FINANCIAL TIMES



Inside 'Qatargate': anatomy of an EU scandal

The dispiriting reality of office spyware

Rising strife Deaths harden Israel's stance

Palestinians impect damage to a house and car that were set on fire in a village near Ramallah in the occupied West and Ramallah in the occupied West Prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu said Israel's government would strengthen settlements in the West Bank and make it easier for civilians to carry guns after two-shootings shook jerusalem. Seven Israelis were killed and three injuried in the first, the bloodiest attack in the city since 2008. Two more were injuried in the first, the bloodiest attack in the city since 2008. Two more were injuried in the second attack near the Old City on Saturday.

The violence followed the deadliest Israeli raid in the West Bank for two declass and poses an early test for Netan-dels and poses an early test for Netan-

Israeli raid in the West Bank for two dec-ades and poses an early test for Netan-yahu's new government, which is domi-nated by extreme right and ultra-religious politicians. It came to power last month pledging to take a hard line against the Palestinians. Gun laws loosened page 2



EU push to designate Iran's Guards as terrorists puts nuclear hopes in peril

▶ Brussels angered by drones for Russia
 ▶ Paris and Berlin back measure
 ▶ Tehran talks at standstill

HENRY FOY — BRUSSELS

NAJMEH BOZORGMEHR — TEHRAN

ANDREW ENGLAND — LONDON

AMDEW ENGLAND — LONDON

The EU is exploring legal options to designate Iran's Revolutionary Guard as a terrorist organisation, in a policy shift that would probably scupper diplomatic elforts to prevent Tehran from developing nuclear weapons.

The move, which has the support of France and Germany, comes in response to Tehran's supply of armed drones to Russia for use in its war against Ukraine, together with its violent reackdown ondomestic protests.

Parts and Berlin voiced their support for the measure in a meeting of foreign ministers last week, four officials with knowledge of the discussions said. The EU's legal service will draft an opinion

for the bloc's 27 capitals on the legality of the measure in the next three weeks. "Yes, some member states are supporting this proposal," Josep Borrell, the EU's foreign policy chief, fold the Financial Times. "Many would be in favour." Western capitals' stance towards the Islamic republic is hardening. The UK is already conducting its own review of whether to impose the designation on the Revolutionary Guard, the most powerful wing of Iran's state security appa-

'The JCPOA is not dead but it is completely stalled . . . [This] would make things more difficult'

ratus. The US government listed it as a terrorist organisation in 2019. France is interested in potentially designating regional Gaards divisions as cerrorist entities rather than the entire institution, according to a French official. France's foreign ministry did not respond to a request for comment. Germany's foreign ministry has said "there are not only political but also high legal hurdles" for a designation. Under EU regulations, the bloc cannot designate an entity as terrorist without a court in a member state doing so first. Court rullings in non-EU countries,

court in a member state doing so lirst.
Court rulings in non-EU countries,
including the UK, are possible legal
grounds but would be more complicated, officials said.
"Yes, we can do more [against the
Revolutionary Guard]," Borrell said.

"But, as I told my colleagues on the Council [of Ministers]: this is in your hands. I need a national decision." The west has been angered by Iran's decision to sell weapons to Russia and those two issues were "certainly a politic to the collection of the company and Iranes—a longuist the UK, Russia and China—are signatories to the 2015 nuclear accord between Tehran and world powers.

Borrell is the lead mediator of indirect talks between the US and Iran in an effort to save what is left of the mori-bund Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action agreement, IPCOA placed strict limits on Tehran's nuclear activity in exchange for the lifting of many western sanctions until it collapsed after then

president Donald Trump unilaterally withdrew the US from it in 2018 and imposed waves of sanctions. Iran responded by aggressively expanding its nuclear programme and is now enriching uranium dose to weapons grade. No nuclear negotiations have alean place since. September, when Iran was blamed for rejecting a draft agreement to save the deal that habe nagreed by the other signatories. "The JCPOA is not dead but it is completely stalled," said Borrell. "It would be increasingly blocked if [the terrorist designation] was done by other states. ... It would make things certainly more difficult."

 Germany warns against fighter jets for Ukraine German chancellor Olaf Scholz has ruled out sending fighter jets and ground troops to Ukraine and cautioned against a military aid bidding war among allies.—PAGE 2

Raw materials costs soar Factors such as high interest rates and volatile prices have increased costs for commodities trading, forcing the sector to seek an extra £300bn to keep going.—PAGE 6

▶ Japan's security worries
Japanese businesses including
Mitsubishi Chemical and Suntory
are hiring intelligence staff as
tensions mount between the US tensions mount bety and China. -- PAGE 9

Beijing has targeted consumption by its 1.4bn people since the easing of Covid-19 rules to stimulate economic growth both at home and globally.— PAGE 4

► BlackRock lobbying rises Investment company BlackRock has stepped up the amount it spends on lobbying politicians in the US, increasing 63 per cent on 2021 levels to \$2.4mm. — PAGE 9

Radioactive error by Rio



1980 1990 2000 2010 2022 Source: Trade Statistics of Inc.

DNA decoding pioneer put to the test by Grail pursuit Illumina's Grail quest > PAGE 8

Australia	A\$7,000inc GST
China	RMB30
Hong Kong	HK\$33
India	Rup220
Indonesia	Rp45,000
Japan	¥650(inc.JCT,
Korea	W4,500
Malaysia	RM11.50
Pakistan	Rupee 350
Philippines	Peso 140
Singapore	SS5.800nc GST
Talwan	NTS160

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Adani hits back at short seller's 'attack on India' in attempt to calm investors

India's Adani Group has rebutted alle-gations of wrongdoing by short seller Hindenburg Research that wiped more than \$50bn from its value last week, in a bid to calm investors in the middle of a \$2.4bn share sale.

New York-based Hindenburg last week published a two-year investiga-tion in which it alleged that Adani had capaged in 'brazen stock manipulation and accounting fraud' over decades. By the end of trading on Friday, the report had wiped more than \$50hn off the value of the Adani Group's listed companies. Shares in Indian banks and insurers with exogure to the business.

companies. Shares in Indian banks and insurers with exposure to the business also fell.

Adani Enterprises, one of the group's companies, said over the weekend that its follow-on public offering of shares would proceed as planned, despite concerns that it would struggle to attract investors. Books are set to close on Tuesday.

concerns that it would struggle to attract investors. Books are set to close on Tuesday. The short seller's challenge to the group has caused a frisson across India's business community: the company is one of India's largest private infrastruc-

tam Main was the world's third-richest person.

Adani said that "not one" of 88 queet on independent or journalistic fact finding and called them "slective regugitations of public disclosures or rhetorical immendos colouring rumours as fact," it dismissed many questions as "disprover," and "baseless allegations" or "misteading claims", while or "misteading claims", while not obtained the colouring rumours as disprover," and "baseless allegations" or "misteading claims", while callength of the property of

citations.

The group dismissed questions on its debt-fuelled growth model, stating that the "leverage ratios of Adani Portfolio companies continue to be healthy and are in line with the industry benchmarks of the respective sectors".



World Markets

STOCK MARKETS	CURRENCIES						GOVERNMENT BONDS						
	Jan 27	Prev	%chg		Jan 27	Jan 20		Jan 27	Jan 20	Yield (%)	Jan 27	Jan 20	Ch
S&P 500	4071.56	4080.43	0.27	S/€	1.084	1.083	€/\$	0.923	0.923	US 2 yr	4.22	4.19	0.0
Nasdaq Composite	11593.33	11512.41	0.70	S/E	1.236	1.237	£/\$	0.809	0.809	US 10 yr	3.53	3.50	0.0
Dow Jones Ind	34005.86	33949.41	0.17	£/E	0.877	0.876	E/E	1.140	1.142	US 30 yr	3.64	3.64	-0.0
FTSEurofirst 300	1795.01	1790.89	0.23	¥/\$	129.975	129.925	¥/E	140.899	140.721	UK 2 yr	3.55	3.55	0.0
Euro Stoox 50	4175.80	4173.98	0.04	¥/£	160.616	160.697	£ ind	ex 78.694	78.893	UK 10 yr	3.32	3.31	0.0
FTSE 100	7785.15	7761.11	0.05	SFr/€	1.001	0.997	SFr/9	1.141	1.139	UK 30 yr	3.68	3.66	0.0
FTSE All-Share	4258.97	4253.35	0.13	CRYPTO						JPN 2 yr	0.00	-0.01	0.0
CAC 40	7097.21	7095.99	0.02			Jan	27	Prev	%cho	JPN 10 yr	0.48	0.46	0.0
Xetra Dax	15150.03	15132.85	0.11	Bitcoin (\$)		23090		23009.20	0.35	JPN 30 yr	1.57	1.51	0.0
Nikkei	27382.56	27362.75	0.07	Ethereum		1586		1602.51	-0.98	GER 2 yr	2.57	2.57	0.0
Hang Seng	22688.90	22566.78	0.54			1000		1002.01	0.00	GER 10 yr	2.24	2.21	0.0
MSCI World \$	2777.62	2756.73	0.76	COMMOD	DITIES					GER 30 yr	2.19	2.18	0.0
MSCI EM \$	1052.46	1041.26	1.08			Jan		Jan 20	%Week				
MSCI ACWI \$	648.33	643.23	0.79	Oil WTI\$		80	.10	81.11	-1.25				
FT Wilshire 2500	5289.33	5231.38	1.11	Oil Brent \$	8	86	75	86.82	-0.08			Prices are lates	for editio
FT Wilshire 5000	41319.32	40872.91	1.09	Gold \$ 1932.			45	1918.60	0.72	Dato provided I		Data provided by !	Memingso

INTERNATIONAL

Scholz rules out sending jets to Ukraine

Talk of combat aircraft undermines public's trust, warns German chancellor

GUY CHAZAN — BERLIN HENRY FOY — BRUSSELS

old Scholz, German chancellor, has warned against a bidding war among western allies over military aid to Ukraine, as he firmly ruled out sending fighter jets and ground troops to Kyiv. In an interview with the German newspaper Tagespiegel, Scholz said that "no one is even asking" about sending combat aircraft. The fact wedve only just made a decision [on sending tanks] and already the next debate infring up in Germany, that just seems frivo-

lous, and undermines people's trust in government decisions, 'he said. 'I can only advise against entering a bidding arrower weepons systems.'
Scholz was speaking jour roud by a supplying Leopard 2 main bartle table stopplying Leopard 2 main bartle table sto Ukraine, and allowing other European states to send their stocks for began states to send their stocks for began states to send their stocks for high state of the stopplying the state of the stopplying the state of the state of

Ukraine with US F-16s and F-35s, Eurofighters, Tornados, French Rafales and Swedish Gripen jets. On Saturday he went further, urging the Bundeswehr to give Ukraine one of its HDW Class 212A submarines, manu-

'I can only advise against entering a bidding war over weapons systems' Olaf Scholz, German chancellor

factured by German company Thyssen-Krupp. "Then we'll kick [the Russian] fleet out of the Black Sea," he tweeted. Mehyk is not alone, with some more hawkish EU states discussing sending fighter aircraft to Ukraine. However,

such a move in use soft to incuming the most hold of the

about concrete issues" such as prisoner exchanges, Ukrainian grain exports and the fate of the Zaporizhzhia nuclear power station

power station.

