relations days before Gilinski launched his first tender offer. The Gilinskis were in the Gulf at the time as part of a Colombian business delegation. Duque said in written responses to FT questions that he had learnt of Gilinski's bid for Nutresa only when it was made public and that the Gilinskis were not involved in the UAE trade talks.

"I have always had good relations with Colombian business people, including with the Gilinski family," he said. "I don't work for them, nor do I have any employment or business relationship with Gabriel or Jaime Gilinski from which I earn an income."

Multiple legal challenges have been filed. Sura and Argos have secured injunctions that the Sura board vote to sell its Nutresa stake was invalid but the prosecutor's office is investigating allegations that the justice system was improperly influenced.

Regulators are investigating whether the GEA is acting as an "economic group". If declared as such, it would be forced to merge its constituent entities or lose the voting power of the cross-shareholdings, ceasing to exist in its current form. But in Colombia's tortuous legal system, the cases could take several years to decide and some believe a negotiated settlement is more likely.

Either way, the outcome of the takeover battle will decide the future of the country's most powerful business alliance and could make the Gilinskis the dominant players in Colombian banking. If the bid targets ended up being taken private — something the Gilinskis say will not happen — the country's stock market would be reduced to a barely viable rump.

Legal Notices

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

CITY OF ST. CLAIR SHORES POLICE AND FIRE RETIREMENT SYSTEM, Individually and on Behalf of All Others Similarly Situated, Plaintiff,

vs.

CREDIT SUISSE GROUP AG, THOMAS GOTTSCHALK, DAVID R. MATHERS, LARA J. WARNER AND BRIAN CHIN, Defendants.

Class Action No. 1:21-cv-03385-NRB
CLASS ACTION
SUMMARY NOTICE

TO: ALL PERSONS WHO PURCHASED OR OTHERWISE ACQUIRED AMERICAN DEPOSITORY RECEIPTS ("ADRS") OF CREDIT SUISSE GROUP AG ("CREDIT SUISSE") DURING THE PERIOD FROM OCTOBER 29, 2020 THROUGH MARCH 31, 2021, INCLUSIVE (THE "CLASS")

YOU ARE HEREBY NOTIFIED, pursuant to Rule 23 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and an Order of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York (the "Court"), that the above-captioned litigation (the "Litigation") has been certified for the purpose of settlement only as a class action on behalf of the Class, except for certain persons and entities who are excluded from the Class by definition as set forth in the full printed Notice of Pendency and Proposed Settlement of Class Action (the "Notice").

YOU ARE ALSO NOTIFIED that Lead Plaintiff in the Litigation has reached a proposed settlement of the Litigation for \$32,500,000.00, that, if approved, will resolve all claims in the Litigation.

A hearing will be held on May 11, 2023, at 11:00 a.m., before the Honorable Naomi Reice Buchwald, United States District Judge, at the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, Daniel Patrick Moynihan United States Courthouse, 500 Pearl Street, Courtroom 21A, New York, NY 10007-1312, for the purpose of determining: (1) whether the proposed settlement of the claims in the Litigation for the principal amount of \$32,500,000.00 plus interest, should be approved by the Court as fair, just, reasonable, and adequate; (2) whether a Final Judgment and Order of Dismissal with Prejudice should be entered by the Court dismissing the Litigation with prejudice against Defendants, and the Releases specified and described in the Stipulation of Settlement (the "Stipulation") dated September 12, 2022 (and in the Notice) should be granted; (3) whether the Plan of Allocation is fair, reasonable, and adequate and should be approved; and (4) whether the application of Lead Counsel for an award of attorneys' fees and expenses and an award to Lead Plaintiff in connection with its representation of the Class should be approved.

IF YOU PURCHASED OR OTHERWISE ACQUIRED CREDIT SUISSE ADRS DURING THE PERIOD FROM OCTOBER 29, 2020 THROUGH MARCH 31, 2021, INCLUSIVE, YOUR RIGHTS MAY BE AFFECTED BY THE SETTLEMENT OF THIS LITIGATION. If you have not received a detailed Notice and a copy of the Proof of Claim and Release Form, you may obtain copies by writing to Credit Suisse Securities Settlement, Claims Administrator, c/o Gilardi & Co. LLC, P.O. Box 6159, Novato, CA 94948-6159, or at www.CreditSuisseSecuritiesSettlement.com.

If you are a Class Member, in order to share in the distribution of the Net Settlement Fund, you must submit a Proof of Claim and Release by mail (postmarked no later than April 6, 2023) or electronically (no later than April 6, 2023), establishing that you are entitled to a recovery. If you are a Class Member and do not submit a proper Claim Form, you will not be eligible to share in the distribution of the net proceeds of the settlement, but you will nevertheless be bound by any judgments or orders entered by the Court in the Litigation.

If you are a Class Member and you desire to be excluded from the Class, you must submit a request for exclusion, in writing and in accordance with the instructions set forth in the Notice, to Credit Suisse Securities Settlement, EXCLUSIONS, c/o Gilardi & Co. LLC, P.O. Box 5100, Larkspur, CA 94977-5100, postmarked no later than April 20, 2023. All Class Members who do not timely and validly request exclusion from the Class in response to the Notice will be bound, to the extent approved by the Court, by the proposed settlement and any judgment entered in the Litigation pursuant to the Stipulation.

Any objection to the settlement, the Plan of Allocation, or the fee and expense application must be in accordance with the instructions set forth in the Notice and received by each of the following recipients no later than April 20, 2023:

CLERK OF THE COURT
UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK
DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE
500 Pearl Street
New York, NY 10007-1312

Lead Counsel:
ROBBINS GELLER RUDMAN & DOWD LLP
JASON C. DAVIS
Post Montgomery Center
One Montgomery Street, Suite 1800
San Francisco, CA 94104

Defendants' Counsel:
CAHILL GORDON & REINDEL LLP
HERBERT S. WASSHER
EDWARD MOSS
ADAM S. MINTZ
32 Old Slip
New York, NY 10005

PLEASE DO NOT CONTACT THE COURT, THE CLERK'S OFFICE, CREDIT SUISSE OR DEFENDANTS' COUNSEL REGARDING THIS NOTICE. If you have any questions about the settlement, you may contact

Airlines

Subsidies urged for shift to electric planes

RICHARD MILNE
NORDIC AND BALTIĆ CORRESPONDENT

Western nations need to offer more subsidies to encourage the airline industry to switch to electric-powered planes, according to one of the leading emissions-free start-ups.

Anders Forslund, chief executive and co-founder of Heart Aerospace in Sweden, said airlines were generally too focused on short-term profitability and

Heart, a start-up based in Gothenburg on Sweden's west coast, is developing a 30-seater regional aircraft for 2028 and has firm orders for 230 planes from United Airlines and Mesa Airlines in the US as well as Air Canada. Other airlines including SAS, BRA and Icelandair in the Nordics have signed letters of intent for the aircraft, while Air Canada and Swedish defence company Saab became shareholders in September.

Heart recently changed its plans from

something necessary to help develop such a regional electric plane.

"The reason it works in Norway is that they can pay the premium, just like they did in electric cars," he said, noting that the success of Tesla's Model S led to it developing the cheaper Model 3.

The company believes the total cost of ownership for an electric aircraft, which will require less maintenance, should be lower than a traditional plane.

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Pharmaceuticals

Bayer switches focus away from Europe

Drugmaker's chief says EU and UK have become 'innovation unfriendly'

JAMIE SMYTH — SAN FRANCISCO
HANNAH KUCHLER — LONDON

Bayer says it is shifting the focus of its pharmaceutical business to the US and away from Europe and the UK, where governments are making "big mistakes" in how they manage health budgets.

Stefan Oelrich, head of the German conglomerate's drugs business, told the Financial Times Europe was becoming "innovation unfriendly" because poli-

cymakers were making it more difficult to generate commercial returns on their investments.

The expansion of a medicines levy in the UK designed to limit the National Health Service's drugs bill and similar schemes in Germany dissuaded investment, he said.

"Europe is making some real big mistakes," Oelrich said during an interview at the JPMorgan Healthcare conference in San Francisco.

"European governments are trying to create incentives for research investment but they are making our lives miserable on the commercial side.

"If you have no sales you can benefit

on the cost side as much as you want but it is not a good equation."

Oelrich said Bayer was "deprioritising Europe to some degree" and focusing on the US and China, where its pharma division had already established a significant market presence. Beijing was increasingly welcoming of innovation while higher drug prices in the US enabled the company to compensate for the explosion of costs caused by high inflation, he said. "We are really shifting our commercial footprint and the resourcing of our commercial footprint much away from Europe," he added.

The pharmaceutical industry is becoming increasingly concerned about

new levies and taxes in Europe that threaten profits. Drugmakers warn that it risks denting the ambition of EU and UK policymakers for their countries to become leaders in life sciences research and innovation.

Last month Bristol Myers Squibb said the expansion of the UK's voluntary scheme for branded medicines pricing and access could divert investment away from the country.

This scheme is an agreement between the Department of Health and the pharmaceutical industry that requires drug companies to pay a portion of their revenues from their products to the government if the NHS's overall bill for medi-

cines rises by more than 2 per cent annually. In 2022 the rate was set by the department at 15 per cent, generating \$1.8bn in industry rebates. In 2023 it increased to 26.5 per cent and is forecast to cost industry \$3.5bn.

Oelrich said the UK levy increased rebates to the NHS and translated into lower net prices. These were "significant cuts" and Bayer was reducing its commercial footprint and jobs as a result.

Bayer's pharma division generates about 40 per cent of sales in Europe, the Middle East and Africa while North America and the rest of the world make up 25 per cent and 37 per cent respectively.

Automobiles

Ford to cut dependence on VW for electric cars

PETER CAMPBELL — COLOGNE

Ford is poised to cut its reliance on Volkswagen technology for its next generation of electric cars in Europe, unravelling a core part of the alliance formed between the rival carmakers two years ago.

The US brand is preparing to launch two vehicles this year and in 2024 that use VW's electric "MEB" system, which includes assembling VW-sourced batteries at Ford's plant in Cologne, Germany.

But from the middle of the decade Ford expects to launch vehicles that use its own in-house system, which is being engineered by the company in the US, according to Martin Sander, the head of electric vehicles in Europe.

The new system had "no kind of integration [with VW], it is very versatile, very capable", he said. "We are exploring all kinds of opportunities, how far can we go, what kind of segments can we cover with this."

He said a final decision was not taken on the future of its collaboration with VW on electric cars, adding that Ford was "open" to building future vehicles on other systems, whether by VW or "another company".

The two global carmakers formed an alliance in 2020 in order to join forces on electric cars, self-driving technology and commercial vehicles, one of several

partnerships across the industry as auto groups team up in the face of rising development bills.

VW and Ford recently stopped joint work on driverless cars, after the closure of the Argo AI business, though the pair still work closely together on commercial vehicles for Europe.

The US group will still build VW's next delivery van, as well as its next pick-up truck, and a future electric van.

Ford has been reshaping its business in Europe and positioning the brand to sell fewer types of vehicles. It hopes they will be more distinctive as the market becomes saturated with increasingly indistinguishable electric vehicles.

It recently announced the phase-out of the Fiesta, a historic small car that was the best selling model in the UK for several years, but has no plans to replace it with a battery version for the foreseeable future.

Sander said it depended on the overall feasibility of making any level vehicle work financially. "We know we have a big customer base," he added.

He said Ford expected to make a profit in the European wing of its electric car unit in 2025, which is in line with industry estimates that high costs and relatively low sales will hamper profitability in the short term.

The company would also pass through the rising costs of batteries into its models, he added.

The group may withdraw petrol or hybrid models from sale before its 2030 deadline for ending engine sales, if demand has shifted to electric models faster than expected.

Market questions. Week ahead

Investors watch for signs of UK inflation easing

Will the UK's December inflation data show tightening is paying off?

UK inflation is expected to have eased again in December, following the trend in the eurozone and the US.

Economists polled by Reuters forecast the annual rate of the UK consumer price index, due to be released on Wednesday, to have declined to 10.6 per cent in December. That is a touch lower than the 10.7 per cent in November and would mark the second consecutive slowdown from a 41-year peak of 11.1 per cent in October.

Samuel Tombs, economist at Pantheon Macroeconomics, expects the decline in the headline figure to be partially driven by a drop in motor fuel inflation but also by some further easing in core inflation, which strips out the more volatile energy and food prices. These trends "would encourage the [Bank of England] Monetary Policy Committee to end its tightening cycle soon", he said.

In the US, December's consumer inflation slowed to its lowest level in more than a year and dropped more than expected in the eurozone on the back of lower energy price growth.

Susannah Streeter, markets analyst at Hargreaves Lansdown, said she hopes UK inflation will mirror those movements but warned "the tight jobs market and relentless rise in food prices are likely to mean it stays stickier for longer".

Wage growth is still rising at a steady pace and is expected to continue, according to a closely watched survey by the BoE. As a result, markets are pricing in a half percentage point rate increase when the MPC meets again on February 2.

The bank rate rose from a historic low of 0.1 per cent in November 2021 to the current 5.5 per cent, with a peak expected at just above 4 per cent this year. *Valentina Romei*

What will China's GDP reading reveal about its economy?

Recent weeks have seen a flurry of "re-opening rallies" for commodities on the back of expectations that the recent end of China's zero-Covid policy will herald a boost for economic activity. But high-profile data released this week — including gross domestic product figures out tomorrow — could give investors pause. Economists at Goldman Sachs have forecast year-on-year growth for China



A supermarket in London's Chinatown. Food prices are expected to remain high even though inflation has been easing. *Dan Khoo/Gary Taggar*

of just 1.7 per cent in the fourth quarter of last year, implying full-year growth of only 2.6 per cent. This reflects both the continued drag from Covid-19 curbs early in the period as well as the negative impact of ending those measures, which led to hundreds of millions of infections in a matter of weeks.

But an earlier signal on the current state of China's economic health will arrive today, when its central bank announces its monthly decision on the one-year medium-term lending facility rate, which acts as the floor for the country's benchmark rate. With most economists expecting the People's Bank of China to stand pat, any move to ease by the bank could catch markets by surprise.

Some analysts have already slashed their China growth estimates for the first quarter. Oxford Economics recently cut its forecast to 2 per cent, down from 3.5 per cent, owing to concerns about domestic demand.

"Confidence and incomes are too frail for a quick recovery," said Louise Loo,

senior economist at Oxford Economics. "And though authorities have turned encouragingly pro-growth, there are meaningful constraints to further policy easing." *Hudson Lockett*

What are the chances of an oil rally this year?

Oil is at something of a crossroads. After starting the year on the back foot, with Brent crude falling below \$80 a barrel in the early days of the new year to hit lows not seen since the invasion of Ukraine, crude has ground higher again to finish this week close to \$85 a barrel.

There is a clear divide in the market. Some see signs of a demand-sapping recession capping crude's ability to rally this year. Russian crude oil export volumes have also broadly held up, despite western sanctions becoming tougher in December. But there are clearly those who see oil's recent pullback as a buying opportunity, with the market at risk of becoming complacent following a volatile 12 months.

Further EU sanctions are going to bar

'Flatlining Opec output, stalling shale activity and resilient demand have combined to make us more positive on oil'

the import of Russian refined fuels in February. Opec, which publishes its monthly oil market report tomorrow, and its allies have indicated their willingness to stop prices falling too far.

China's reopening and the end of its strict zero-Covid policy should eventually provide a boost to demand growth this year. US releases of strategic oil reserves, which helped calm the market following Russia's invasion, have ended. Even the world economy could be stronger than anticipated in 2023, with the natural gas crisis in Europe calming slightly, thanks to a mild winter.

Analysts at Redburn say the largest oil company could be a buy. "We remain reluctant to jump on the supercycles bandwagon but flatlining Opec output, stalling shale activity and resilient demand have combined to make us incrementally more positive on oil," Redburn said.

"With the [oil] majors still trading on close to all-time low multiples, the risk-reward continues to look attractive." *David Sheppard*

Pharmaceuticals. Mergers and acquisitions

Dealmaking recedes as drug companies keep their powder dry

Death of tie-ups reflects fear of inflation and US pricing law rather than lack of firepower

JAMIE SMYTH — SAN FRANCISCO
JAMES FONTANELLA-KHAN — NEW YORK

The chief executives of the world's largest pharma companies brought \$1.4tn of dealmaking firepower to their industry's flagship conference this week, according to an analysis by EY.

Yet few pulled the trigger. Last year, the value of dealmaking in the pharma and biotech sectors fell to its lowest level in five years, a 38 per cent decline year on year to \$199bn, according to Refinitiv data. There has been no pick-up this month, when deals often coincide with the JPMorgan Chase healthcare confer-

ence, announced in the first couple of weeks of 2023 compared with 247 during the same period last year — the worst record in 20 years, according to Refinitiv data. The overall deal value is down 27 per cent to \$4.9bn.

In pharma and biotech there have been 22 deals announced so far this year compared with 70 over the same period last year, though the overall value rose from \$2.6bn to \$4.4bn.

Dealmakers are the ultimate optimists and many believe the market will improve, with hopes fuelled by Amgen's agreement to buy Horizon Therapeutics for \$28bn last month — the largest pharma deal announced for two years. "The most optimistic sign for me going into 2023 was the ease and rapidity with [which] financing packages, even for some of the largest deals, were coming together in December," said

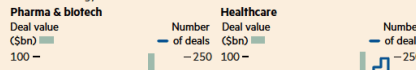
Pfizer, which is flush with Covid-19 revenues and recently completed a handful of deals, told the conference it plans to purchase assets capable of generating \$25bn in annual revenues by 2030. Analysts say Merck may be compelled to return to dealmaking soon as its blockbuster cancer drug Keytruda, which is forecast to generate more than \$30bn in revenues by 2030, will lose patent protection that year.

But Barry Greene, chief executive of US-listed biotech Sage Therapeutics, said the macroeconomic environment was a deterrent. "We need to get inflation under control. We need wars in Europe to stop. And we still don't know what the Fed's going to do [with interest rates]. And then in the US we have the Inflation Reduction Act, which is bad law," he told the Financial Times on the fringes of the conference.

Pharma dealmaking slumps in early 2023

First couple of weeks of January only

The start of the year has typically kicked off with some mega-deals in the sector, including Bristol Myers Squibb's \$9.3bn acquisition of Celgene and Eli Lilly's \$7.4bn offer for Loxo Oncology in the first weeks of 2019



the sector by regulators has raised transactions.

"The Federal Trade Commission is being quite aggressive. They are looking at some transactions on a pre-merger basis, and they are looking at private equity buyers that are serial acquirers," said Michael Beauvais, co-head of the strategic transactions practice at law firm Ropes & Gray.

"This is causing concern for companies because it can be disastrous if a publicly announced deal does not progress, particularly for a target."

Helen Sabzevari, chief executive of Fresenius, a clinical stage firm developing gene and cell therapies, said Big Pharma was showing more interest in acquiring companies after a dip from the sky-high valuations during the biotech boom. But strong clinical data were key, she added.

MARKET DATA

WORLD MARKETS AT A GLANCE



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

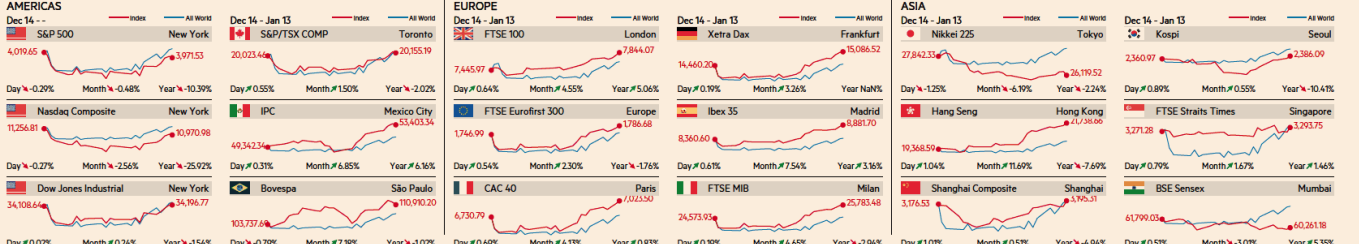


Table of stock indices with columns for Country, Index, Latest, Previous, and % Change. Includes indices from Argentina to Switzerland.

STOCK MARKET: BIGGEST MOVERS

Table of stock market biggest movers. Columns include Stock, % Change, and Sector. Lists top gainers and losers in various markets.

UK MARKET WINNERS AND LOSERS

Table of UK market winners and losers. Columns include Company, % Change, and Sector. Lists top performing and underperforming UK stocks.

CURRENCIES

Table of currency exchange rates. Columns include Currency, DOLLAR, EURO, POUND, and % Change. Lists rates for various global currencies.

FTSE ACTUARIES SHARE INDICES

Table of FTSE Actuaries Share Indices. Columns include Index, 10 Jan, 13 Jan, 15 Jan, 16 Jan, and % Change. Lists various actuarial indices.

FT 30 INDEX

Table of FT 30 Index. Columns include Index, 10 Jan, 13 Jan, 15 Jan, 16 Jan, and % Change. Lists FT 30 index components.

FT WILLIAMS SHARE INDEX SERIES

Table of FT Williams Share Index Series. Columns include Index, 10 Jan, 13 Jan, 15 Jan, 16 Jan, and % Change. Lists various FT Williams indices.

FTSE SECTORS: LEADERS & LAGGARDS

Table of FTSE Sectors: Leaders & Laggards. Columns include Sector, Index, 10 Jan, 13 Jan, 15 Jan, 16 Jan, and % Change. Lists performance of different market sectors.

FTSE 100 SUMMARY

Table of FTSE 100 Summary. Columns include Index, 10 Jan, 13 Jan, 15 Jan, 16 Jan, and % Change. Lists key statistics for the FTSE 100 index.

FTSE FINANCIALS

Table of FTSE Financials. Columns include Index, 10 Jan, 13 Jan, 15 Jan, 16 Jan, and % Change. Lists various financial indices.

FTSE GLOBAL EQUITY INDEX SERIES

Table of FTSE Global Equity Index Series. Columns include Index, 10 Jan, 13 Jan, 15 Jan, 16 Jan, and % Change. Lists various global equity indices.

UK STOCK MARKET TRADING DATA

Table of UK Stock Market Trading Data. Columns include Index, 10 Jan, 13 Jan, 15 Jan, 16 Jan, and % Change. Lists trading volume and other market data.

UK STOCK MARKET TRADING DATA

Table of UK Stock Market Trading Data. Columns include Index, 10 Jan, 13 Jan, 15 Jan, 16 Jan, and % Change. Lists trading volume and other market data.

MARKET DATA

FT500: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table with columns: Stock, Price, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists major UK companies like ANZ Bank, BHP Group, BP, etc.

FT500: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table with columns: Stock, Price, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists major US companies like Amazon, Apple, Microsoft, etc.

FT500: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table with columns: Stock, Price, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists major European companies like ASML, SAP, Bayer, etc.

FT500: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table with columns: Stock, Price, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists major Asian companies like Alibaba, Tencent, etc.

FT500: TOP 20

Table with columns: Company, Price, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists top 20 UK companies.

FT500: BOTTOM 20

Table with columns: Company, Price, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists bottom 20 UK companies.

BONDS: HIGH-YIELD & EMERGING MARKET

Table with columns: Index, Price, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists high-yield and emerging market bond indices.

BONDS: GLOBAL INVESTMENT GRADE

Table with columns: Index, Price, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists global investment grade bond indices.

INTEREST RATES: OFFICIAL

Table with columns: Country, Rate, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists official interest rates for various countries.

BOND INDICES

Table with columns: Index, Price, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists various bond indices.

VOLATILITY INDICES

Table with columns: Index, Price, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists volatility indices like VIX, etc.

GILTS: UK CASH MARKET

Table with columns: Maturity, Price, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists UK cash market data.

INTEREST RATES: MARKET

Table with columns: Instrument, Rate, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists market interest rates.

MARKET FIXES

Table with columns: Instrument, Rate, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists market fix rates.

BONDS: BENCHMARK GOVERNMENT

Table with columns: Index, Price, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists benchmark government bond indices.

GILTS: UK FTSE ACTUARIES INDEXES

Table with columns: Index, Price, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists UK FTSE actuaries indices.

COMMODITIES

Table with columns: Commodity, Price, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists various commodities.

BONDS: INDEX-LINKED

Table with columns: Index, Price, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists index-linked bonds.

MARKETS: TEN YEAR GOV SPREADS

Table with columns: Country, Spread, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists ten-year government spreads.

GILTS: UK FTSE ACTUARIES INDEXES

Table with columns: Index, Price, %Chg, High, Low, YTD, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists UK FTSE actuaries indices.

MANAGED FUNDS SERVICE

SUMMARY

Table with columns: Fund Name, Yr Return, Yr Return GBP, Yr Return USD, 3Yr Share Rate, 5Yr Share Rate. Includes funds like iFond Continental Europe, iFond Global ex-UK Equity, etc.