"For me it's important that the conversations keep coming back to the main point: how does the world get out

of this terrible situation?" he said. "The condition for that is clear: the with-drawal of Russian troops."

condition for that is clear: the with-caval of Russiantrops."
Hungarian prime minister Viktor
Orbân chimed in to criticise the stepped-up arms deliveries and other ormso dassistence to Ukraine.
"If you send weapons, if you finance the entire annual budget of one flighting side. If you promise new arms deliveries, increasingly modern ones, then what-ever yous say you are at var," Orbin said on Friday. The Germans started by say-ing they would send helmets, because leading lethil instruments would mean participation in the war," he said. We started from there. Now we're at the tanks, and they're already talking about flighter; list.
Additional reporting by Marton Danal

Hungary. Economic woes

Soaring inflation turns up heat on Orbán

to assuage growing discontent with pre-election generosity

MARTON DUNAI — BUDAPEST

MARTON DUNAI — BUDAFEST
With long queues at petrol pumps, teachers blocking fludapest streets in a strike over pay and small-business owners demonstrating against tax rises, Hungary's economic woes and the resulting public anger have wrong-footed rightwing prime minister Viklor Orban and threaten to escalate hid appute with Brussels over frozen funding. "I take second jobs and give pringer and sorting inflation," I work or communities of the properties of th

per cent year on year in December, the highest in the EU. The bloc's swerage is 10.4 per cent.

Economists pin the blame partly on a weak form, the phaseout of price caps and a retail tax. The price caps themselves had adistorting effect, they say, causing shortques of the and state of the causing shortques of the and state of the causing shortques of the and state of the caps of the cap



ers, who are seeking a wage rise of around 45 per cent and are also protesting about high workloads and central control of the education system, began another week-long strike last Monday. Wider demonstrations crupted last year over a sudden rise in small-business taxes and reduction in energy subsidies. Although recent polis suggest Orbán, who wan a fourth consecutive term hast year, and Fidesz have no strong political challengers, local elections in central Hungary this month hinted at potential trouble for the government. In the town of Jiszbereiny, opposition candidates for mayor and the city council swept the board with large majorities, beating their Fidesz rivial ises than a year after the ruling party won the dis-

trict easily in parliamentary elections.
Analysts said Orbán was likely to try
and deflect blame for the economic
squeeze, hardening his political stance
and making him an even more difficul
patter in the EU than previous.
In recent months he has delayed EU
sanctions against Russia imposed over
the war in Ukraine and held up the
bloc's financial aid for kyris as he sought
to unlock about €30bin in EU pandemic
recovery and structural funds.
Brussels has blocked the money on
the grounds of a perceived risk of fraud
and democratic backsliding by Budapesta sto Pubin extends the governmen's
control over the judiciary, media, arts
and education. The government this
month launched an advertising cam-

paign claiming a majority of Hungarians opposed the EU's Russia sanctions, which orbin has bland of rich country's economic Ills. "This bloody sanctions regime drives inflation skyward," he told state broadcaster MRI entitle this month. "If sanctions were to end, energy prices would drop immediately, along with general prices, meaning inflation would halve."

He has also linked the teacher's plight with EU intransience, savien the cov-

with EU intraspence, saying the government would offer a 10 per cent par with EU intraspence, saying the government would offer a 10 per cent par great part of the control of the control

Jerusalem shootings

Israel to loosen gun laws following latest attacks

Israel's hardline new government has said it will make it easier for civilians to carry guns and strengthen settlements in the occupied West Bank, after Jeru-salem was hit by two shootings in less than 24 hours.

son 24 nours.
Seven Israelis were killed and three injured in the first shooting, which was the bloodlest attack in the city since 2008, and took place near a synagogue in a Jewish settlement on Holocaust Memorial day. Two more were injured in the second attack near the Old City on Saturday.

Israel's security exhaust and 10 are 10 are

in the second attackment the Old City on Saturday.

Israel's security eabinet said that in response to the attacks, Israel would expand and accelerate firearms licensing, which would "enable thousands of additional citizens to carry weepons." It added it would take "steps to strengthen settlement" in the West Bank, which makes up the builde of the Padesthian territories, but has been occupied by Israel in the Company of th

for "the immediate dismissal of workers who have supported terrorism, without need for a hearing."
The security cabinet did not give further details of the steps to strengthen settlements, which it said would be submitted this week. The military said on Saturday that it had already moved an additional battalion to the West Eank.

Saturday that it had aiready moves and additional batralian to the West Fank. Most of the international community considers the settlements illegal. However, important positions in Israel's new government are held by ultranational-ists and settlers. On Saturday night, the security cabinet approved a series of other measures, including revoking the national insurance rights of "families of terrorists that support terrorism," reinforcing military and police units and expanding operations to collect illegal weapons.

The Palestinian Authority condemned the plans as "racist collective punishments that incite further escalation and violence."

punishments tion and violence".



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Letters to the editor letters.editorgift.com

rative, Anjali Mahindroo

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Nigeria delays phasing out of old banknotes after protests

Nigeria's central bank has postponed phasing out old, high-value banknotes for 10 days and criticism that millions of people have been unable to obtain replacements, putting business activity and livelihoods at risk weeks before presidential elections.

presidential elections.

After meeting President Muhammadu
Buhari yesterday, central bank governor Godwin Emeliele said the 1,000,
500 and 200 naira banknotes, which
were due to be pulled from circulation
on January 31 and replaced by more
secure designs, would remain legal tender until February 10.

The last-minute move comes as politiclass intendity camandaining abead of

The last-minute move comes as politi-cians intensify campaigning ahead of elections on February 25. Buhari is standing down after serving two terms, and the candidate for the ruling All Pro-gressives Congress, Bola Thubu, has alleged that unamed opponents are trying to use controversy over the bank-note rollout to slobtage his campaign. The central bank announced a rede-

sign of the country's three highest-value denominations last October to stamp out counterfeiting and reduce the use of cash in Africa's largest economy—a shloogh analysis say it is unclearly enabloogh analysis say it is unclear although analysis say it is unclear analyse means of payment. The bank's handling of the scheme has been criticated by politication and country where the largely informal economy remains heavily dependent on cash.

'To think in

Brussels won't rise without that's completely misguided' Viktor Orbán

cash.

The central bank began supplying new banknotes to commercial lenders only last month, leading to a shortage as the deadline approached. People complained that banks were still issuing the old notes but that businesses, including these wave rejection them.

old notes but that businesses, including shops, were rejecting them.
Many of the 210mm-strong popula-tion live in rural areas with no access to banks where they can exchange the old notes. A scheme to help them do so via banking agents in their communities was announced only a week before the initial deadline.

Brussels loses bid to join legal fight over green subsidies

A UK court has thrown out a bid by the European Commission to join a legal battle in which Spain is seeking to avoid paying millions of dollars in compensa-tion to renewable energy investors.

Two private equity investors, Infra-structure Services Luxembourg and structure Services Luxembourg and Energia Termosolar, are fighting the Spanish government to enforce a \$100ma arbitration award wonin a 2018 case against Madrid over its withdrawal of an incentive scheme for renewable energy investments. The action is part of worldwide litiga-tion and claims totalling an estimated \$9.50m brought by investors that any they have lost out financially after the termination of the Spanish subsidy scheme.

after the termination of the spanish subsidy scheme. The battle comes as the EU attempts to boost investment in clean energy industries in response to the US Infla-tion Reduction Act, a huge package of

subsidies for green technology that Washington announced last year. The case is due to be heard by the US slight case is due to be heard by the US slight case is due to be heard by the US slight cover taske the award.

The commission attempted to intervene on Friday on the basis that allowing the award would be against EU treaties and could constitute illegal state aid. However, the High Court ruled that the commission should not be allowed to joint the March hearing.

Mrs justice Sara Cockerill said permitting litt do so would "Increase complication and costs" and that it was demonstrably not neutral".

Antonio Morales, head of energy and public law at Baker McKenzie in Madrid, said the commission was pushing hard in several jurisdictions on the grounds that 'no court should rule in these cases until [the commission] has made its own decision on the grounds that 'no court should rule in these cases until [the commission] has made its own decision on the grounds that 'no court should rule in these cases until [the commission] and the same and

Monday 30 January 2023 FINANCIAL TIMES

INTERNATIONAL

Russian central bank tries to ease Kremlin's grip on economic data

Key financial indicators shrouded in secrecy amid Putin's information war

AMASTASIA STOGNE
AMASTEDDON—RIGAN
RUSSIAN POLOYMON LONGON
Russian policymakers are debating whether to declassify more data as the Kremlin's drive for secrecy leaves even seasoned observes struggling to muke an excention of the control of the matter. The Kremlin's drive has yet to approve the initiative, has justified with bedding information on a viderance of economic data, according to three people familiar with the matter. The Kremlin, which has yet to approve the initiative, has justified with demander of economic data, according to three people familiar with the matter. The Kremlin, which has yet to approve the initiative, has justified with demander of economic data, according to three people familiar with the matter. The Residied data sets include levy indicators such as foreign reserves holdings and export figures. Russian companies are allowed to keep "sensitive" results secret.

Nabiullina said last month that the country needed to disclose more data for markets to grow. "We need to go back to proper disclosure, with a fore exceptions, so investors can invest in securities," hes said.

The classified data sets include levy indicators such as foreign reserves holdings and export figures. Russian companies are allowed to keep "sensitive" results secret.

Nabiullina said last month that the country needed to disclose more data of markets to grow. "We need to go back to proper disclosure, with a foreward the country inceded to disclose more data of the results and the country inceded to disclose more data of the results and the results and the results and the results and the results are allowed to disclose more data of the results and the results are allowed to disclose more data of the results are allowed to disclose more data of the results are allowed to disclose more data of the results are allowed to disclose more data of the results are allowed to disclose more data of the results are allowed to disclose more data of the results are allowed to disclose more data of the results are allowed to disclos



Official secrets: Vladimir Putin addresses his economic economic cabinet this month via a video link. He claimed that the claimed that the country had weathered the worst of the west's sanctions, although much of the economic data is classified Mitral Elimentre/Grenie

ways of cross-checking, "We started to use alternative indicators to trace exports and imports dynamics: fiscal data on imports 'VAIT, trade statistics of Russia's external counterparties, shipping data," said Sofya Donets, chief Busses as economist at Renaissance Capital, a Moscow investment bank. But not everything can be restored. "The lack of public companies" and banks' diselessure is a bigger issue," said Donets. The Kremlin said the western sanctions had made it imperative to limit or being word again. "There is a hybrid war being word again." There is a hybrid war being word of the said. But the conditions it is completely natural that we are classifying this data," Dmitry Peskov, Putnis spokesperson, told the Financial Times. "Everyone who needs to know, everyone who is part of the comornic policymaking process, has access to the whole range of data, statistics and so on," he said.

Longstanding doubts about the quality of Russian statistics first came to a head in 2020, when excess mortality

researchers' Bank of Russia

lic dressing down to a top energy official for suggesting that gas production at Gazprom, Russińs state-run monopoly, had begam to decline. "Cazprom's production in str. falling. You're lust scaring everyone. It's going ung'n't Russian president told daryn brime minister Alexander Novak — even though Gazprom's own statics showed a year-on-year drop of nearly 15 per cent.

By the January cabinet meeting, Putin admitted gas production had fallen by 12 per cent, a figure in line with what Novak said in a late December interview.

per cent, afgare in line with what Novals addin a late December interview.

But in separate comments only three days earlier, Novals had floated a production drop of 18-20 per cent – and agree noreason for the sudden revision.

At the January meeting, Putin said Russia's GDP had fallen by only 2.5 per cent, a far cry from the up to 30 per cent that that top technocrats had warned him was possible a month before the war. Projections by international institutions are not far off, with the MR, the World Bank and the OECD all placing Bussia's 2022 contraction between 5.4 per cent and 4.5 per cent of GDP.

Much of the blow to Russia's GDP has been softened by Miscow's increase in military spending, which analysts said the second of the sec

from retail sales in recent years, according to research by the Institute of International Finance. In 2022, real wages 1612-4 per cent, largely hencfling from welfare payments, including those to the soldiers fighting in Ukraine. But retail turnover fell by 9 per cent, according to Infolion projections based on official statistics, indicating a bigger and the consumers. It is impossible that the consumers of the consu



INTERNATIONAL

Beijing targets consumption to spur growth

Analysts hope dropping of zero-Covid policies will unleash spending

PRIMROSE RIORDAN — HONG KONG

FRIMMOS HORDAN—HONG KONG
The Chinese government has vowed to make consumption the "main driving force" of the economy as hope grow that Beljing's abandonment of zero-Covid policies will unleash a flood spending by Chinese consumers, fuellings global rebound.
"The greatest potential of the Chinese economy lies in the consumption by the 1.4bn people," Li Keqiang, premier, said

during a meeting of China's cabinet, the state council, according to a statement released late on Saturday.

"Boosting consumption is a key step to expand domestic demand. We need to restore the structural role of consumption in the economy."

While China has long sought to boost consumer spending, the comments from its outgoing premier come at a crucial moment as Beljing seeks to rebuild the economy after years of punishing lockdowns.

The Chinese economy grew by just 3 per cent in 2022, underscoring the impact of the government's zero-Covid strategy before it was abandoned last

month. Last year's collapse of the property market, which has contributed around one quarter of GDP over the past decade, has also added to

economic stress. Economists hope that China's pent-up consumer activity will buoy global

consumer activity will buoy global demand.

Multinationals including Unilever have said in recent weeks they were expecting a rebound in demand in the country and banks including Morgan Stanley have increased their Chinese growth forecasts.

growth forecasts.

"We believe the market is underappreciating the far-reaching ramifications of reopening, and the possibility

that a robust cyclical recovery can occur despite lingering structural headwinds," the bank said in a January note. Still doubts remain over the willingness of Chinese consumers to start spending again. Experts have long warned that China's desire to move away from property-driven growth towards greater consumer spending will be challenging. Household spending accounted for 38 per cent of Chinese gross domesic product in 2021.

By comparison, it accounted for nearly 70 per cent of US GDP in 2022. The last few years of Cord tha also bred economic caution as incomes and house

prices came under pressure in the real estate crash. The country's already high gross national savings rate swelled during the pandemic. Renninhi deposits held by households nationwide grew in 2022 by a record Rmb17-Stn (£2.6tn), compared with growth of Rmb9.9tn in 2021, according to data from the People's Bank of China.

Chinese citizens celebrated lunar new year last week for the first time since pandemic controls were lifted. While state media say 226mn domestic trips were made. "A per cent more than last year at the height of Covid restrictions, that is still just half the 420mn trips made in 2019.

Law enforcement

Memphis police shut down unit connected to Nichols death

JAMIE SMYTH — NEW YORK STEFF CHAVEZ — CHICAGO COLBY SMITH — WASHINGTON

The Memphis Police Department has disbanded a special police unit linked to the death of Tyre Nichols, a 29-year old black man who was pulled over for an alleged traffic violation this month and fatally beaten by five officers.

The decision on Saturday follows the

release of harroving when footage and hitting Nichols with a baton in scenes that have sparked a renewed debate over police brutality, racism and he need for reform.

Memphis police chief Cerelyn Davis said she listened to the Nichols family, community leaders and members of the so-called Scorpion police unit — from which the five officers charged over Nichols' death were deployed—and disbanded it "in the best interest of all".

The Street Crimes Operations to Restore Peace in Orn Neighbourhood unit was setablised in Memphis in 2021 to provide the control of the control for the control of the contro

South America. Monetary union

Doubts rise over 'insane' common currency plan

Brazil and Argentina forge ahead, despite concerns over

LUCINDA ELLIOTT — BUENOS AIRES BRYAN HARRIS — SÃO PAULO MICHAEL STOTT — BOGOTÁ

BRYAN HABBS — SÃO PAULO

MICHAEL STOTT — BGGOTÁ

Former IMF chief economist Olivier

Blanchard needed just three words to respond to the news that Brazil and Argentina would begin preparatory work on creating a common currency. This is insane, he tweeted.

While economists have questioned with the viability of the idea, political analysts have been less dismissive, pointing out that the desires of South America's mainly leftwing presidents to promote regional integration and challenge the US dollar's dominance should not be underestimated.

US dollar's dominance should not be underestimated.

Signal and Argentina are politically aligned under leitist leaders, with both Luiz taketo Lula da Silvia and Alberto Fernández keen to present a united front.

Brazil's president said in Buenos Aires Brazil's president said in Buenos Aires

south LILE BRIGGO LILE BRIGGO EARL AND ADMINISTRATION AND ADMINISTRATION AND ALTER AND

in the future. The two leaders made clear an eventual common currency would, at first, be limited to use in trade and would run in trandem with Brazil's real and the Ageptinde peas, rather than replacing them.

This is not the first time that the idea has been floated. People close to the previous rightwing administration in Brazil confirmed that former finance minister Paulo Guedes had defended the idea several times on the grounds the currency would help impose fiscal discipline and that there would be fewer global currencies in the future, so it would be beneficial if the region established its own. Guedes even suggested a name, the own. Guedes even suggested a name, the peso real", and predicted a 15-year imeline for such a project.

Latin America's left has long wanted



Political allies: Brazil's leader Luiz Inácio Lul da Silva, left,

Brazil's current finance minister, Fernando fladdad, last year co-authored a piece suggesting a common currency called the 'sur', or south. Underpinning the political support is a desire to stabilise Argentina's battered economy. The country has been on the brink of insolvency for years, its central brackets of the control of the cont

However, she highlighted that monetary unions also posed challenges to
member states, as the history of the EU's
single currency project showed.
Pierpaolo Barbieri, founder of the
Argentine lintech Uala, said it was too
asy to be cynical about the plans. 'Brazil' wants a larger market for its exports
and to lower trade barriers,' he said. A
common unit of exchange would be an
'ultimate vehicle' towards achieving
both. Digital currencies were alread, the wing
both. Digital currencies were alread, the sas sep in the open wing
both. Digital currencies were alread, and the base of the same of

currency is not going to

be feasible. And if it is feasible, it is going to create

increasing turbulence economy

member states to "start doing the homework" on the imbalances.

But others appear the scale of the disparity between the two countries makes the project a non-starter.

Buenos Aires has been cut off from international debt markets since a default in 2020 and has tight foreign exchange controls. The real, near-while, is fully convertible, and a better given go government spending means that Brazil has full access to international markets.

that Brazil has full access to interna-tional markets.

Annual inflation in Argentina reached 94.8 per cent in December, against a far more manageable 5.79 per cent in Brazil. Marcos Casarin, del deconomist at Oxford Economics, said-Aragentina has more inflation in a single mouth than Brazil [has] in a year.

"My perception is this common currency is not going to be feasible. And if it is feasible, it is going to create increasing turbulence in our economy," said Walter Schalka, president OS Paulo-based Suzano, one of the world's biggest pulp and paper companies.

Paulo-based Suzano, one of the world's biggest pulp and paper companies. "Argentina and Brazil are facing differ-ent economic moments." Additional reporting by Jonathan Wheatley

China's film industry shoots for post-Covid recovery amid censorship and falling sales

After spending six years and HK\$450mn (U\$\$58mn) on science fiction epic Warriors of Future, Hong Kong film star and Star Wars fan Louis Koo hoped it would capture the imaginations of China's millions of cinemago-

But the film, about the battle to save a post-apocalyptic Earth from an invasive alien plant, grossed a lukewarm Rmb679m (\$100m) on the mainland, failing to crack the box office top

laids, laiming to crack the oox office top loads; bear.