Table with columns: Fund Name, Yr Return, Yr Return GBP, Yr Return USD, 3Yr Share Rate, 5Yr Share Rate. Includes funds like iFond Global ex-UK Equity, iFond Global ex-UK Equity, etc.

Table with columns: Fund Name, Base Currency, Morningstar Rating, Morningstar Rating 3Yr, Morningstar Rating 5Yr, Morningstar Rating 10Yr. Includes funds like iFond Global ex-UK Equity, iFond Global ex-UK Equity, etc.

Table with columns: Fund Name, Base Currency, Total Return 3Yr, Total Return 5Yr, Total Return 10Yr. Includes funds like iFond Global ex-UK Equity, iFond Global ex-UK Equity, etc.

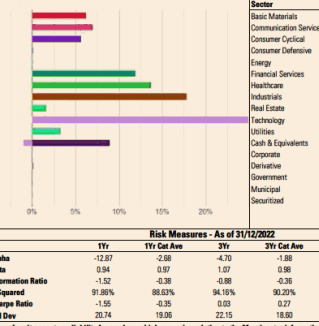
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Performance



Weightings - As of 31/12/2022



Global Broad Category Group - Property

Table with columns: Sector, Weighting, Cat Avg, Holding, Sector, Weighting. Lists various holdings like Microsoft Corp, Alphabet Inc Class A, Novartis AG, etc.

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Table with columns: Fund, Bid, Offer, +/Yield, 1Yr, 3Yr, Fund, Bid, Offer, +/Yield, 1Yr, 3Yr, Fund, Bid, Offer, +/Yield, 1Yr, 3Yr, Fund, Bid, Offer, +/Yield, 1Yr, 3Yr. Lists various funds and their performance metrics.

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Algebris Investments table listing various funds and their performance metrics. Includes columns for Fund Name, Bid, Offer, +/Yield, 1Yr, 3Yr.

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Fidelity International logo and text. Includes details about the company and its services.

Guinness logo and text. Includes details about the company and its services.

MANAGED FUNDS SERVICE

Table with columns: Fund, Bid, Offer, +/-, Yield, 1Yr, 3Yr. Includes MNP Investment Management Limited and MNP Manager Investment Programs POC Limited.



Table for Oasis Crescent Global Investment Funds (UK) (ICVC) UK. Lists various fund names and their performance metrics.

Table for Ram Active Investments SA. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Slater Investments Ltd. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Troy Asset Management. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Omnium Fund Ltd. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Royal London. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.



Table for Stewart Investors. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Orbis Investments (UK) Limited. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Platinum Capital Management Ltd. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Ruffer LLP. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Stonehage Fleming. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Marwyns Asset Management Limited. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.



Table for McLeroy & Wood Portfolios Limited. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Milltrust International Managed Investments (ICAV) (Ireland). Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Ruffer LLP (continued). Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Stonehage Fleming (continued). Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Zelig Gestion (Mannan Fund). Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Milltrust International Managed Investments SPC. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Mirabaud Asset Management. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Rubrics. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Stonehage Fleming Investment Management Ltd. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Superfund Asset Management GmbH. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Mirabaud Asset Management (continued). Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Praxik Investment Management LLP. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Rubrics (continued). Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Superfund Asset Management GmbH (continued). Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for TOSCAFUND. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Ministry of Justice Common Investment Funds. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Private Fund Mgrs (Guernsey) Ltd. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Scottish Friendly Asset Managers Ltd. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for SICO BSC (c). Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Thesis Unit Trust Management Limited. Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.



Table for Praxik Investment Management LLP (continued). Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.



Table for TOSCAFUND (continued). Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for TOSCAFUND (continued). Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Mirabaud Asset Management (continued). Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for Purisimo Investment Fds (UK) (2000F). Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

Table for SICO BSC (c) (continued). Lists various international funds and their performance metrics.

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Guide to Data

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A degree of diplomacy
How to solve the problem of university strikes
OPINION

The high-stakes business of managing brand 'Me'



Emma Jacobs
Business Life

Jack Monroe, known for creating recipes on a tight budget and campaigning against poverty, could not be more different from Prince Harry, son of King Charles. The former had little money as a single parent and resorted to food banks. The Duke of Sussex spent most of his life in gilded palaces, being served meals prepared by chefs. Yet the two have something in common. Both are examples of what I've come to see as "me-preneurs": people who commoditise their personal life.

Monroe's career as an expert on frugal shopping, meal planning and budget recipes started over a decade ago when, unemployed and struggling to feed her young son, she wrote a blog about cut-price cooking. This sparked a media and publishing career. By contrast, Prince Harry's life has been plagued by a voracious press hunger since his birth. Recently he decided to profit (reportedly for well over \$100m) from this interest and take control, by putting his own side of the story across through Netflix documentaries with his wife, Meghan, Duchess of Sussex, and in his new book, *Spare*, which has revealed deep



Kenneth Anderson

wounds in the royal family, sibling rivalry and broken dog bowls.

Monroe and Prince Harry are hardly alone in monetising their personal lives. Me-preneurs are everywhere. (My neologism is ugly, I know. But consider it payback for all the times I've had to endure reading about "mumpreneurs", otherwise known as a woman with a child and a business.) The most obvious examples of me-preneurs are TikTok, Instagram and YouTube influencers. They may share the pretty and frivolous parts of their lives, posting pictures of cute babies, nights out with their friends, or interiors, but there are also serious people who discuss grief and mental or physical health problems. Some do both. Recently, the actress Naomi Watts shared her menopause experiences as part of the launch for a skincare range for women dealing with dwindling hormones.

☞ **Monetising your life can mess with your head. You may hope to own the narrative but you can't control reactions** ☞

Me-preneurship has even percolated down to the stodgy realm of white-collar work. As loyalty between employers and staff has loosened, self-branding has become more important. More than 25 years ago, management guru Tom Peters made a case for employees to create "the brand called You". Back then it meant trumpeting your skills. Today it is more personal. LinkedIn, once a social media platform devoted to bragging about our career credentials, has become increasingly emotional. For example, one man's post from his hospital bed went viral last year. Written after a heart attack, he resolved to prioritise his family over Zoom meetings.

This blend of personal and work is part of the trend for authenticity, also known as bringing your whole self to work. In some cases, this has meant sharing stories of anxiety or infertility with colleagues in the office.

I'm hardly immune. I've written about my experiences of bereavement, parenting and harassment. Reporting personal stories shows the impact of policies and brings data to life. A person who has lost their job is more than a number in the unemployment rate, after all.

Monetising your life carries risks. For a start, it can mess with your head. You may hope to own the narrative but you cannot control reactions to it. These can be capricious, to put it politely.

Inevitably, life changes. A recent interview in *The Guardian* with Monroe described how she spent money on alcohol and furniture while struggling with addiction — money she'd raised for the public to continue her writing about budgeting. Some have called her a fraud, a charge she denies. But she could also be seen as trapped by a story that burnished her thrifty credentials and brought her to public attention. The public is fickle — if you don't deliver, they can move on.

What happens when you run out of personal material? *Spare* is Harry's first book and more are reported to follow. It is filled with tales of sibling fights, wicked stepmothers and romance. It is hard to see how he can keep serving up material to satiate interest.

Harry's financial future looks golden. But for anyone becoming a me-preneur, consider the risks. And without sounding like a dullard, maybe get a sensible job to fall back on?

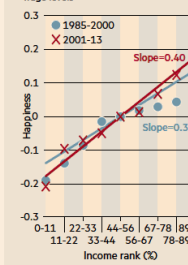
Pilota Clark returns next week

Lex.

Pay resentment: a little knowledge

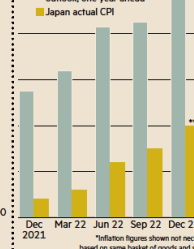
Pay disclosure has helped in Norway

Comparison of happiness at different wage levels



Fast Retailing's wage rise reflects Japanese inflation concerns

% BOJ households inflation outlook, one year ahead



Nothing is more annoying than discovering a colleague you do not rate is paid more than you are. But only a few businesses with cultures of "radical honesty" disclose individual employee pay. Curiously, it could be an unwitting means of keeping wages down.

Netflix just quit the movement, judging from recent news reports. The streaming giant had given bosses — vice-presidents, so-called "directors" and other marzipan layer managers — access to each other's pay data. Last year, it abandoned the practice.

As the ranks of senior managers grew, so did acrimony over who received what. We may surmise that the interdependence and idealism of workers in a start-up erodes as it becomes a large, established business.

Buffer, in contrast to Netflix, publicly reveals all the salaries of its workers worldwide. But the US-based media app has fewer than 80 employees.

Pay resentment is partly a function of scarcity. If a business is increasing pay across the board, invidious comparisons tend to be fewer. Japan's Fast Retailing, owner of the Uniqlo clothing chain, will face few complaints after raising pay up to 40 per cent.

Only about 15 per cent of UK workers are even aware of the pay ranges within

their companies, according to recruitment website Glassdoor. Over half of private sector companies do not advertise available job roles with salary information, according to research from the UK's Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development.

Fans of pay disclosure are apt to cite Scandinavian experiments. In Norway, income and tax are publicly disclosed. Research by the Anderson School of Management in Los Angeles claims this has made Norwegians broadly happier.

Correlation does not, of course, prove causation. Disclosure does appear to have valuable effects in reducing pay discrimination against women and minorities, though data does not need to be for named individuals. But openness may not "average up" pay levels for all ordinary toilers within companies in the way it does for chief executives across industries.

Indeed, transparency can reduce overall worker pay, according to research from the US National Bureau of Economic Research. Bosses nervously withhold pay rises from staff they would otherwise reward.

On that basis, Netflix may have doomed itself to a higher wage bill by abandoning pay openness among its managers.

NIKKEI Asia The voice of the Asian century

CROSSWORD
No 17,306 Set by FLIMSY

ACROSS

- Getting attractive (3)
- Where one might find criminal is in for November (6)
- Those who steal food returned with loaf and rusk, oddly (8)
- Look — a soft fruit (6)
- Checks bed — it squeaks, in part (5)
- Group of players upset others holding clubs in front of RFA (9)
- Around end of August, rakes paths (6)
- Foreign place is exceptional (7)
- Allegiance from kings, perhaps, with new leader (7)
- Greek's rooms (6)
- Urge rail reforms — resistance is wrong (9)
- Story still on the radio (5)
- A couple of fellows look for confrontation (6)
- Scot sins forming lies (8)
- Filthy — like this planet? (6)
- Went to a bike race wrapped up (8)

DOWN

- Legendary foxrot with talented dancer's beginning (6)
- Politician admitting mistake — one ultimately about land (9)
- Everyone's following hospital corridors (5)
- Ruffled anorak almost put on you in Paris (7)
- Show salesman envy (9)
- Small coin — something that may be picked up (5)
- Female leaving for shopping centre in New York, as usual (8)
- Book bargains with penny off (4)
- The large screws holding piano wire (9)
- Rose's hip wrinkled (9)
- Last time adult goes off without daughter (8)
- Squawk from chicken with no indication of pain (4)
- Where one might see holidaymakers bearing alcohol (7)
- Relieved after Conservative stopped (6)
- Turn both ways (5)
- Grandpas' teasing somewhat getting stick (5)

JOTTER PAD

Solution 17,304

DEDUCT OBSURED
G E L A O E E
REPAIR INGUATE
M L M M A N L M
OVERBLOWN TRIBE
U T U A D S D
STEPPING STONES
E H M H S K
ABRAHAM LINCOLN
A A L T I M I
VESPA NOTIFYING
A O N S S L N H
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WORK & CAREERS

How to ensure experiments leave the launch pad



Andrew Hill
Management

"Flight heritage" is how the commercial space industry likes to describe a record of success established by a string of missions for a satellite or a launch system.

The phrase cropped up last week in postmortems of Virgin Orbit's failure to launch the first commercial satellites from western Europe. "Space is hard," said Alice Bunn, president of UK trade body UKspace, after an "anomaly" condemned the LauncherOne rocket and its expensive payload to a fiery end before it reached its target orbit.

What this blot on Virgin Orbit's heritage underlined was the inevitable commercial tension between experimentation and predictability. Pioneering space ventures are in a constant cycle of "working out what happened and getting up and trying again", to paraphrase Bunn. Trial and error is how they advance, but terrestrial companies are not so different. In both cases, customers would prefer not to be on board for the "error" part. The challenge is deciding when to crystallise the findings of the experiment.

Back on Earth, the pandemic was a trigger for forced experimentation at many companies that had previously assumed the status quo in how, where, and when we work was immutable.