"The pandemic has changed [the film industry] a lot, including how we evaluate when is the best time to release a film in which market and how it will potentially the control of the control

to the cinema. Declining financing, censorship and changing tastes could all scupper the industry's hopes of a strong recovery after three years of lockdowns shut theatres across the country. Chinese box office receipts tumbled more than a third from Rmb47bn in 2021 to Rmb50bn in 2022, according to ticketing platform Maoyan, relinquishing the crown to the US for the first time since surpassing it in 2020. For 2023, China's box office has surpassed Rmb50bn as of Wednesday, outpacing North America's \$486mn, according to data from Maoyan and Amazon's Box Office Most of the China's box diffice Most of the China's the C

of last year's biggest foreign releases in China, grossing Rmbl.6bn since its release in December. But that was less than half of the takings for the year's top earner, the Buttle at Lake Changjin II, a patriotic relinaging of the Korean war whose first instalment was commissioned by the Chinese Communist party's propagandaarm.

"Autar underperformed compared to early expectations," said Chris Fenton, a US-China analyst and former president of DMG Entertainment Motion Picture Group. A "good part of that was due to Covid", he added.

China's cinema screen are undergoing a big shift in favour of domestic titles. Only 59 foreign films were approved to be screened in China last year, down from 73 in 2021 and 15s in excepting platform Tapipaopiao, and just two non-Chinese Illins — Avatur and Jurassi: World Dominion — cracked the top 10 in revenue in 2022.

Two Marvel films, also produced by Disney, have been approved to screen in

and the top seven titles released during the lunar new year this month, traditionally a boom period for the film industry, are domestic productions. For domestic productions, pandemic curbs on movement delayed filming and increased costs, limiting potential returns for investors, Domestic and



international investment in China's film and television industry fell to Rmb4.6bn in 2021 from a peak of Rmb27bn in 2021, according toil Media Research.

"There was a lot of optimism in 2021... when we thought we were heading back to pre-pandemic levels," add David Chen, a Hangzhou-lessed film producer with studio Versatile Media. "But fafter the Shanghai lock-down from March to May] people couldn't secure filmacting any more and had to cancel projects."

In 2022 at least 15 901 out of 14 124.

couldn't secure linancing any more and had to cancel projects."

In 2022, at least 13,910 out of 14,124 clinemas across the country were temporarily shard due to Covid, according to Beijing-based consultancy Top Century. Some never reopened.

Censorship also remains a "moving target," for skitthis investors, analysts said. Aynne Kokas, director of the East Asia Center at the University of Virginia, said one "big challenge" for mainhand filmmakers was that "the timescale for film production is much slower than censorship."

"[The] lines for what is acceptable

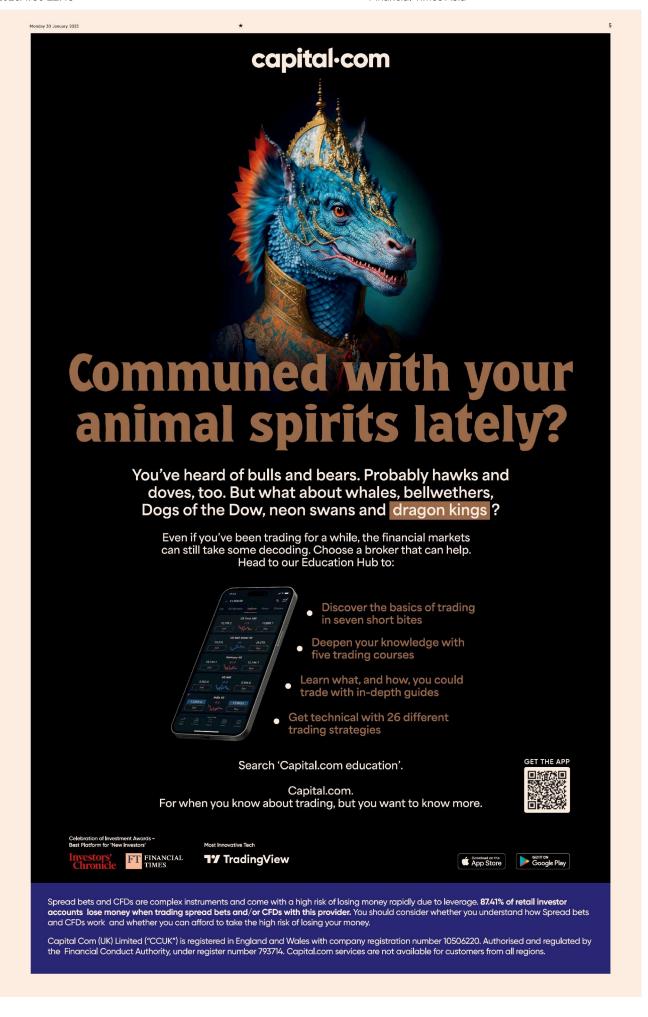
and unacceptable content are moving at a much faster pace than the film production process." she said.

In Angust, chinese censors altered the ending of the animated feature Minions:

The Rise of Grar for its domestic release, so that one of the villains is sentenced to 20 years in prison, while the other settless down and has a family. In the original, the duo successfully evade arrest.

Given the vast size of its domestic market, some remain hopeful that China's box office will bounce back after Beljing began hastly rolling back its zero-Covid regime last month.

"The Chinese film market still has strong spending power," said Kenny Ng, a film scholar at I fong Kong Baptist University. We must first wait for the [pandence] in the mainland to get under control... then a full-scale economic recovery can be moving effectively file exceutive." But box office grosses [viil] come] from Chinese domestic films, not Hollywood films."



FINANCIAL TIMES Making meetings work Creating genuinely collaborative gatherings is the ultimate post-Covid challenge of work & CAREERS

Companies&Markets

Japan's boards seek insights on geopolitical business risks

- Suntory joins push to fill intelligence jobs
- Wars and supply chains among concerns

A growing number of Japanese busi-nesses are strengthening their intelli-gence gathering as the country finds itself increasingly exposed to mounting tensions between the US and China.

tensions between the US and China. Companies in sectors that have historically been less exposed to geopolitic disruptions—including Sunton-including Sunton-in

The risk of being caught China on changing regulations] is increasing'

call on Japanese companies to strengthen their disclosures on their

call on Japanese companies to strengthen their disclosures on their response and readiness for contingenies such as the war in Ukraine, supply chain disruptions caused by the pandemic and increased tensions between the US and China over Taiwan. Kyohel Yabu, research manager at the Japane External Trade Organization, said Japaneses companies often faced the dileman of how they could comply with changing regulations in the world st two Jargest economies. "The risk of Japanese companies being caught between the two sides is increasing," he said.

A report by consulting firm Pwc Advisory published in September found that almost a third of Japanese - Isted companies with sales of more than YSOOhn (SS 39m) clede 'Geopplitics' in their annual reports, compared with 11 per

cent a year earlier. "Japanese companies have been slower to respond to economic security and geopolitical risks compared to US and European companies," asid Kazuhide Ueno, a lawyer at the legal film? IMIA sociates.

Last month Suntory poached Go Eguchi, a US-based executive at trading house Missubishi, naming him as the beverage group's first chief intelligence officer.

A person close to the

Bright prospects Hopes for China's economy spark surge in prices of tin, copper and zinc





HARRY DEMPSEY AND GEORGE STEER

Industrial metals have ripped higher since November on bets that China's reopening will boost demand for raw materials.

materials

A group of base metals — led by tin, group of opper — have surged more than 20 per cent in three months, further supported by the US Federal Reserve signalling a slowdown in the pace of interest rate ries and a soltening in the US dollar, which importers use to buy common tin, has rocketed silmest 8 per cent to \$32,262 atoms, the highest level since time, while copper prices have rallied by a tenth this month to \$8,922 at tone on brighter prospects for China's economy after the easing offits zero-Covid policies. Investors have largely shrugged off concerns about solving manufacturing activity in the face of unprecedented coronavirus outbreaks in Asia's largest economy.

"At the beginning of the year every-one came in very muanced, saying we were going to have a [global] reces-sion, that copper would dip in the first quarter and then go higher, but we've done exactly the opposite," said Al Munro, a broker at Marex. "Money (how is what has driven metals in 2023 thus far, and that's about a China re-opening story."

thus far, and that's about a Cmia reopening story.

Mining industry executives say the
current situation marks a stark
reversal from only a few months earlier, when sentiment was weak but
physical buying from Chinese cusomers remained strong.

"It has shifted between where we
were that perceptions were bad and
on-the ground was good, to now perceptions are better but on-the-ground
is uncertain," said Richard Adkerson,
chief executive of Freeport-AlcHoRan, one of the world's langest copper
producers.

Ran, one of the world's largest copper producers. Jeremy Pearce, who leads market intelligence at the International Tin Association, said that much the same

could be said of the metal used primarily to solder electronics.

"The issue is all demand indicators are very negative as global manufacturing purchasing manager indices have been nosedwing," he said. "The demand picture is the opposite and isconnected from the price."

Further fuelling the raily for some base metals has been a spate of supply disruptions from protests rolling copperand the production snags in Chile, to Indonesia stalling export Hence renewals for this mediters ahead of a possible tin ingot export ban.

smelters ahead of a possible tin ingot export ban.

The price of tin, which is becoming increasingly strategic because of its use in solar panels and microchips, has also been pushed higher by speculative buying by China, leading to a build-up in inventories. Despite weak demand, last year China swungto net imports of 20,000 tonnes from net exports of 9,000 tonnes from net exports of 9,000 tonnes in 2021, according to AMT, a metals brokerage.

Commodity traders strive to fill \$300bn funding gap

LESLIE HOOK - LONDON

High interest rates, volatile prices and the war in Ukraine have made it significantly more expensive to finance commodity trade, forcing the industry to hunt for an extra \$500bn to \$500bn in working capital to keep raw materials moving around the world.

Changing trade patterns have made the global flow of raw materials less efficient and more costly to finance and are also likely to pash up the price of commodition of the cost of the co

FT LIVE COMMODITIES **GLOBAL SUMMIT** Industry In Transition 20 - 22 March 2023 | In-Person & Digital Hôtel Beau-Rivage Palace, Lausanne | #FTCommodities Dan Basse, President, AgResou Marco Dunand, CEO, Mercuria Russell Hardy, CEO, Vitol Vandita Pant, Chief Commercial Officer, BHP Register now QXOO SpencerStuart

Banks. Profitability

French lenders miss out on interest rates bonanza

Crédit Agricole and peers held back by rules including limits on their charges for mortgages

French banks risk falling behind Euro-pean rivals and losing out on windfall profits from rising interest rates due to rules that hamstring their ability to

rules that hamstring their ability to repriceloans.
After a decade of depressed returns, after a decade of the decade returns of most rising inflation and ECG rate hikes have radically changed the fortunes of most of Europe's biggest banks, driving up margins and lending income. With the exception of Credit Suisse, bumper profits are expected of Europe's top banks when they report fourth-top banks when they report fourth-ties are the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the con-trol of the control of the control of the best profits and switzerland's UBS best pt the season tomory.