Now they have to decide when to incorporate changes in working practices into a more predictable framework. Even the World Economic Forum was obliged to try out a summer summit in 2022, before reverting to its regular January timetable. One question is whether corporate leaders will return to the Alps this week more open to the need to experiment or keener than ever to revert to pre-Covid certainties.

"It's very risky not to experiment," claims Costas Andriopoulos, innovation and entrepreneurship professor at Bayes Business School and author of *Purposeful Curiosity*. Teams that were curious, open-minded, and accepting of failure responded better to the sudden lockdowns of 2020, he believes. "If you don't experiment for a long time, then you bet the house and you either win, or lose everything."

That is a view shared by Phil Libin, co-founder of mobile app Evernote, who now runs All Turtles, a product studio that has adopted distributed working. The company has just implemented a seasonal structure, in which employees commit to a six-month stretch, followed by a two-week holiday taken at the same time by everyone. Libin admits it is a trial: "It's guaranteed that in a season or two we will say 'some of these things don't

make sense, we have to change it."

All Turtles has more flexibility than many to use itself as a laboratory. "Once we become a big company then predictability of execution is rewarded much more by markets and we'll have to experiment less," Libin says.

But much larger groups can also pilot new ideas, without betting the house. Unilever was able to test a radical shift to a four-day working week with an 18-month pilot in New Zealand, before rolling it out to some employees in Australia last year.

Elon Musk, who, through his leadership of SpaceX, knows more than most about how hard space is, has also brought real-time testing into the open at Twitter. The debate between those who want him to leave the familiar, predictable features of their favourite social media platform alone and those who applaud a state of rolling revolution has been vocal.

The cost and risk of a "perpetual pilot" approach are clearly lower for a digital company, which can change the customer experience at the touch of a button, or test multiple options simultaneously. Yet experimentation is a mindset unconstrained by a company's size, age, or sector. Whatever they think of Musk as chief executive, other companies could learn

Trial and error is how companies advance, but customers would prefer not to be on board for the 'error' part

from Musk the experimenter's effort to involve users in his experiments.

In the latest edition of Harvard Business Review, Rita McGrath and Ram Charan write about how digital technology can liberate managers and their teams to experiment in so-called permissionless corporations, characterised by flatter hierarchies, faster decision-making, and better customer relationships. They cite e-tailer Amazon, lift maker Kone and fund manager Fidelity as companies that have changed the pace and nature of the work they do using technology. "In the permissionless corporation, fast, inexpensive experimentation takes over from slow, involved analysis, enabling organisations to pounce on opportunities as they arise," they write.

There are pitfalls to running a group on perpetual pilot. Andriopoulos says sometimes managers "hide behind a lot of experiments because they don't want to move ahead and take a decision". Eventually, Virgin Orbit and its partners will take another shot at re-establishing their flight heritage. But they should not stop experimenting. The alternative, as Libin says, would be "to be paralysed by not knowing what would go wrong".

andrew.hill@ft.com

Employment

Wanted: older workers for flexible and desirable jobs

More companies are changing their attitudes towards age and targeting over-50s for key roles, writes *Delphine Strauss*



Susan Keighley, who quit her job to look after her dying father and then had cancer treatment, wants to find work again

Photo: De Pesta

A polylingual, well-connected non-executive director who spent his career running some of Europe's biggest mail order clothing businesses is, at 93, the oldest person on the payroll of David Nieper, a family-owned fashion business based in the Derbyshire town of Alfreton.

His experience has been invaluable, according to Christopher Nieper, the company's second-generation managing director. So has that of countless other older workers employed in the company's factories, call centre and offices. Based in an area with a long history of textiles manufacturing, the business has historically hired skilled staff from competitors that closed, while struggling to attract younger recruits.

As a result, the company now sponsors a local school, and puts effort into retaining older employees, offering flexible hours, and an extra week of annual leave to those who work past state pension age. "We try hard to hang on to them," Nieper says. "When somebody retires, I look at that and think, 'Oh no. We need two young people to replace one that leaves'."

This attitude is not unusual in manufacturing, where employers have been grappling for years with the challenges of an ageing workforce. But it is an alien mindset to many UK employers — who are alert to the need to forge better career paths for women and staff from minority groups, while often neglecting the needs of older employees and overlooking older candidates when recruiting.

A November poll by UK professional body the Chartered Management Institute found that just 4 in 10 managers were open to employing those aged between 50 and 64 to a "large or moderate" extent.

Some put it more bluntly. "Post-pandemic, one agency was honest enough to say they 'would not touch someone over 60 with a barge pole'," says John, a freelance software developer in his sixties who has stopped working after repeatedly running into similar attitudes.

This prejudice is backfiring badly. An exodus of older people from the workforce — just as UK employers lost access to the EU labour market — is a key factor in labour shortages that have been plaguing businesses in sectors ranging from logistics to hospitality, care and IT.

Since the start of the pandemic, there has been an increase of more than half a

million people in the UK workforce, says Susan Keighley, a 65-year-old who is now working in client support at Juno, an online conveyancing firm, which is run by her son-in-law.

She struggled for years to find work after quitting a high pressure post to look after her dying father — then losing out to younger candidates for a string of

luxury bootmakers John Lobb, says older employees in the company's Northampton factory tend to train others in crafts such as hand stitching, leather cutting and fitting, or work on bespoke orders that are less time-pressured than production for the ready-to-wear business. These multigenerational teams help to create a "stable, calm environment", he adds.

White collar employees are also seeking to blur the boundaries between full-time work and retirement — for example, by allowing employees to reduce their hours and start drawing on pension pots in a graduated way or by using former employees in consulting roles after they have retired.

All too often, older workers are overlooked for training and promotion by managers who assume they are no longer looking to take on new responsibilities — and a change in corporate policy will make little difference to this, unless matched by a broader shift in corporate culture.

Nick Smith, talent and development manager at Aggregate Industries, where 40 per cent of staff are aged over 50, says "subtle changes" have been crucial to set the tone at the building materials supplier. The company makes sure that the images used in its marketing are "not all just young, pretty people", and that the language used to advertise training "doesn't just look like it's for young upstarts", Smith told a workshop organised by the website Workingwise.

"Everything hinges on the capability of the line manager," says Chaplain of Ageing Better, underlining the gap

between those who want to leave the familiar, predictable features of their favourite social media platform alone and those who applaud a state of rolling revolution has been vocal.

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Book review

Offices from the past help us imagine spaces of the future

Edwin Heathcote looks at the latest books on the office and how corporate spaces may increasingly blur with the home

In his 2014 book *Cubed*, Nikil Saval suggested the first office buildings, not really knowing what this new type of building should look like, turned to the filing cabinet for inspiration. The new downtown US towers simply stacked floors of workers arranged in rows on top of each other, like drawers.

A century on and recovering from a pandemic, we are again unsure what an office should look like. Will it be more like a home? Domesticated with lounges and dogs? Or more post-industrial and nightclubby, all steel beams and ducts?

In reaction to a couple of years of sweatpants and Zoom, there is some nostalgia for the slick *Mad Men* office of mid-century Madison Avenue, sharp suits, slim ties, martini hours and sleek office furniture.

Two books point to a fetishisation of this period of corporate elegance. The authors of *Back to the Office* sneakily employ the phrase on everybody's lips to take a more literal trip into their 50 best office buildings and see how they have evolved. It is an interesting conceit as it presents the opportunity to check reality against image. Ideally minimal and elegant photos from the 1960s are juxtaposed with the mundane reality of layers of accretion and clunky furniture. Broadly, the best buildings hold up well.

Towers by architects Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, SOM, Marcel Breuer and Gio Ponti, and brutalist suburban campuses, have had mixed fates. But the best have survived, some repurposed as hotels or cultural spaces.

The best of these buildings (many still under threat) have lasted because they are beautiful. In *The Office of Good Intentions*, the architect Florian Idenburg and co-author LeeAnn Suen take a wider view of work, including cult sites such as Paolo Soleri's Arcosanti in the Arizona desert, the Burning Man and Frank Gehry's Menlo Park Facebook HQ. It delves into the less visible side of corporate culture: cleaners, furniture and the results of gentrification. Its design echoes the mess of a real desk, cluttered, and features

verité shots by architectural photographer Iwan Baan. Jeremy Myerson and Philip Ross's *Unworking* looks at the post-pandemic worlds of work, at the changes in corporate culture which began in the 1950s

efficiency. There are chapters on wellbeing, diversity and the changes in the city itself concluding we need to unlearn familiar notions of the office and develop a new approach that celebrates difference. Meanwhile, in *Living and Working*, Dogma, an office combining architecture and theory founded by Pier Vittorio Aureli and Martino Tattara, takes a historical view of the relationship between home and work. It argues against separation and proposes a co-operative architecture, accommodating both life and work that reconciles the home as an infrastructure defined by its use value". In addressing the crises of work and housing, it tackles big issues. While aimed at architects and designers, it offers political ideas that deserve broader discussion. What Dogma has

appreciated is that the discourse around the renewal of office culture is dependent on housing. The disconnection of the younger generation from the housing market has exacerbated the gulf between well-housed bosses and cash-strapped renters and ignores the layer of zero-hours pseudo-employees. If there is an odd nostalgia for the rigour of the mid-century office, it is perhaps because we miss the security of employment and the idea of leaving work at the office. During lockdown, the office came home with us and it has refused to leave.

The best of these buildings have lasted because they are beautiful

Unworking: The Reinvention of the Modern Office by Jeremy Myerson and Philip Ross. Reaktion Books, £15.99 / *Chicago Press*, \$22.50, 248 pages

The Office of Good Intentions: Human(s) Work by Florian Idenburg and LeeAnn Suen. Taschen, £50, 592 pages

Back to the Office: 50 revolutionary office buildings and how they sustained by Stephan Petermann (and others). NAI Publishers, £87.49, 500 pages

FEATURES

The Henry Mance Interview

‘Economists can’t predict the effects of new technologies. Surely that should humble us a bit?’

TYLER COWEN

The libertarian professor is on a mission to inform and educate so that people can make themselves more productive



Charlie Bibby/FT

T Tyler Cowen has only drunk coffee twice in his life. He only drinks tea if someone offers it. He doesn't touch alcohol. "Alcohol is bad for everyone's productivity."

Instead Cowen's drug of choice is information. He isn't just an addict—he's a peddler, a kingpin. Through his blogs, podcasts and books, he spreads big thoughts and highbrow trivia. He is among the most eclectic economists. He champions markets and big business. He insists that artificial intelligence, starting with chatbots such as ChatGPT, is about to change the world. But he also writes about restaurants, films and books—because he enjoys them, and because he's convinced that culture shapes markets (and vice versa). "People should collect more information about music, about economics, about books. So I try to show them how I do that."

A professor of economics at George Mason University in Virginia, Cowen has become a cult figure among a hyper-intellectual elite bent on self-improvement. Devotees of *Marginal Revolution*, the blog that he co-founded in 2003, include author Malcolm Gladwell and, he is told, the UK prime minister Rishi Sunak. But he wants more. He has launched an online university, made up of free economics modules.

"My personal ambition is to be the individual who has done the most to teach the world economics, broadly construed," he tells me. When I ask who his competitors might be for this title, he starts by naming Adam Smith and John Maynard Keynes.

Cowen's brand of economics is practical. Last year he and Daniel Gross, an

'South England [is] ... one of the few places you can really birth and execute a new idea'

entrepreneur, published a book, *Talent*, about how to hire creative individuals. Some organisations eschew unstructured interviews, worried that they discriminate against candidates. Cowen celebrates such free-flowing interviews, particularly if the interviewer asks about things that they're genuinely interested in.

He often delights in being contrarian. When we meet in London, the consensus is that Britain's economy couldn't be much worse. He disagrees. "I view south England—London, Cambridge, Oxford—as one of the most marvellous parts of the world, one of the few places where you can really birth and execute a new idea. You see it with the [Oxford Covid-19] vaccine, you see it with DeepMind. This corner of England: it's already passed Singapore-on-Thames. You've left Singapore in the dust!"

Doesn't Britain lack animal spirits? "That's true, partly. I wish the ethic of working hard and having a lot of money were [seen as] more unambiguously

anyway, they're just afraid to say it. Why not just say what you think?" He sees himself as more "psychologically integrated. My natural inclination is just to tell you what I think."

He wants to push economics beyond academic methods. He hasn't written any peer-reviewed articles since 2017. "I've done plenty," he says. "A lot of [economics] is too narrow. I've tried to engage with real world issues and express uncertainty when and where I feel it. I think that resonates with a great number of people."

Cowen, 60, was not always curious. He grew up in New Jersey with little interest in exotic food or travel. Then in his late teens he started travelling to New York, with its concerts, crowds and used bookstores.