Haly's Unicredit and Switzeriant's Coblegin the season tomorrow.

But not all banks will have benefited equally from the interest rate windfall—a disparity that is set to deepen in the

a disparity that is set to deepen in the short term.
Francés lenders are suffering from the most significant setabacis. Banks such as BNP Paribas, Crédit Agricole, Société Générale and BPCE are foldit Agricole, Société Générale and BPCE are foldit agricole dowards fixed—rate loans and a 200-year-old savings account designed to help pay for Napoleon Bonapartés. Still popular today, returns on the widely used Livet A deposit account, which are linked to inflation and set by the government, have now reached their highest level in 14 years at 5 per cent. They are set to increase further this year. These pressures are creating a

two-speed European banking sector just as it starts generate interest from investors, including US ones.

Prospects for the industry in Europe have improved since the beginning of 2023, sepselaily as concerns over recessions begin to fade, including in big economists from Goldman Sachs and JPMorgan have recently reversed their expectations for a contraction in eurozono cutput in the first quarter.

That in turn could lessen the need for banks to notke up large charges to cope with the risk of defaults, after they began to cut provisions last year as the hit from the coronavirus lockdowns of 2020 faded.

hit from the coronavirus lockdowns of 2020 faded.
"The drop in [European] gas prices has suddenly eased fears about any recessions to come," said Jefferies ana lyst Flora Bochut.
"For banks, the big debate was that everyone knew that they would benefit from interest rate rises, but it wasn't clear how much of that would be offset by the recessions that were expected and arise in provisions."

The French banks will be able to offset

some of the pain in their home market

some of the pain in their home market with business elsewhere, or in other divisions such as asset management, investment banking and car leasing.

But their French net interest income between what banks pay out to depositions and earn from borrowers – are coming under growing pressure, with he hit set to last until at least the second quarter of 2023, when the ECB is expected to start until at least rate rises. One senior French banking executive sid 2023 "will still be a difficult year, but all the indicators will be back to positive in 2024". In addition to their exposure to fixed rate home loans, and unlike most other lenders in Europe, French banks are central bank on the an until enders when the properties of mortgages.

By November, French werage mort-

centra bank, on the amount tenders can charge for mortgages. By November, French average mort-age rates of 1.91 per cent were the low-est in the eurozone, ECB data showed, with the average in the bloc already at 2.88 per cent. Société Générale, France's third-biggest listed lender, is the most

deposit accounts linked to inflation

among French banks curbed by a market that includes

exposed to these pressures, with French net interest income accounting for about 15 per cent of overall revenues, pleferies says. That compares with 9 per cent at larger peers Credit Agricole and 7 per cent at RPP Paribas, the least geared towards household loans.

BNP said in November it expected an extra C2bn of revenues by 2025 from rising interest rates once the benefits kick in. The bank, which has a strong presence in Italy and Belgium among other Buropean countries and a large corporate and investment bank, is expected to the compared to the cow

quarter.
Bankinter's results were overshad-owed, however, by higher than expected costs in one reminder of other residual risks, including inflation pushing up sal-

risks, including inflation pushing up sal-aries and other expenses. Investors had remained largely cau-tious on the sector in 2022 — despite a rise in profits and the promise of large returns to investors through divideds and share buybacks — and some of the pressures from a simmering energy eris sin Burope remain a deterrent. "The rate rises are an enormous change, a gift from beavent that had been awaited for a long time," said jerome Legras, the head of research at Axtom Alternative investments. But there are still macroeconomic headwinds. Banks remain banks, they're more cyclical than companies in other sectors."



FINANCIAL TIMES

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Investors cast doubt on Illumina's Grail quest

Unease grows over DNA sequencing pioneer's deal for cancer testing group amid EU opposition and weakening profit forecasts

JAMIE SMYTH — NEW YORK JAVIER ESPINOZA — BRUSSELS

JAVIER ESPINOZA — BRUSSELS
In September, the world's biggest genome sequencing company hosted Barack Obama, Bill Gates and other luminaries at its annual forum in San Diego, predicting its latest generation of machines would help "change the

orid". Illumina could make the case that it d already done so with its existing Illumina could make the case that it had already done so with its existing technology. It provided the machines that in 2020 decoded the genetic sequence of the virus that causes Covell-19, enabling researchers to deeploy vaccines and drugs in record time. Surging demand for its technology and a pandemic-era biotech investment boom caused the market capitalisation of the company – which has an 80 per cent share of the sequencing market – to peaket about \$75 bin in August 2021. But as child executive Francis deSoura took the stage in San Diegot on introduce his question and the sequencing market – who was a sequencing market – to peaket about \$75 bin in August 2021.

But as child executive Francis deSoura took the stage in San Diegot on introduce his quests and Illumina's town NovaSeq X Series there were signs that the outfook was drighening.

the outlook was darkening.

In August it reported a quarterly loss, weighed down by the legal costs of an unsuccessful patent battle with Chinese rival Boff group, which is now free to enter the US market. A month later the EU blocked Illumina's 85bn acquisition of Grail, a cancer test developer that was initially founded by Illumina but spun officiology.

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are not "fans of the deal" and it came up in almost every conversation he had with them. He said Illumina has over the past decade been an attractive, high-growth investment because it sold its sequencess at high prices (up to \$1.25m each) and had recurring revenues from the reagents and other products required to operate them. Grall was riskler because it was burning lots of cash and there was uncertainty about whether its technology would be a commercial success, said Brennan. Grall has developed one of the world's first early detection blood tests. The test, which in named Galleri, aims to detect up to 50 different types of cancer, including many that are not part of

X : Civil Action No. 1:21-ev-03385-NRB

CLASS ACTION

Illumina has been besieged by problems since its pandemic highs
Share prices and index (rebased)

2019

interest of shareholders

national screening programmes. It is currently being tested in trials, including a UK National Health Service study involving 140,000 people.

In an interview with the Financial Times, desouza said Illumina was right to buy Grail and press ahead with completion of the deal, adding twas "in the interests" of shareholder health completion of the deal, adding twas "in the interests" of shareholder health of high growth potential.

The stakes are road. This isn't just smaller dealt if Illumina prevals it can bring Grail life saving test to countries beyond just the US and the UK, which is what Grail Is planning to do," less said.

DeSouza said Illumina had a "huge amount of respect" for regulators but insisted it would fight the EU's order blocking the merger in court, arguing that Brussels had no jurisdiction as Grail land no revenues in the bloc. Amy EU fine for "gun jumping" — closing the deal despite opposition from regulators vasa likely to be similar to the \$500 nm break fee in the merger contract it signed with Grail, he said.

But Illumina's course of action angered senior EU officials, including competition cumulsisoner Margethe Vestager, who said at the time: "Companies have to respect our competition rules and procedures."

The EU's problistion of the merger is a test case for regulators, which are seeked the said of the merger contract it signed with Grail, he said.

The EU's problistion of the merger is a test case for regulators, which are seeked the said of the merger contract it signed with Grail, he said.

The EU's problistion of the merger is a test case for regulators, which are seeked the said of the said o

then it would have been a \$2bn acquisi-tion," he said.

Flatley, who persuaded deSoura to plate, who persuaded deSoura to plate the said and the said was a strategic mistake" but it had not goe a "strategic mistake" but it had not goe a "strategic mistake" but it had not goe a "strategic mistake" had the said was a "inge disappointment" and investors want it spum back out, he said.

"Some investors frankly don't care how much illumina is going to get for it. In some ways it's kind of a sunk cost. It hey can spit it back out, then the earn-ings numbers get back to where they should be," he said.

It is not the first time illumina has been tripped up by its M&A strategy. In

Monday 30 January 2023

It is not the first time illumina has been tripped up by its M&A strategy. In January 2020, it abandoned its \$1.20 has been tripped up and Pacific Biosciences after opposition from regulators. The departure of Sam Samad, Illumina's former chief financial officer, but also unnerved some investors, and also unnerved some investors, and also unnerved some investors, and also underved some investors, and also underved some investors, and also underved some investors, and also investors and also investors and investors and investors are also investors and investors are also investors are also investors are placement.

interin since July, while the company seeks a rapke are never the seeks a rapke are seeks a rapke are seeks a rapke are seeks a rapke are seeks and Edgewood – all declined a request for comment.

One investor, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said Grail was a "natural extension" of Illumina's technology and worth pursuing, Another said the company was "blindsided" by the EU and worth pursuing, Another said the company was "blindsided" by the EU and worth pursuing, another said the company was "blindsided" by the EU and Lackower could take years. In the meantime, abandoning it would be challeng for Grail In particular, It scrapped a planned initial public offering at a time when markets were bounding following when markets were bounding following

planed initial passedant. in 28-seyeces and planed initial passedant. in 28-seyeces planed initial passedant in 2000. But there is also pressor on Illumina of diversify; It is launching the NovaSeq IX into a market that structing new entrants at a good rate. At a jPMorgan healthcare Conference this month Element Bosclences, a company founded by several former Illumina executives, amounced that its sequencers could read a whole human mina executives, amounced that its sequencers could read a whole human State of the Seyecome for as luttle as \$200. Twelve years ago, the process cost \$10,000. Illuminas benchmark in 2020 was about \$600 but it plan to reduce this \$2500 whits new machine.

S100000. Illuminas bencimark in 2020 was about \$600 but it plans to reduce this to \$200 with its new machine. Another early-stage company, Ultima Genomics, has said it can cut sequencing costs to \$100. Med, which was spun out from BG list year through an IPO, has begun selling its sequencers in the US market following the expiration of key lllumina patentials stayear. "Illumina has really been dominating the market for more than a decade and customers need competition," said he market for more than a decade and customers lended customers lended customers lended customers lended customers lended to the customers lended to the security who is chief executive and founder of Element Blosciences.

Element Biosciences.
She sald Illumina started offering Element customers big discounts when the company entered the market last year. But Element has also benefited from Increased Interest in its products from Grail competitors that use DNA sequencing, she added. "They Customers' are obviously worried about what is going to happen after Illumina acquires Grail: would they still have access to high quality, lowcost sequencing?" Illumina rejected any suggestion that its ownership of Grail would influence its relationship with customers of its DNA sequencing business. But this was a key concern highlighted by European authorities when they blocked the Illumina/Grail merger.
Vijay Kumar, analyst at Evercore ISI, said it was a "bold and aggressive" move by Illumina to buy Grail because Illumina was paying 88bn for a company with very little revenues at the time.
But the decision to close the Grail dead lespite opposition from Brussels was a gamble, he said, adding: "Francis bet big on this. Ultimately the buck stops with the CEO."

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

CREDIT SUISSE GROUP AG, THOMAS GOTTSTEIN, DAVID R. MATHERS, LARA J. WARNER AND BRIAN

OU ARE HEREBY MOTIFIED, pursuant to Rule 23 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and n Order of the United State Destrict OU ARE HEREBY MOTIFIED, pursuant to Rule 23 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and n Order of the United State Destrict Out and the Civil Process of State of Civil Process of Civil Process of State of Civil Process of Civil Process of State of Civil Process of C

Class by definition as set forth in the full printed Notice of Pendency and Proposed Settlement of Class Action (the "Notice"), VOLAREA ISON ONTFIERD that Led Plaintful fine Led Ligation has reached a proposed settlement of the Litigation for S32,500,000 to, that, I rapproved, will resolve all claims in the Litigation.

A hearing will be belied in Mys 11,202, at 11 00 a no, before the Henorable Nasini Reize Bushwald, United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, Damiel Patrick Moynthan United States Courthouse, 800 Pearl Street, Courtroom 21.A 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 there a limal Judgement and Order of Dismissal with Projudies 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, 202 Lord in the National South of the Most Court of the National Settlement of the Claims and the Releases specified and described in the Stipulation of Settlement (the "Stipulation") dated September 12, 202 Lord in the National South Settlement (2) whether the Plaint of Allocation is fair, reasonable, and adequate and the Release of the Settlement of the Claims should be approved.

Planutti in connection with its representation of the Class should be approved.

IF YOU PURCHASED OR OTHERWISE ACQUIRED OFEDETI SUSSE ADRS DURING THE PERIOD FROM OCTOBER 29, 2020 THROUGH MARCH 31, 2021, INCLUSIVE, YOUR RIGHTS MAY BE AFFECTED BY THE SETTLEMENT OF THIS LITHOGATION. HOW have not received a denialed Notice and every of the Proof of Claim and Release form, you may obtain ecceives by or at www.CreditSusseSecuritiesSettlement.com.

or at www.CreditSusseSecuritiesSettlement.com.

If you are a Class Member, in order to shave in the distribution of the Net Settlement Fand, you must submit a Proof of Claim and Release by mail (postmarked no later than April 6, 2023), establishing that you are citied to a recovery I from are a Class Member and do not en submit a proof claim from, you think the claim of the Net Settlement for the Claim for the Claim for the Claim form, you the Claim for the English or th

in the Litigation.

If you are a Class Member and you desire to be excluded from the Class, you must submit a request for exclasion, in writing and in accordance with the instructions set forth in the Notice, to Credit Suites Securities Settlement, EXCLUSIONS, to Gilfard, & Co. LLC, P.O. Bos 5100, Larkspur, Co. 49477-5100, postumarked no later than April 20, 2023. All Class Members who do not timely and valledly request exclasion from the Class in response to the Notice will be bound, to the extent approved by the Court, by the proposed settlement and easy indigenent entered in the Liftigation pursuant in the Singulation.

Any objection to the settlement, the Plan of Allocation, or the fee and expense application must be in accordance with the instruction set forth in the Notice and received by each of the Following recipions no leave than 1,947 20, 2023.

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

Dead Counsel

ROBBINS GELLER RUDMAN

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Degenants Course: CAHILL GORDON & REINDEL LLP HERBERT S. WASHER EDWARD MOSS ADAM S. MINTZ 32 Old Slip New York, NY 10005

FILEASE DO NOT CONTACT THE COURT, THE CLERK'S OFFICE, CREDIT SUISSE OR DEFENDANTS COUNSEL REGARDING. THIS NOTICE: If you have any questions about the sediment, you may contain contain pleadings and other documents filed in the Linguistic on an lab to Found a wow. Creditississecurines Stediment comes of

DATED: December 23, 2022

Mining

Rio 'sorry' for losing highly radioactive capsule

'If Illumina prevails it can bring life-saving

countries beyond just the US and

Rio Tinto has apologised for losing a highly radioactive capsule that fell off a truck on a 1,400-kilometre stretch of desert highway in Western Australia, as the mining company sought to limit the damage from the incident.

the camage from the incursion authorities are scrambling to find the missing part from a sensor used in mining, which measures just 6 mm by 8 mm and was 160 mm by 8 mm and was 160 mm by 160 mm a free in the Pilbara region to a depot in the state capital of Ferth.

The silver capsule contains a small amount of casesium 137, and is dammating the silver capsule contains a small amount of the silver capsule contains a small amount of cases the silver capsule contains a small amount of cases the silver capsule contains a small amount of cases the silver capsule contains a small amount of cases the silver capsule contains a small amount of cases the silver capsule contains a small amount of cases the silver capsule capsule

from a metre away is the equivalent of having 10 X-rays, and prolonged contact can cause skin burns, acute radiation sickness and canner, experts six du. Rio's role in the radioactive hunt across such a long stretch of the state is the latest episode for a company that is still trying to repair its reputation after the destruction of a 46,000-year-old Aboriginal heritage site at Justian Gorge in Western Australia in 2020, which are destruction of a 46,000-year-old thinted by the control of the co

develop a \$2.4bu mine in the country owing to strong environmental and public opposition to the project.

The search for the missing capsule has involved people scanning for radion levels from the device along the vast rucking route. The device had been used at the Gulai-Darri mine to measure the density of innove feed.

Simon Trott, head of the innove devices who was amonited shortly after

Simon Trott, head of the iron ore division who was appointed shortly after Danish finance director Jakob Stausholn became Rio chief executive in 2021, apploages for the "alarm" caused.

"We are taking this incidentivery seriously. We recognise this is clearly very concerning and are sorry for the alarm! has caused in the Western Australian community," Trott said yesterday.

Monday 30 January 2023

FINANCIAL TIMES

COMPANIES & MARKETS

BlackRock splashes out on US lobbying

Asset manager on defensive after criticism of its ESG-friendly stance

BROOKE MASTERS - NEW YORK

BROOKE MASTERS – NEW YORK
BlackRock shapply increased its spending on lobbying in the US hat year at the
world's largest asset manager came
under attack over its use of environmental, social and governance factors
in investing.
Black Rock disclosed spending of
\$2.4 mm on federal lobbying in 2022, up
65 per cent from 2021. Within that,
it more than doubled the amount of

money it paid to high-powered lobbying companies to \$1.2mm. State lobbying registers show that the company also added five registered lob-byists in Texas and two in Florida, up from none in either state in 2020.

byists in Texas and two in Florida, up from none in either state in 2020. Republican politicians in those states have been leading the attack on investment groups they consider hostile to fossil fuel. Congress is expected to pick up the baton now that Republicans control the House of Representatives.

Texas has declared BlackBock to be boostle to fossil fuel and earnmarked it for divestment. Florida's treasurer last year pulled \$20 nawy from BlackBock over ESG, although the state's pension funds

are still using the money manager. BlackRock said in a statement that it "works with Us policymalers to ensure the vokes of investors are heard in considering critical issues like retirement security, market structure and the safeguarding of investors' freedom to choose financial products that best suit their individual needs and goals'. Spending by money managers on lobbying tends to go up and down depending on the issues under discussion in Washington, with big pass around bills focused on taxes, retirement accounts and securities regulation. Last year, Congress passed tweaks to the rules for employer-sponsored retirement plans

and held hearings on securities regulation and index funds in addition to the growing focus on climate investing. BlackRock's lobbying spending trails Fidelity and Invesco, which are some of het op users of federal lobbyists among asset managers in recent years. Fidelity disclosed: \$2.4 min is spending in 2022, up 10 per cent, and Invesco reported \$4.9 mm, up 21 per cent. Asset managers in general lag behind the national leaders, which include Amazon, Meta and Pilzer, claims the OpenSecrets website. State Street, which was pilloried alongside BlackRock at a December hearing by Texas legislators on ESG investing, also increased its spending in

2022, from \$1.1mn to \$1.8mn. The group, which includes a bank as well as an asset manager, pointed out that its spending in 2020 was similar to 2022 and as add that the dip had to do with the timing of a large annual payment. It declined to comment further.

Rival index fund provider Vanguard slightly decreased its disclosed federal bobying spending in 2022, dropping 14 per cent to \$1.8mn, but it went from 12cro lobbyists in Texas in 2021 to two last year. Vanguard was excused from 12cras/5 anti-18c6 hearing after it announced it was quitting the major global climate alliliance, the Net Zero Asset Managers initiative.

Oil & gas

BP pares back its long-term forecasts for fossil fuels

BP has trimmed its outlook for oil and gas demand in its latest annual fore-cast, arguing that the upheaval unleashed by Russia's invasion of Ukraine will push countries to pursue greater energy security over the next decade by investing in renewables.

greater energy security over the next decade by investing in renewables.

As a result, global carbon emissions could peak earlier in the 2020s than it had previously suggested, Breatd in its and previously suggested. Breatd in its and the second positive of the property of the shift away from fossil fuel, sovernments and industry are still far behind in the race to achieve net zero emissions by 2050, the analysis showed. The outlook describes three scenarios for the evolution of the energy sector through to 2050. Under its "New Momentum" scenario, which is designed to "reflect the current broad trajectory" of the world's energy system, oil elemand would be a board 95mm barrels a day in 2055, Spec cent lower than it forecast last year, and natural gas the standard of the scenarios of the world's energy as countries reduce dependence on imported hydrocarbons, but also expectations of weaker economic growth in the next decade because of the lasting impact of the energy crists.