He had his first economics papers accepted by journals aged 19, and was a tenured professor at 27. But it was blogging that allowed him to find his audience. "The modern internet totally changed my life."

Cowen's superpower is reading. He sees himself as hyperlexic, having the ability for prodigious reading. "If it's a non-fiction book where I know something about it, I could read maybe five books a night." He starts reading shortly after 7am, and eats dinner early, at about 5pm, finding it helps him work better in the evening.

His lists of best books of 2022 included 36 titles, including his own *Talent*. Yet he is open to non-readers: "Maybe books are overrated. Travel is underrated. Among smart educated people, books might be a little bit overrated."

Hyperlexia is often associated with autism, but Cowen does not have the social difficulties often felt by autistic people. In person, he is engaging and direct, his answers often helpfully blunt.

Conversation, like reading, is a way he gathers information. But neither is enough. "If you only were to read, you might stay an idiot." It's writing that "forces you to decide what you think about something. If you get something written every day, no matter what the length, it adds up to quite a bit. It's the people who go many days without writing who have productivity problems."

Since 2005, Cowen has written every day. On Christmas Day, he blogged on China's zero-Covid policies.



• **What present do you give most often?** Compact discs, maybe. But the real present is information: you tell someone about something. And then just money, right?

• **Would more wealth make you happier?** No. [But] it could be that when I'm 84 I'd be in a better nursing home, and that would make me happier.

On Thanksgiving, he asked why more currencies weren't more valuable than the dollar.

What is Cowen's overall credo? He seeks to view issues "drained of the emotion". That leads him to an optimism about human progress, not dissimilar to psychologist Steven Pinker's. He calls himself moderately libertarian, and has collaborated with the billionaire venture capitalist Peter Thiel's foundation. He has also defended classical liberalism against the populist right, arguing that the latter, by fomenting distrust in elites, may accelerate "the Brazilianification of the United States". "I don't know whether I'm centrist on the issues, but I'm centrist on the mood and the approach."

He is excited by technological change, but favours institutional continuity, even if the US's politics seem broken. "My core intuition is, if your per capita GDP is 30-40 per cent higher than that of most of your peer nations, probably not to change. I've always been anti-Trump [but] I don't think Trump will win again, or even get the nomination again. But it seems to me the system works. And we've had a lot of policy change lately, not all of it good, but it's not gridlock at all."

What does Cowen's open-mindedness

'I would have funded [FTX's Bankman-Fried] as a VC, I don't know if I would have hired him'

get him? He supported the former UK prime minister Liz Truss's tax cuts, which led to her being ejected from office. "I thought the market overreacted." In March 2022, he interviewed Sam Bankman-Fried, the founder of now defunct crypto platform FTX, and declared him "excellent".

Cowen first met Bankman-Fried a decade ago. They played bughouse chess, a variation of the game. "He was good. He was better at bughouse than at chess. It's a very important concept for understanding FTX. You have four people and two boards. If I take your piece on this board, I hand it to my partner, and my partner can plunk the piece down in lieu of making a move. You can be in this desperate situation, all of a sudden your partner hands you a queen. So there's no balance sheet in bughouse chess. Things come out of nowhere to save you. You play desperately and take a lot of risk. If people play bughouse, that's their core mentality."

Cowen is a talent spotter. After interviewing Bankman-Fried, would he have hired him? "I would have funded him as a VC, I don't know if I would have hired him as an employee. One thing Daniel Gross and I say in *Talent* is: conscientiousness is the hardest trait to judge and the easiest trait to fake."

Cowen remains hopeful about crypto. "Crypto is such a truly new idea. And people shouldn't just dump on it." In general, he sees disruption as

predict business cycles, we can't predict the effects of new technologies. Surely that should humble us a bit?"

He plans to focus less on writing and more on speaking appearances, to adapt to readers spending time with chatbots. "If they built a really good GPT [chatbot] that mimicked me, I would be really happy. It would make some version of me immortal. I'm 60, and I have tenure and other sources of income,

so not everyone is in that position."

Cowen's optimism has limits. "The chance of there being a nuclear war in any given year, I'm more optimistic than most people. But if you just run enough years, it will happen. How many years do you have to run before the chance is pretty high? My guesstimate was 700-800 years. You can argue about the number, but it's not a million years. I don't think it would kill all humans,

but it would wreck what we consider civilisation."

Yet the prospect doesn't seem to bother him. "If we have better institutions, make better decisions, we can make a difference." For now, there are talented people to discover, interesting ideas to curate. He leaves our interview, no doubt to empty London's bookshops and to fill his lifetime with as much information as will possibly fit.

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ARTS

House party with a very special guest

POP
The 1975
O2 Arena, London
★★★★★

Ludovic Hunter-Tilney

The word “transgressive” has been uttered by Matty Healy in recent interviews with the frequency of an English literature essay about *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*. It turns out to be linked to the staging that the puckish singer has devised for his band The 1975’s At Their Very Best tour.

Intended to subvert the mechanical precision of the typical arena show, the dates before the tour’s arrival for two nights at the O2 Arena have featured Healy swigging from a bottle of wine and a flask of spirits, taking bites from a slab of raw meat and kissing fans: female, male, whatever – proper lip-smackers. He has had a tattoo of “I’m a man” inscribed on his chest and sucked the thumb of a delighted audience member. What fresh transgression might the London venue expect?

As it turned out, nothing that hadn’t been done earlier in the tour – although there was a very big surprise, of which more later. First came the unveiling of the Manchester band’s impressive stage set. It was a mocked-up interior of a large house, complete with stylish 1960s furniture, old-fashioned television sets, bookcases, many lamps and two floors. Members of the band entered, turning on the lights.

Healy crawled out from a sofa, yawning and stretching. He promptly transgressed by firing up the first of many cigarettes.

The singer was flanked by guitarist Adam Hann and bassist Ross MacDonald. Drummer George Daniel sat behind them on the first floor. All wore dark suits, like salarymen. Strobing piano chords introduced the dynamic opening song from their latest chart-topping album, *Being Funny in a Foreign Language*, whose tracks dominated the first half of the setlist.



Matty Healy on stage with The 1975 at the O2 Arena. Below: Taylor Swift made an appearance – Jordan Curtis/Hughes

Boosted by extra players on keys, guitar, sax and percussion, the music underlined The 1975’s talent for tightly constructed but stylistically free songs. “Part of the Band” evoked Paul Simon; “Oh Caroline” was a high-definition vision of 1980s soft-rock. Saxophonist John Waugh gave an E Street Band uplift to “Happines”.

Meanwhile, Healy lurched around with a half-full wine bottle or hip flask, clutching a microphone with his other hand. He sang brightly, in a soft tone, a dissolute rock frontman with a boyish pop singer’s voice.



The concepts driving the staging were high-flown but unclear. Never shy of grand ideas, Healy waved his wine bottle and talked about floundering masculinity and wokeness as though holding court in the kitchen of a student party. Raw meat was consumed, he groped himself and did push-ups, then crawled into a television set (of course) and disappeared. At which point, a shrill note of excitement rose through the arena – as none other than Taylor Swift walked through the door of the stage house in a glittery party dress.

An old friend of Healy’s, the world’s biggest pop star proceeded to play an acoustic-guitar version of her hit “Anti-Hero”, accompanied by a mass sing-along. She followed it with an astute cover of The 1975’s electronic-pop number “The City”. The high note of excitement was still jangling around the venue as she exited, and the band returned for the second half.

Few performers would have the chutzpah to think they could follow such a *coup de théâtre*, but Healy is one such. With a showman’s verve, he tore through a sequence of back-catalogue favourites with his bandmates and their touring musicians. The display of drunkenness continued, but his sharpness showed it to be a masquerade. The first law of successful arena entertainment – make it spectacular and memorable – was finessed, not transgressed.

the1975.com

Rattle works his magic on Janáček

OPERA
Katya Kabanova
Barbican, London
★★★★★

Richard Fairman

Although Simon Rattle has never held a music director’s post in an opera house, he has amassed a considerable amount of experience in opera. Guest conducting in Aix-en-Provence, Amsterdam, Berlin, Glyndebourne, London, New York, Paris and Salzburg has given him opportunities to deepen his knowledge of the opera composers closest to his heart.

Prime among these is Leoš Janáček. It is a mark of how the operatic landscape has changed that, while Charles Mackerras stood almost alone in the postwar years waving the flag for Janáček in the west, conductors now put his operas at the centre of their programmes. Rattle clearly feels more at home with Janáček than he did at first with Wagner, or even now with Italian opera, the traditional core of the repertoire.

The same goes for orchestras, which have become impressively adept at Janáček’s idiosyncratic style. This concert performance of *Katya Kabanova* with the London Symphony Orchestra revealed a level of precision and subtlety that would have eluded most orchestras half a century ago.

Since his years with the Berlin Philharmonic, Rattle’s way with Janáček has become richer and deeper in sound, more majestic, weightier. One might miss the transparency of sound that Mackerras revealed, but in its place came much heartfelt shaping of phrases and a spark of electricity in the detail. Lighting up every twist and turn of Janáček’s music probably comes as second nature to Rattle, a conductor drawn to living each moment to the full, rather than charting a work’s long-term architectural design.

If the intention was to show off

the LSO’s quality in this music, that was comprehensively achieved, and not only because having the orchestra on stage gave it a dominant place in the sound picture. The singers did well to hold their own, especially when Rattle let rip at the close of the second act or during the thunderstorm of the third.

As in the recent Royal Opera production, the title role was sung by Amanda Majeski. Although she suggests little of Katya’s intense, bottled-up frustration, it would not be easy to find the role better sung, warm, sensitive, always projecting over the orchestra and, most importantly, glowing with lyrical beauty.

By and large the cast offered an experienced line-up. Katarina



Simon Rattle conducts the LSO

Dalayman was an incisive Kabanicha. Simon O’Neill, more often seen in Wagner, showed that he can double successfully as a Janáček tenor, unfazed by the awkward heights of Boris’s role. Magdalena Kožená was a vivid Varvara and Andrew Staples avoided caricature as Katya’s weak-willed husband, Tichon. In general, they made less impact as characters than in a staged production, though Pavlo Hunka, a late replacement as lecherous old Doko, made up for that somewhat.

barbican.org.uk
Streamed on Marquee TV on February 2



Simon O’Neill and Amanda Majeski in ‘Katya Kabanova’ – Mark Allen

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Chief Economist
EBRD



An Isis recruit in her own words

PODCASTS
Fiona Sturges



I felt like I was not inside my body, it felt like a dream,” says Shamima Begum, that comes off looking worst, at least so far. Through the testimony of Salman Farsi, a communications officer at East London Mosque, we hear how Begum’s family were besieged by reporters in the days following shamima’s disappearance.

There is devastating audio from that time of Farsi on the phone to Begum’s older sister: “Don’t cry,” he says, before ending the call and dissolving into tears himself. It is also

security risk and a traitor who should “rot in hell”. Baker’s podcast is naturally above such inflammatory language, though the objective is much the same as those phone-ins: to ascertain how we should judge Begum. Predictably, the series has already caused a furor, with assorted media commentators raging at the BBC for giving a platform to a supposed terrorist.

In fact, it is the media, rather than Begum, that comes off looking worst, at least so far. Through the testimony of Salman Farsi, a communications officer at East London Mosque, we hear how Begum’s family were besieged by reporters in the days following shamima’s disappearance.

There is devastating audio from that time of Farsi on the phone to Begum’s older sister: “Don’t cry,” he says, before ending the call and dissolving into tears himself. It is also

telling that an old school friend of Begum’s, who calls herself Zara, declines to give her real name to Baker, following her encounters with the press after Begum went missing. “We were bombarded at bus stops by journalists, paparazzi,” she says. “School would have to literally chaperone us on to the buses. That’s how bad it was.”

It’s early days for the series, but the signs so far are of a gripping and nuanced production keen to build a complete picture of Begum based on evidence rather than hearsay. What it can’t avoid, though, is the frothing and fury that erupt elsewhere whenever Begum becomes headline news. *I’m Not a Monster’s* intentions may be honourable, but ultimately it can only add to the noise.

bbc.co.uk/programmes



Shamima Begum tells her story in the new BBC podcast ‘I’m Not a Monster’

FT BIG READ. SINGAPORE

The city-state's role as a regional hub of finance has been enhanced by an influx of wealthy exiles from China who see it as a safe haven from geopolitical instability. But for how long can it stay neutral?

By Mercedes Ruehl and Leo Lewis

Shortly after opening its doors on a Tuesday morning in mid-December, the Rolls-Royce showroom in Singapore's Redhill neighbourhood was already bustling. US-China tensions remain high, financial markets are skittish, the risk of global recession looms heavily: it is the perfect time to put down an \$80,000 deposit on a hot pink Phantom.