"The experience from the major energy supply shocks of the 1970s suggests that events that heightened energy

security concerns can have significant and persistent impacts on energy markets'

impacts on energy markets'
security concerns can have significant and persistent impacts on energy markets, "Speace Dale, B2"s chief economists, said in the report.
As a consequence, global carbon emissions under the New Momentum scenario would peak in the 2020s and reach 37.8 gigatomies in 2030 – about 4 per cent lower than its estimate last year that emissions would peak in the "late 2020s." The International Energy Agency has forecast that greeulases. The International Energy Agency has forecast that greeulases. It is a second to the second peak in the "late 15.8 peaking how Bellevin multivillion-dollar support package for clean energy projects, the Indiation Rediction Art, had also helped to improve the outlook for carbon emissions. But "the scale of the decarbonisation" means greater support is required, the report said.
Despite the declines, in the New Momentum scenario global emissions would only fall 50 per cent from 2019 levels by 2050, according to the report, which added that a 95 per cent drop from 2019 levels was required for the world to achieve net zero emissions. In that scenario, off demand would remain around current levels, close to 100m b/d, through "much of this decade" before declining gradually to about 75mn b/d by 2050. Under the Fox Zero's scenario, the study's most ambitious outlook for a reduction in emissions, demand would drop to 70mn b/d 1 missions, demand would drop to 70mn b/d 2050, falling to 20mn b/d 1 ped 2051, list in offiled mean investment in oil and gas production will be required for the next 50 years, even under "Net Zero'.

Market questions. Week ahead

Central banks poised to reveal latest rate rises

Will the Fed be able to engineer a soft landing for the US economy? The Federal Reserve is widely expected to slow its pace of interest rate increases at its meeting tomorrow and on Wednesday, delivering a 0.25 percusage-point increase amid mounting evidence that inflation in the US has been to cook of the cook of th

evidence that inflation in the US has beguntoool.

Federal Open Market Committee veters—including the hawkish Christopher Waller—have come out ahead of this week's meeting in favour of a 0.25 percentage point increase. This raise would mark a return to a more normal tempoof policymaking after the Fed last year delivered four consecutive 0.75 percentage point increases before decertaing to 0.5 percentage points in December.

December.
The shift in the Fed's approach can be attributed in part to the recent chill in inflation. Consumer price growth in December slowed for the sixth straight month, with inflation clocking in at 6.5

month, with Initiation clossing in at one per cent.
Though inflation remains far from the Feld's 2 per cent target, December's level was the lowest since October 2021.
The meeting will also come on the heels of news that the US conomy grew more than expected in the fourth quarter—with gross domestic product increasing at an annual rate of 2.9 per cent, compared with the 2.6 per cent, compared with the 2.6 per cent, compared might have a consciously compared with the 2.6 per cent, and the constitution of the conscious of the compared with the 2.6 per cent and the conscious of the compared with the 2.6 per cent and the conscious of the compared with the 2.6 per cent and the conscious of the compared with the 2.6 per cent and the conscious of the compared with the 2.6 per cent and the conscious of the conscious of the compared with the 2.6 per cent and the conscious of the conscious of

engineering a "soft landing" — raising rates enough to stamp out inflation but not enough to push the US into recession — can live on. *Kate Duguid*

What will the ECB decision signal about its pace of tightening?

about its pace of tightening?

Economists Ingely consider it a "fone deal" that the Pauropean Central Bank ull raise interest raise by 6.3 percentage points on Thursday at its next monetary policy meeting.

Christine Lagarde, president of the ECR, signalled this month that the bank will "stay the course" of large interest rate increases, suggesting the same half percentage-point increase as at the last meeting, which would take the depair rate to 2.5 per cent, up from minus 0.5 in June last year.

ne last year.
With little uncertainty on the rate change, the main point of interest of the ECB meeting will be any messaging about further rates decisions, said Andrew Kenningham, chief Europe



Levelling out: the US Federal Reserve is expected to raise interest rates by 0.25% this week, marking a return to a mornormal tempo o policymaking Semuel Corun Wilsonberg

economist at Capital Economics. "We now think that the resilience of the comony and persistence of core inflation means the bank will raise the deposit rate by a further [10.5] percentage points] in March and [0.45] percentage points] in March and [0.45] percentage points] in the next two meetings, bring might one paic 5.5 sper cent, he added. But the pace of monetary rightening mild depend out the estiliance of the eurozone economy and the persistence of high price pressures, with most of the key data being released this week. Part of the product data released today to show that the German economy stalled in the fourth quarter of 2022. The same figure for the curroum count tomorrow—is also forecast to show no growth over the same period, confirming a much smaller hit from the sunge in energy costs and rising borrow-ing costs than what was forecast a few monthsago.

Analysts also expect eurozone infla-

months ago.

Analysts also expect eurozone inflation to have eased to 9.1 per cent in January, down from 9.2 per cent in the previ-

ous month and further below the all-time peak of 10.6 per cent recorded in October. Valentina Romei

By how much will the Bank of England lift interest rates?

Markets are pricing in that the Bank of England will raise interest rates by 0.5 percentage points at its meeting on Thursday. That would take the bank rate to 4 per cent, up from the historical low of 0.1 per cent in late 2021 and the biddert inte 2008.

bow of 0.1 per cent in late 2021 and the highest since 2008. "We believe the Monetary Policy Committee will raise the bank rate by [0.5 per centage points] in February in response to stubbornly high services inflation and wage growth, said Andrew Goodwin, chief UK Economist at Oxford Economics. Supported by a tight labour market, where unemployment levels are relatively low and job wacancies high, UK nominal wages trose at a near record pace in November, with private sector pay rises reaching an annual rate of 7.2 per cent. Headline inflation ticked down

'We believe the MPC

the bank rate . . . in stubbornly

in December but services inflation, a better measure of underlying price pressure, accelerated. Goodwin added that February's rise might be followed by a smaller rise in March, but that should bring the cur-cent cycle of rising borrowing cost to a March, but the other based of the con-traction of the contraction of the con-traction of the contraction of the con-traction of the contraction of the con-traction of the con-

of appearing more dovish than expected. However, Elizabeth Martins, economist at HSBC, thinks the MPC willgo for a quarter of a percentage point rate increase on Thursday. She conceded that there are "significant risks" of a larger rise but noted that "the combination of lower near-term inflation, receding inflation expectations, the rapid slowdown in the housing market and the BOS's own sub-target, medium-term inflation fore-ast, mean that the MPC will opt for a slower pace of lightening". Valentina Rome!

Agriculture. Grain pipelines

Weather patterns and low stocks leave food supplies at risk

Forecasters expect benefit of price falls to be limited amid uncertainty over Ukraine

EMIKO TERAZONO — LONDON

EMIKO TERAZONO – LONDON

Fertiliser and crop prices have fallen sharply since their peaks after last year's Russian attack on Ukraine. Yet agriculture specialists and analysts have warned that the world's food supplies are still under threat.

Food prices were already elevated before Russian stull-scale invasion of Ukraine early last year, due to droughts and coronavirus pandemic-related hoarding by governments and businesses. Then crop untirent prices soared as a result of Moscow's position as the world's largest fertiliser capporter, while the jump in natural gas prices, a critical ingredient for introgen fertilisers, also piled pressure on to agricultural markets.

markets. Last year's Black Sea grain deal between Moscow and Kyiv played a cru-cial role in subduing prices, along with

plentiful supplies from Russia, while lower natural gas prices have calmed fertiliser markets. However, analysts warn that the grain deal could unravel, while volatile energy prices and climate change also threaten to undermine crop production.

change allow needen to undermine crop
production.

"It's like flying with one engine," said
John Baffes, sentor agricultural economist at the World Bank, "As long as that
stops then you have problems. ... If any
of these takel materialise well toe engine
stops then you have problems. ... If any
of these takel materialise well toe
fleast in prices bery, very quickly."
I make the problems of the top the property of
Use which is due to
be renewed in March. Any failure to
extend it would block exports of
Ulcrahilan grain, sending prices rocket
in gagain.

While many crops, along with food
ertilisers, are exempt from sanctions

While many crops, along with food fertilisers, are exempt from sanctions imposed on Russia by Ukraine's allies, many banks, insurers and logistics groups have been reluctant to handle their farmers' produce, according to Russian and European officials. Geopo-litical tensions could disrupt supplies. Another threat is climate. Last year's

record-breaking temperatures in Europe and other parts of the world occurred despite the La Niña weather phenomenon, which involves the cool-ing of the Pacific Ocean's surface. After one of the racine oceans surface. After three consecutive years of La Niña con-ditions, many meteorologists have warned about the rising chances of the opposite — the El Niño phenomenon, which has a warming effect—occurring this year. Regionally, El Niño conditions have previously caused droughts in south and south-east Asia and Australia and floods in Latin America, including

high

services

inflation growth'

and noods in Lath America, including in Brazil and Argentina. Relatively low grain inventory levels have added to analysts' concerns about global food supplies. For wheat, the



stock-to-use ratio, a measure used by grain market participants and agricultural economists to assess the availability of commodities, shows projected stocks for the end of the crop year in June are forecast at \$8 days, the lowest level since 2008, when international food prices soared after droughts and an increase in global energy prices.

The cause of the low global stocks situation, prices will remain volatile and or significant weather event emerges with spring. Said Joseph Galueler, suitor research fellow at food security thinks spring. Said Joseph Galueler, suitor research fellow at food security thinks pring. Said Joseph Galueler, suitor research fellow at food security thinks in the said Joseph Galueler. Currency movements are also important for food supplies in many developing countries. Despite the recent falls in food prices on international markets, the strength of the dollar could keep costs in local currencies high. That means food inflation for consumers is likely to persist for several quarters due tathe lag of about a year for international markets, the strength of the dollar counsures is likely to persist for several quarters due tathe lag of about a year for international may traded prices to work their way through to retain supply chains.