The number of Rolls-Royce cars registered in Singapore surged in 2021 and remained at record levels in 2022 – waiting lists for the cars now stretch into years. One type of buyer dominates. For the cars that leave the forecourt, a predictable future in the city-state awaits – shutting the short routes between the mansions and apartments of Sentosa and other pockets of extreme wealth to luxury shopping malls, the discreet offices of their family funds and the private clubs of Orchard. According to employees at the showroom, the new buyers are overwhelmingly Chinese.

The flows are part of a transformation of Singapore that is becoming a proxy for the way in which one segment of China is dealing with geopolitical tension and decoupling.

Chinese individuals, their families, their companies and their advisers, according to a wide range of bankers, lawyers, accountants and investors interviewed by the Financial Times, see Singapore as the vessel that can navigate them through a series of expected storms. At the same time, they add, it is becoming an increasingly vital place for outposts of Wall Street and the global financial industry to interact with them. For many years, Singapore has liked to sell itself as the Switzerland of Asia. The new cold war, says one former top official, is finally turning that pitch into a reality. The big question, though, is how far Singapore will tolerate being Switzerland with Chinese characteristics.

"This is a dramatic, epochal realignment of wealth in Asia. Capital moves as quickly as it can to the safest destinations with the highest rate of return. In Asia, that place is increasingly Singapore," says Drew Thompson, visiting fellow at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy in Singapore.

The change on the ground in Singapore is palpable. Property deals by mainland buyers are the dominant transaction and the international schools are bursting at the seams, with hundreds of Chinese applicants for a vanishingly small number of places.

Singapore's status as an Asian financial hub has been doubly enhanced by the Chinese influx. The number of Chinese family funds in Singapore has soared from a handful a few years ago to an estimated 600 today. At the same time, some 500 Chinese businesses have registered in the city in the past year, preparing to use their Singapore-based status to venture into India and other jurisdictions where they face obstacles.

There is exponentially more business for private wealth managers and other financial services and, as the scale of activity has grown, it has made sense for many of the largest US, European and Japanese investment banks to shift senior staff to Singapore from Hong Kong.

"I think many mainland China clients still see Singapore as a safer long-term bet than Hong Kong for a few reasons. First is political stability, second is economic stability and finally, its rising status as Asia's financial hub," says Kia Meng Loh, co-head of private wealth and family office practices at Dentons Rodyk, a law firm.

But for all the signals that Singapore has found itself in a prime position to thrive amid geopolitical uncertainty, the story has vulnerabilities. China's tolerance of what has been happening – the exodus of capital and individuals – will eventually have a breaking point.

Singaporean society could also push back, warn senior figures close to government. The cost of living has soared, angering locals who see danger and division in the rising rents, the bursting schools and the growing number of Rolls-Royces. Meanwhile, the inflow of so much capital so quickly also exposes Singapore to the potential for bad actors using it as a spot to hide money.

"Capital is always moving. And it, and the people controlling it, can just as easily flow back out," says one investment banker based in the city.

Draw of stability

Singapore has been a hub for Chinese migration and capital since it was first declared a freeport by Sir Stamford Raffles in the 19th century. Roughly three-



Chinese flock to Asia's Switzerland

Singapore's status as an Asian financial hub has been enhanced by an influx of Chinese money and talent. Below right, lanterns are displayed in the Chinatown district. At a time of intense geopolitical rivalry between the west and China, Singapore remains open and welcoming of both

FT mortgage APFJ/Getty Images; Rostan Rahman/APFJ/Getty Images

'Singapore is a choice globally, not just for Chinese. The politics is stable, and the economy is stable, and capital can flow easily'

tures, a Singapore-based venture capital fund with many Chinese backers.

That appeal has grown during the pandemic. As China sealed itself off from the world, employed harsh lockdown measures and cracked down on wealth as part of a "common prosperity drive", some in mainland China looked overseas.

As many parts of the world, particularly the west, have become more wary of Chinese investment and business, Singapore's neutrality, stability, low taxes and low corruption makes it an obvious choice.

Investment migration consultancy Henley & Partners has had a significant rise in migration inquiries from Chinese nationals in 2022, which are up 83 per cent by end of November compared to the full year 2021. In the top two positions were Greece and Portugal, which offer "golden visas" that grant residence without having to spend time there. Singapore, even without that incentive, was in third place.

"Generally, in pure investment migration programmes, such as Portugal, the vast majority of people don't move. Singapore and China are different. A lot do want to move physically," says Dominic Volek, head of private clients at Henley & Partners.

One of the most obvious areas where this flow of Chinese capital can be seen is in family offices, the private wealth management firms set up for rich individuals and their relatives. If they are domiciled in Singapore, family offices qualify for tax exemptions. Coupled with the city's stability and a globally respected financial regulator, the numbers of the funds have exploded. Approvals are taking months as the Monetary Authority of Singapore grapples with the surge.

Singapore has gone from some 50 family offices in 2018 to 700 by the end of 2021 and lawyers and wealth management advisers estimate that number reached about 1,500 by the end of 2022. IQ-EQ, an investor services firm, estimates about 40 per cent of that total are mainland Chinese.

Wang Jue, a 35-year-old from Chengdu in China, represents one of

many of the Chinese entrepreneurs venturing overseas and choosing Singapore as a business base. Wang says he shifted more assets from his Hong Kong family office to a new Singapore family office set up in 2021. The art collector lives in China but visits Singapore frequently and owns property in the city.

"Singapore is a choice globally, not just Chinese," he says over a Zoom interview, with work by US artist KAWS, Japanese painter Yayoi Kusama and a Ming dynasty antique in the background. "The politics are stable, the economy is stable and finally, it is a finance centre so capital can flow easily in and out."

Many of those family offices go on to set up other types of structures such as offshore funds. The number of Investment funds launched as part of a 2020 government scheme designed to lure money from rival low-tax jurisdictions has surged to 776 at the end of 2022 (from 470 at the end of 2021), according to figures from Singapore's accounting authority. Called a Variable Capital Company (VCC), the vehicle is meant to attract those who traditionally looked to jurisdictions such as the Cayman Islands to house assets.

Caroline Lee, who advises Chinese clients with a family office in Singapore, agrees with Volek of Henley & Partners that Chinese are increasingly looking to move to Singapore. Opening a family office opens the door to getting a visa to live and work in Singapore, she says. "They see Singapore as cosmopolitan. They can speak Chinese or English and it is easy to adapt."

One of the key attractions is Singapore's education system, seen as one of the best in the world. The vice-principal at one of the city's large international schools says anecdotally that of the last 20 families accepted at the school, half had been from China.

Real estate data also show two strong years of property purchases in Singapore by mainland China. According to government data, Chinese citizens bought 1,738 flats in 2021, which was 50 per cent higher than in 2019.

Private residential property rents hit a record high in 2022, surpassing the previous peak in 2013, according to Urban Redevelopment Authority data – the last time Chinese mainlanders were heavily buying Singaporean residential property.

"What our agents are telling me is that they are expecting more sales with the reopening of China," says Christine Sun, senior vice-president of research from OrangeTee & Tie, a property research consultancy. "This past year, a large portion have been luxury buyers. Once China relaxes we are expecting more

Singapore show. By comparison, net fund inflows in Hong Kong for asset management for 2021 was HK\$1.514tn (\$194bn), compared with HK\$1.379tn in 2020, according to the city's Securities and Futures Commission.

'Existential risk'

That realignment of wealth has brought tantalisingly closer the city's long-held ambition of being a deeper and self-sustaining financial hub.

"The thing that Covid did for Singapore was that prior to the crisis it really struggled to have that community of finance professionals to the extent that it became self-sustained. Now the flow is here. The decision makers are here... Prior to the pandemic it wasn't as deep," says Michael Marquardt, Asia chief executive of IQ-EQ, an investor services firm that sets up family offices.

At a time of geopolitical rivalry between the west and China, Singapore remains open and welcoming of both. "You can be Chinese, come here and eat Chinese and do business and have a network. If you are from New York, you can come here, eat your food, do business and have a network," Marquardt adds.



Singapore has also stolen important conferences from under Hong Kong's nose. SuperReturn Asia, Asia's leading private capital conference, last year was held in Singapore for the first time and attracted large companies and investors from all over the world, including China.

"When Singapore wants something, the whole machine gets behind it. Singapore Venture Capital Association co-hosted [the event], Singapore Tourism Board provided sponsorship, the Monetary Authority of Singapore and other agencies provided content, the sovereign [investors] were supportive and spread the word," says Shane Chesson, a founding partner of Singapore's Openspace Ventures, who was involved in moving the conference location. "They've played a blinder but they also move quickly and don't squander the opportunity," he adds.

'You run the risk of China being covetous of Singapore. The more Sincised it becomes, the more it could be seen as part of greater China'

their accompanying flows of capital and seeing it as an opportunity to extend its influence.

"You run the risk of China being covetous of Singapore as a Chinese outpost. The more Sincised and mainland it becomes, the more it could be seen as part of greater China," says Thompson. "It is an existential risk."

The other issue Singapore's ruling party is grappling with is the impact on the city's carefully managed societal mix. The government for instance sets ethnic quotas in public housing – where about 80 per cent of Singaporeans live – as a way of trying to ensure racial and religious harmony.

Cracks are emerging. The conversations among wealthy – and aspiring wealthy – Singaporeans and other parts of its establishment regularly turn to complaints about the new Chinese nationals building "enclaves" or "mini Chinatowns" in certain neighbourhoods.

But the clearest indication of unhappiness among the local population is the cost of living, and especially rising rents. According to data from the URA, rents for private homes surged 8.6 per cent in the third quarter, which was the steepest growth since 2007. Rents for private apartments, dominated by foreigners and expats, and government-subsidised housing, where most citizens live, are soaring.

"The government was quite happy for people to blame Hong Kong expats. But it has become pretty clear that while that was a contributing factor, the real reason for the eye-popping prices has been the Chinese buyers, many of whom are willing to pay double the asking rent, or pay millions in cash for properties that sit empty," says one real estate agent.

There is a concern that at some point the Singapore authorities will face ever louder complaints from the middle class and, potentially, from the thousands of foreign professionals living and working there. If the quality of life changes, a lot of that wealthy capital might move on, experts warn.

In this respect, Hong Kong's swift transformation under a new national security law and its loss of business and people due to Covid restrictions offers a cautionary tale for Singapore on how quickly a city's fortunes can change.

Singapore, sums up Simon Tay, chair of the Singapore Institute of International Affairs, is in a sweet spot as globalisation slows.

"In a world where China is looking for friends, it gets a warm reception in Singapore. At the same time, Wall Street and US companies increasingly see us



The FT View



FINANCIAL TIMES
"Without fear and without favour"

ft.com/opinion

China's rapid reopening will stir the rest of the world

The end of 'zero-Covid' has implications for growth and inflation around the globe

As the global elite descend upon Davos this week, they will have a smattering of optimistic tidbits to enliven otherwise awkward conversations about the bleak economic outlook for 2023. For starters, inflation appears to be peaking across the world. In the US it fell to its lowest in more than a year. Across the pond, European natural gas prices have dropped to pre-Ukraine invasion levels. The latest data have made some analysts hopeful that annual global growth will not be as glum as the World Bank's 1.7 per cent forecast released earlier last week. But uncertainty has not abated — and one wild card question that will loom large over the forum's deliberations is what China's surprisingly rapid reopening will mean for the global economy.

After almost three years of self-isolation, China — the world's second-largest economy — finally reopened its borders on January 8. It has now lifted the bulk of its stringent pandemic restrictions. Few expected president Xi Jinping to capitulate so rapidly on his "zero-Covid" strategy, particularly with so few preparations. Covid-19 has now ripped through the country, with an estimated tens of millions catching the disease each day at one point.

While sickness has dented Chinese economic activity, there are signs that the disruption is fading fast. Some indicators suggest that peak infections in some cities will soon pass, worker shortages are easing and consumers are spending again. Curbs on property developers have also been lifted, though there is scepticism over a purported easing in tech regulation. Capital Economics, a consultancy, now expects China to report 5.5 per cent growth this year, up from 3 per cent earlier. If China can ride out its grim exit wave, its

bounce back could have significant global implications.

A resurgence in China's pent-up consumer and investment activity will support global demand. Goods exporters and Chinese tourist destinations, particularly across south-east and east Asia, will benefit. A surge in bookings on travel websites points to a potential recovery in global spending by Chinese tourists, which in 2019 amounted to \$255bn. As the world's largest consumer of commodities, the country's recovery will give a boost to metal and energy exporters too. And alongside stronger demand, since China supplies 15 per cent of the world's goods exports, global supply chain pressures are likely to ease further.

Higher demand could, however, prop up global price pressures. Copper, iron ore and other metal prices exposed to China's property sector have recently rallied. Meanwhile, with China accounting for about a sixth of global oil consumption, some forecasters now project that prices could push back above \$100

As the largest consumer of commodities, the country's recovery will boost metal and energy exporters too

a barrel in 2023. In Europe, there may be implications for energy supply. Last year, the EU was able to build up gas reserves despite Vladimir Putin's closure of major pipelines, largely by importing liquefied natural gas. As Chinese LNG demand returns prices will rise and competition for gas will intensify, which could leave Europe with shortages next winter.

If China's rebound keeps energy prices elevated, inflationary pressures may take longer to wind down, and central banks could be forced into tightening monetary policy even more. With the impact of interest rate rises last year still filtering through to households and businesses, this will be another hit to growth. As the World Bank warned, "any new adverse development" could push the world into recession, given how fragile economic conditions are. Indeed, just how the pandemic plays out in China — and what Xi does next — will be a major factor in how 2023 shapes up for the global economy.

Opinion Asia

What will growth stocks be in the loneliness economy?

Maria Hergueta



Leo Lewis

S ometime over the next few weeks, China could reveal that its long-dreaded infection-point — where the world's most populous nation begins to shrink — has either arrived, or is extremely close. Demographics may be a slowly painted picture of a future that has already happened, but moments like this deliver the instant psychological jolt of era change. In this case, say fund managers, the shift may also mark the emergence of mass loneliness as its own distinctive investment theme, with Asia at its forefront.

When Beijing declares the official number of births in 2022, some expect the tally to show a seventh straight year of decline and a record low of about 10m. That figure, according to reports citing the forecasts of independent demographer He Yafu, will probably come in below the total number of deaths, creating a

childless citizens, rising number of divorced people and growing population of rural elderly abandoned by relatives who have migrated to cities. Official forecasts in 2021 suggested that the number of people living alone in China would reach 52m in 2022. In Japan, which in 2021 put a state minister in a chair of dealing with loneliness, a third of people over 60 have no close friends outside their family.

Some fund managers say they have begun applying deeper analysis to Asia's expanding "loneliness economy" — consumer spending patterns of the solo life that fall outside more general analysis directed towards the economics of family shrinkage, lower household creation and ageing.

What kind of stocks might feature most prominently in an upcoming investment portfolio? Video games, streaming services, virtual reality and certain versions of the metaverse are obvious candidates. Innovation around monetising virtual or real communities would also feature. But there is a simple room, said one Hong Kong investor, for more creative thinking of how the loneliness epidemic affects property development, food consumption and travel.

Other growth areas will surely include pets, robotic and otherwise. The ownership, feeding, insuring, clothing and treatment of animals as companions for the lonely, say fund managers, would be prominent. In a 2021 note, Goldman Sachs laid out a forecast of 19 per cent annual compound growth opportunities in China's \$30bn pet market.

When any investment strategy, suggests a separate analysis by Citigroup, would also need to embrace robots and their role in the loneliness epidemic. Robotic cats and seals are increasingly regular inhabitants of elderly care homes in Japan. As artificial intelligence improves, a higher premium will be placed on robots that can engage in plausibly human small talk, provide help in contacting human loved ones and persuasively cajole people into taking exercise.

The risk, though, is that while there may be opportunities out there for investors, rising loneliness also holds far greater threats. There is the question of how regularly Keynes's animal spirits — those elusive forces on which buoyant economies and markets depend — make an appearance once a nation knows it is getting smaller. For more than 30 years, since the bursting of its stock and property bubble, Japan has repeatedly failed to entice these back into any sustained cheerleading

Letters

Why hypothecating tax revenues for the NHS made no sense

I am surprised that Robert Shrimley gives some retrospective credibility to the bogus hypothecation idea embodied in the "health and social care levy", initially supported by Boris Johnson when UK prime minister and by Rishi Sunak, the current holder of that office when he was chancellor of the exchequer ("UK politics still suffers from 'long populism'", Opinion, January 12).

A genuine hypothecation of tax

revenues to specific expenditure can work only for spending of inherently low priority, where there would be no great problem in cutting back the commitment if the earmarked revenue were to fall short.

Probably the sole successful example ever in the UK involves a voluntary tax — the National Lottery — and supports such projects as subsidies to British competitors in the Olympic Games. The health and social care levy might

have had some credence had its proceeds been confined (in respect of England) to central government spending supporting social care alone — which presently comes mainly through means tested benefits for the care home residents.

Throwing in the NHS as well, where pre-existing expenditure exceeds any conceivable new tax levy, guaranteed to be a political fraud. This is the case regardless of what one thought of the

levy's component parts — ie, higher taxes on earnings (now scrapped) and on dividends (still retained).

I would nevertheless give Shrimley credit for one thing. Unlike some of your other columnists, he acknowledges that the dreaded bugbear of "populism" is applicable to attitudes that can be seen on the political left as well as the right. **Andy Thompson**
Worcester Park, Surrey, UK

Oyster cards would work better than carbon levies

As your editorial points out, applying upstream, supply-side carbon taxes will be a fraught route given the complexities of World Trade Organization rules mired in the complexity of so-called internality economics (FT View, January 12).

National governments and trading blocs are far better advised to focus on influencing demand-side behaviour by implementing systems of personal carbon credits.

Oyster cards work. Why not issue similar rechargeable carbon cards when purchasing specific carbon intensive goods?

When the personal allowance is used, higher prices apply at point of sale (a carbon tax) to fund redemptions by those who operate low carbon lifestyles and are thus able to cash in their credit. It might even be significantly wealth redistributive, compared to across the board subsidy largesse to all and sundry, regardless of their (internality) income.

Peter Jones
North Kilworth, Leicestershire, UK

West must sacrifice more than 'treasure' in Ukraine

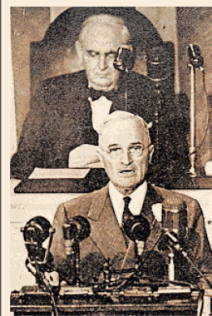
In the context of war raging north of the Black Sea, Alan Beattie's article, "Trade sometimes needs American weapons more than European values" (Opinion, January 12) neatly sums up the west's priorities when he opines that "the US's attempts to weaponise trade are legitimate subjects of criticism. But its literal use of weapons to secure the conditions for commerce in Europe surely is not."

When Russia illegally annexed Crimea and supported violence in eastern Ukraine, I argued that supplying Ukraine with offensive weapons was not a probable path to victory, saying, "Success would involve US intervention on a massive scale." Now, Ukrainians are heroically defending their country with the weapons we've sent, thousands are dying, and I still think my earlier assessment is correct. If we hope to avert the path leading back to the old paradigm, then we must be willing to sacrifice more than treasure.

William Bigelow
Boylston, MA, US

Don't exaggerate Al Jaber's role as COP28 president

Given Sultan Al Jaber's status as head of Abu Dhabi National Oil Company, it was unsurprising that his appointment as COP28 president in the UAE later this year was newsworthy



Harry S Truman: 'People will choose the genuine article, every time'

projects across the world via Masdar. Rather than raise concerns about Al Jaber the individual, perhaps environmental groups should express more concern over what decisions are made at COP this year — where there will be the first formal assessment of progress since the Paris Agreement came into force — and how best to hold governments to account.

This is especially pressing since recent climate change conferences have taken place in countries where space for civil society organisations to attend and pressure leaders may be limited. We saw that in Egypt last year and it may well happen again in the future.

At the same time, personalising the issue of climate change in the figure of Al Jaber exaggerates both his and COP's influence. Leaders alone won't solve the climate crisis and calls for action and accountability must be constant, continuing beyond the conference hall.

Guy Burton
Adjunct Professor, Brussels School of Governance, Brussels, Belgium

At least the incoming FCA chair looks like a good bet

Norman Blackwell is right to point out that an "excessive regulatory burden" has arisen from the way in which regulators implement and enforce their own requirements (Opinion, January 11). But a "serious rethink", as he proposes, is not the answer. What is needed is better quality and more experienced regulators who are encouraged to exercise judgment in a sensible and proportionate way.

Gulf state 'gold rush' is no more than fleeting mirage

There is no doubt that higher oil prices have given the Gulf states a little fiscal breathing space ("The new sovereign wealth fund boom", The Big Read, January 5).

However, the perceived gold rush sentiment that has seen global financial institutions and bankers alike shutting back and forth to the region is at best a fleeting mirage.

Regional investment conferences have indeed been inundated. However, those expecting early Christmas presents from the region's heaving sovereign wealth funds were left, for the most part, disappointed.

Gulf rulers are acutely aware that an opportunity was missed to impose painful economic reforms and develop the private sector in the 1990s. They are under no illusion that the current boom is but a moment in their wider national stories.

The region is awash with unfinished projects and plans designed to diversify these inefficient rentier economies. It is therefore unsurprising that the priority for these countries is to industrialise, develop the knowledge economy and upgrade education systems to provide the skills needed to grow the private sector.

Going forward, mitigating the expensive effects of climate change for a region that has warmed twice as fast as the rest of the world will become a more central concern for policymakers. Therefore, though the governments of the region have become adept in marketing the size of their funds to raise their international standing, parallels with 2008 are premature.

This reality is all the more pertinent considering the 20m new mouths to feed since 2008, whose job and home owning prospects are slim considering the comfortable existence their parents have enjoyed.

The political problems these pressures will cause, coupled with dwindling oil revenue and depleted wealth funds when oil prices are no longer so buoyant, will linger long after the bankers have packed up and gone.

Zaid M Belbagi
Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

Austrians face a dilemma familiar to US Republicans

In your piece discussing the convergence of political parties in Austria, you quote Marcus How, head of research at political risk consultancy VE Insight, asking, "Why would voters go for the copys and not the real thing?" ("Resurgent Freedom party leads Austrian polls", Report, January

Europe's gender pay gap is proving stubborn obstacle

The hurdles to reaching gender equality in the boardroom, alluded to in Siddharth Venkataramakrishnan and Emma Dunkley's article "Women still under-represented at board" (Report, January 9), stem from hiring attitudes and lingering taboos around salary conversations.

More women may be being hired, but this cannot be fully celebrated unless they are given the same remuneration and opportunity to progress as their male colleagues.

Europe's gender pay gap is proving a stubborn obstacle in the race to champion gender equality and real change will not come about until corporate rules are rewritten.

Recruitment processes need to be reformed as a crucial starting point. While a legally enforceable "right to know" is a good start, colleagues are earning would be a productive step in revealing any glaring inequalities, an even smaller but pivotal change when hiring would be to ban salary history questions.

This would discourage lowball offers that often frame women as the "affordable" option when hiring, but also enable women to lead the conversation around their own salary. While large-scale change may seem daunting, changing hiring attitudes from the outset would help to accelerate gender equality in the boardroom.

The sad truth is that good intentions around gender diversity are being regulated by quotas which only strive for a third of board seats to be held by women. More transparent hiring conversations would not only help to narrow the pay gap, but provide equality of opportunity that has so far proved out of reach.

Tanja Aljor
Partner, Majors, Lindsey & Africa, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Brand Windsor needs a respite from the headlines

Kudos for the candid editorial on "The battering of Brand Windsor" (FT View, January 7). The unfolding of royal family strife, the tiffs and trials of one of the UK's wealthiest families, captures headlines and provides a powerful distraction as millions of Britons face a winter with cold homes, long hospital queues and historic inflation. The irony cannot be lost for long. With "eye-wateringly difficult" economic realities on the horizon, pressure on the public purse mounts. Popularity may not be a shield from deepening scrutiny of public spending priorities and the urgency to meet the

Opinion

The Xi nobody saw coming

MARKETS

Ruchir Sharma



In late October, when Xi Jinping consolidated his hold on China's communist party at its five-yearly congress, the world cringed. Xi seemed determined to push China back to the age of Mao Zedong, his role model. Hardline ideology would tighten its grip on the world's second-largest economy, with dire implications for the rest.

The last thing anyone expected from a strongman president entering his 11th year in power was a sudden about face. Yet within weeks, Xi's government has reversed its efforts to control Covid-19, Big Tech companies, the property market and more. It has shown signs of reduced support for Russia's war in Ukraine while easing tensions with the US and in its territorial disputes in the South China Sea. This softening seemed

so uncharacteristic of Xi, some even speculated that he no longer set government policy.

That's unlikely – at the congress Xi had purged enemies and installed allies throughout the party. Yet the 180-degree turn on multiple policy fronts was unmistakable and raises doubts about everything the world thought it knew about Xi, the unbending hardliner. Was he now bending to pressure from worried officials, the public, the deteriorating economy?

The answer may be all of the above. Xi's Covid policy, the tech crackdown and the property bust had brought the economy to a standstill in 2022. The economy appears to have contracted in the fourth quarter, which is likely to bring growth for the year down to 3 per cent. That is according to official Chinese data – a reality was probably worse. China has not grown this slowly since the late 1970s and is growing now, faster than the rest of the world, also a first since the 1970s.

A performance that weak was a serious threat to an authoritarian state that rests its legitimacy on promises to

restore China's prosperity and its global stature. As the slow-down fuelled street rallies against the pursuit of "zero-Covid", some protesters dared to call for Xi to step down. Officials in his own government were reportedly urging him to save the economy. Still, few if any China watchers thought the paramount leader would change course.

Those who last more than 10 years in

After tightening state control for years, China has messages of support for the private sector

power often grow less flexible, and have worse effects on the economy over time, even in democracies. Many dictators, from Cuba's Fidel Castro to Mao, have seen snowballing disasters. The rare, steady reformers include the likes of Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew, and Deng Xiaoping, who dumped Maoism for pragmatism and set China on the road to prosperity after 1980. Xi now appears to

have moved into a grey area on the spectrum of ageing leaders – willing to reform, at least in the depths of a crisis.

Aiming to revive the economy after the congress, Xi's government started sounding less Maoist. It has dropped the "three red lines" on borrowing by developers, and announced that the "rectification" campaign against fintech firms is nearly complete. After tightening state control for years, it is sending out messages of support to the private sector, even offering details of its new global data market that suggest respect for private data ownership.

The irony: Xi may be trying imprudently hard to revive growth. His plans to build "a modern socialist economy" imply an annual gross domestic product growth target of 5 per cent, which is no longer possible. China's population growth has slowed sharply, as has productivity growth. With fewer workers and slumping output per worker, the country's potential growth rate is 2.5 per cent. Beyond this year, when spending by Chinese consumers released from lockdown may temporarily boost growth, 5 per cent is an unrealistic tar-

get. More debt-financed spending will only increase China's massive debt load.

Global investors, who so often blow hot and cold on China, have again flipped – this time to embrace the new Xi. Before November, the country's stock market was tanking with the economy. Fund managers were launching emerging market mandates excluding China. Now, they are bullish on hopes of a post-pandemic "reopening" bounce and have been pouring money into Chinese stocks. The benchmark MSCI China index is up a staggering 50 per cent since the late October lows.

Yet the questions about China's policy direction remain. Xi's pivot is a pragmatic course correction, but it raises doubts about his steadfastness. His impulse to control may reassert itself when the economy starts to recover – a reflex much more common in ageing leaders than a full rebirth as a steady reformer. Still, we should celebrate this new Xi, if he lasts – he's a lot better for the world than the old one.

The writer is chair of Rockefeller International

How to solve the problem of university strikes

Charlie Jeffery

Which sector has the worst industrial relations record in the UK? The railways just about pip us, but higher education comes a close second. Universities have seen widespread industrial action in the past five years, with more scheduled for the first half of 2023. It's a miserable record. It piles pressure and anxiety on students who have faced enough challenges through Covid. And the disruption is debilitating for staff, whether or not they strike.

The UK sector is unambiguously one of the best in the world. Yet we – the wrangling higher education employers and trade unions – hobble ourselves. Our negotiations have repeatedly failed to reach lasting, agreed outcomes on pay and pensions.

It is easy for employers and trade unions to throw blame. But that doesn't get us very far. More importantly, it doesn't tackle the root cause of the issues on pay and pensions: we fight to defend or grow our own share of pay and pensions "cakes" which are getting smaller for reasons unrelated to any of us.

On pay, the problem is easy to identify: the system for funding undergraduate study for British students is broken. The money universities get from undergraduate student fees, plus government teaching grants for some subjects, has largely stayed the same for a decade. Inflation gradually nibbled away at the real value of that income over the years, but is now eating great chunks of it very quickly. Increasingly, teaching UK undergraduates loses universities

The system for funding undergraduate study for British students is broken

money. The impact depends on how much of each university's income comes from "home", or UK, undergraduate teaching. For the universities where over half of all income is from home undergraduate teaching, inflation is now an acute challenge; for those up to 90 per cent dependent on this income, the financial constraints are critical. And that affects pay bargaining.

So what can be done? Employers and trade unions need to build a case to government, together, for a sustainable home undergraduate funding system. But our joint case will not be convincing if we are stuck in a cycle of industrial conflict. The best possible outcome now would be: doing what we can on pay, perhaps in a multi-stage deal, perhaps with flexibility for institutions facing severe financial constraints; with sector-wide changes on other key issues such as casual employment and pay gaps.

We need a system which rewards, not penalises, universities for teaching home undergraduates. Then we can award pay rises which properly reflect staff efforts, and teach home undergraduates without risking our financial stability.

On pensions, the cake looks relatively easy to divide. Recent interest rate rises have been good for defined benefit pension schemes such as the Universities Superannuation Scheme, reducing the cost of future liabilities. The next valuation, in March this year, may enable a rebalancing of benefits and contributions in favour of members. But tighter regulation threatens to reverse the trend by the next valuation in 2026 – shrinking the cake again and reigniting the cycle of industrial conflict.

The Pensions Regulator is deeply sceptical about defined benefit schemes after the high-profile collapse of companies with such schemes, including British Home Stores and Carillion. New draft regulations point to yet greater "prudence" – in practice this means greater costs to institutions to achieve the same pension outcomes.

Significantly, those draft regulations recently brought employers, trade union and the pension scheme together in a joint condemnation of their impact. That, surely, is something to build on.

The disputes will not end until under-

Cost-cutting is not the same as growth

BUSINESS

Rana Foroohar



In challenge, there is opportunity. This truism is especially apt for companies heading into what will probably be a gloomy earnings season amid expectations of a global downturn. S&P 500 earnings forecasts for the fourth quarter of 2022 are worse than they were right after the collapse of Lehman Brothers in 2009 or during the deflation of the dotcom bubble in 2002.

Many companies will respond to this by cutting costs with an extra-large pair of corporate shears. The technology sector, for example, is in the midst of massive lay-offs. And other industries may soon follow Silicon Valley's lead.

Plenty of corporate leaders look at a downturn as the best time to cut costs and people in order to hang on to their margins. But there is good data to show that the companies that not only survive but thrived in tough times tend to use a three-pronged approach – cuts, yes, but also a decrease in financial leverage and increasing investment in order to grab market share. Most importantly, they act proactively rather than reactively, getting their house in order before the cycle bottoms, so as to be ready to capitalise on cut-rate acquisitions or lure choice talent.

A new McKinsey study that looks at 1,200 public companies in the US and Europe between 2007 and 2011 provides a window into this wisdom. The companies that had the best shareholder return during this period (meaning those in the top 20 per cent) were the ones that did three things.

They holed their retained earnings and working capital before the downturn. They also decreased their financial leverage. This created "reserves that they then spent on value accretion, such as acquisitions, R&D and capital investment, during the rebound phase," says Asutosh Paddh, head of McKinsey North America.

While some cash rich industries, such as technology or energy, were and are better positioned to do these things, the strategy of pulling growth and margin levers together, rather than simply bating down the hatches and cutting, works across most sectors.

If we look back at the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis to find those companies that did well, one could point to the tech giant Qualcomm, which kept R&D high and pursued strategic acquisitions. But you could also look at a retailer like Urban Outfitters, which began 2009 with no debt and plenty of cash on hand, and was able to expand while its competitors were cutting.

None of this is rocket science. But it does require financial discipline, something that the last economic downturn in 2020 did not require of companies, since rates were still low and credit was loose. While new leverage loan issuance was down by nearly a third year on year to

October 2022, as rates have risen, companies refinancing their existing debt this year and beyond face considerably higher expenses than they did in the past.

This includes plenty of household names across a variety of sectors. While it's difficult to know exactly which companies are going to have major issues servicing their debt in the future, the New York-based financial analytic firm Calcbench took a stab at the question in a small study, examining 22 non-financial S&P 500 companies that filed their annual reports in the previous autumn and had a debt disclosure within that report. Of those businesses (which included companies such as Sysco, Oracle, Fox, Campbell Soup, Clorox, Seagate Technology, News Corp and Tyson), ten had annual interest expenses that were

Companies that not only survive but thrive in tough times tend to use a three-pronged approach

already more than 10 per cent of net income, even with average interest rates ranging from 2.38 per cent to 3.22. That's a big debt load by percentage of net income, and one that will probably have to be rolled over at significantly higher rates.

Plenty of companies set to report over the next few weeks are in the same boat. January is the month in which investors will achieve more clarity on how much a debt needs to be rolled over, and how much higher interest rates will impinge on the ability of companies to grow revenue. The overleveraged ones will find themselves boxed in and unable to do much aside from cut costs if they are to keep net income up (if indeed they can).

While cuts can keep a corporate ship afloat, they come with all sorts of downsides. Consider another transatlantic lesson from the post financial crisis period. American manufacturers slashed workforces following the crisis, but ended up losing market share in Asia to German competitors, who used a furlough system to retrain and upskill workers and repair equipment. This

meant that the Germans were more quickly able to fill orders when the Chinese recovery began in 2010, because they were tooled up and ready to go, rather than struggling to rehire and retrain like US firms.

This lesson around treating labour as an asset rather than just a cost on the balance sheet has particular resonance now, when jobs markets remain tighter than usual as we go into what could be a global recession. Silicon Valley firms have room to cut their workforces given the increasing frothiness of the sector over the past few years, but many other industries are still desperate for talent. They would be wise to think about the mid to longer term before distributing too many pink slips.

While the next few months will be challenging for executives, they will be illuminating for investors. For years, easy money has disguised well-managed, proactive companies from more reactive ones. The curtain is about to be pulled back.

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Sweden is navigating an international identity crisis

ECONOMICS

Martin Sandbu



By many criteria, Sweden is the envy of Europe. It has tremendous soft power to wield as it takes on the rotating presidency of the EU's ministerial councils. Yet a recent visit to Stockholm left me thinking that Swedes feel as disoriented by a rapidly changing world as everyone else.

One reason is domestic malaise. An epidemic of shootings – 60 gun murders across Sweden last year, against 9 in

ited to neutrality, free trade, market liberalism and multilateralism. Instead, war, political fragmentation and a renaissance of state economic activism are the cards Stockholm is dealt as it chairs its EU peers for the next six months.

Some of the changes suit the three-month-old government. As foreign minister Tobias Billström pointed out to me, his Moderate party has long favoured joining Nato, which the Swedes are now doing. The main hurdle is Turkey's ratification of their accession. "We are fulfilling to the letter" conditions agreed with Turkey last year, Billström says. The message from both Sweden and fellow candidate Finland is clearly that they have done enough, and the bulk of the alliance seems to agree. To this observer, it looks like Ankara has extracted the maximum it can.

gets its way, it will lift what many there call the positive trade agenda, and bring the EU's many pending trade deals closer to their conclusion.

For now, though, the defensive trade agenda gets most EU airtime. It was boosted by the US Inflation Reduction Act, which belatedly aims to kick-start green US industry but discriminates against European exporters. "A giant headache" for Swedish preferences,

War, political fragmentation and a renewal of economic activism are the cards Stockholm has been dealt

says one insider. But after the UK left the

that limits the possibility of export and import," asked about calls for a European countermeasure to America's IRA, Billström insists on avoiding trade disputes and subsidy races. While it is "crucial" for the US to mitigate negative effects for Europe, he says we should welcome Washington's commitment to emissions cuts.

Yet the best can become the enemy of the good. Both political and economic logic points to subsidising the technologies that facilitate the carbon transition. If that logic wins, the choice becomes not for or against subsidies, but between common EU subsidies or national ones. And a subsidy race within Europe could do much more harm than a subsidy race between the EU and US.

In this turmoil, corporate and political Sweden looks to the competitiveness

economic prospects as well as its own free-trading soul.

There is one tradition Sweden is successfully doubling down on. Its commitment to a rules-based order has only been strengthened by Russia's attack on Ukraine. As the Nato decision shows, in the choice between neutrality and a world run by rules, neutrality had to go.

Accordingly, Billström countenances no other solution than "Ukraine winning the war on the battlefield" – and that means all of Ukraine. "Re-establishing Ukraine's territorial integrity is what this war is ultimately about," Ukraine, he says, "has to win for the rest of us to be assured that this is not 1815, the time of the Congress of Vienna." He vows more support for Ukraine and hopes for a tenth Russian sanctions package on Stockholm's watch.

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