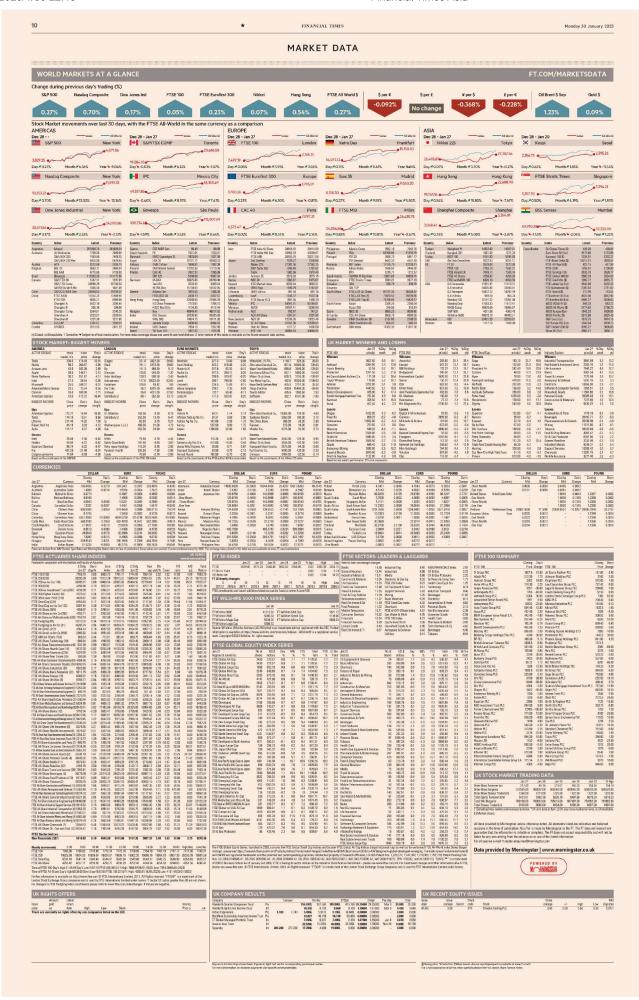
Tood inflation as measured by the

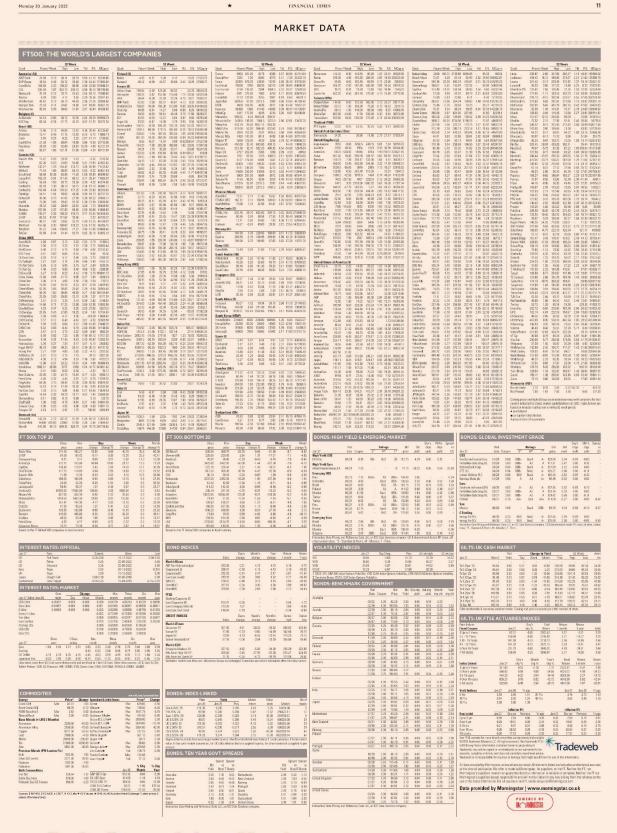
food consumer price index remains in

food consumer price index remains in double digits in most areas of the world. Lexpect food CP1 to decline as overall inflation abates, but it will come down slowly, "said Glauber.

But there are some signs of improvement. The UN Food and Agricultural Organization's food price index of internationally traided agricultural commodities has posted monthly declines for activation of the commodities have been sometimed in the commodities. A record wheat crop in Russia and bumper corn and soyabean harvests in Brazil have relieved tightness in international grain and vegetable oil markets, while a recent fall in the price of natural gas, a feedstock, has increased production of introgen crop nutrients. Cheaper internationally traded prices, including for fertilister, will remove some pressure on goovers.

"We are very much at an interior policy in the input (costs) and the markin policy. The linput (costs) and the markin casing substantially," said Marked Magdovitz, grains and oilseeds analyst at Rabobank.





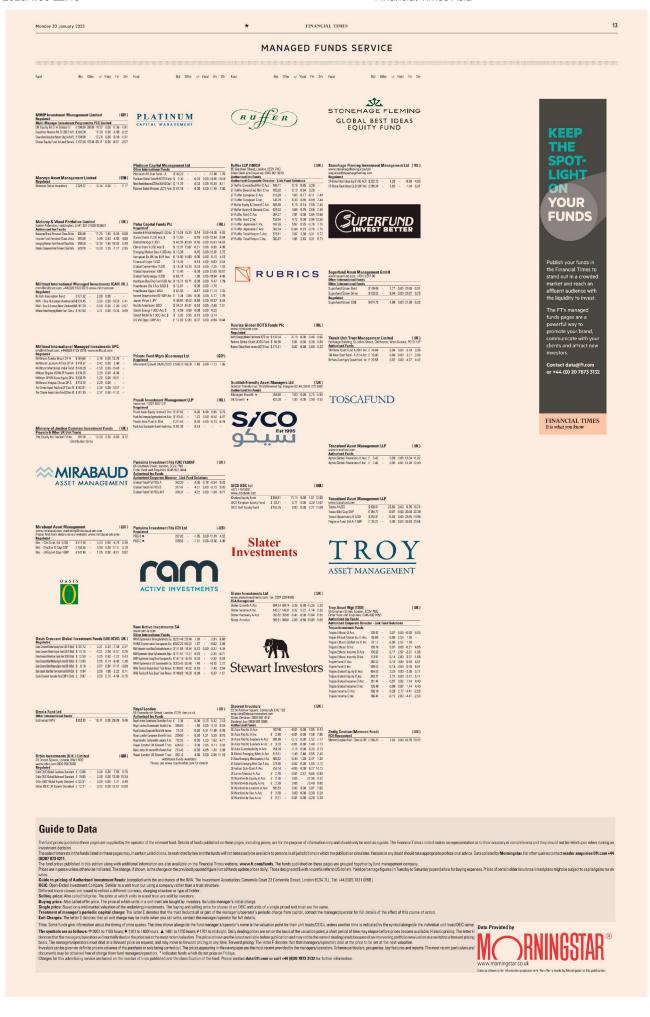
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WORK & CAREERS

If you invite someone to a meeting, there has to be a purpose



We must stop meeting like this. By "This" I mean the catalogue of irritations which are all too familiar from working life overlong, controlled the control of the meeting they and if and the control of the meeting they and if and the control of the meeting they and the contro



In the pre-Covid world we got together for way too many things. You're going to have to carefully curate physical gatherings now



More positively, this suggests that with sensitivity and planning constructive meetings can be held which take account of the different roles people might be playing. At the very least, some of the classic pitfalls could be avoided.

We will always have meetings. We should try to make the most of them. That will mean taking a more thoughtful approach. "Invest more prop time," Martin says. "Know what you are trying to create. And then the meetings where you are together physically, they are going to be really high value-added than they were before." This will not be easy. As Cal Newport, professor in computer science at your content of the properties of

The writer is author of 'How to Be a Bette Leader'

A new generation refuses to keep quiet on age discrimination at work

Staff willingness to whistleblow is finally shining a light on those who tolerate such practices, writes Jane Croft

fer business executive Louise McCabe won a high-profile employment tribunda case for age discrimination and whisteblowing she found herefl being contacted by people from all over the world sharing similar stories. McCabe, 57, was awarded £125,604 compensation including £20,000 for injury to feelings after winning her case against Selazar, an ecommerce fulfilment service platform where she was a director. The judge found that the company had unfairly dismissed her and director. The judge found that the company had unfairly dismissed her and subjected her to discrimination for age and for raising whistleblowing disclosures about the teratement of other staff. The tribunal ruling noted that a senior manager told McCabe in a meeting. "Calm down . . . don't let the hormones get out of control", and that the manager "viewed her as a menopausal — that is, an older woman't. I'c nochicled the reason for her dismissal was partly her age. McCabe, who now runs an accountancy business, says that since winning the case people had been in contact,

ancy business, says that since winning the case people had been in contact, "sharing their stories with me and thanking me for having the courage to stand up about it".

"sharing their stories with me and hanking me for having the courage to standupabout it".

She says that many of those messaging her mention that they have been whistleblowers. And she believes their status as older workers may have something to do with that: "A lot of people didn't get as far sataking legal action but lawe no lede what the average age of a whistleblower is. Age and experience comes with getting older and also having this feeling – knowing that something is not right." She have not something that the average age of a whistleblower is. Age and experience comes with getting older and also having this feeling – knowing that something is not right. She had not something that the stories of the she had been something to the she had been something to the she had been she had b



Louise McCabe says that since winning her tribunal case she has been thanked by whistleblowers for standing up to ageist

rch published by the Office for

normal times.

Research published by the Office for National Statistics in September 2022 found adults aged between 50 and 54 were more likely to leave work due to stress and not feeling supported in their job than those aged 60 to 65 years who were more likely to retire.

But companies too often fail to give training and carreer opportunities to older workers. Rachel Sunderland, 59, a knitwear designer who has worked in fashion for more than 50 years, last year retailer Superdy for claims of unfair dismissal and age discrimination and was awarded 544,725 compensation. The tribunal ruling described Sunderland, by oined Superdry in 2015 and resigned in July 2000, as an excellent subject and signer but noted she was passed over for promotion to senior designer despite her experience. The tribunal noted that managers had assessed Sunderland's risk of jumping ship to a competitor as low. "We consider that older members of staff are likely to have a perceive lower flight of the promotion of the promotion of the single production of the promotion of

they judged that there was little risk of her leaving the business no matter how the leaving the business no matter how the leaving the region of the leaving the leav

To I want to go back into the workplace . . . if I find I'm being treated badly and suffer humiliation?

the workplace . . . if I find I'm being treated badly and suffer humiliation?"
Superdry sald it was committed to cquality for all staff, adding: While we feel the tribunal's judgment did not reflect our culture and values, so the superflect our culture and the superflect of the superflect our culture and superflect our culture superflect our culture superflect our superflect our

discussed "knifing Tony" and said he "isn't going to be around for ever".

A decade on, Shireti is ab buys as ever working as an equities analyst covering retailers. "I suppose it shows not much has changed if we are still talking about my case 11 years later," he says. What matters most is ability rather than age." Bringing an age discrimination claim to a tribunal is not for the fainthearted. However, the same the same than the same same same than the same same same same same

The shock of mass lay-offs is only the start for companies



fter almost 8.5 years working at Google, I received notice this morning that I was impacted by the workforce reduction and no longer have a role at the company. . . I envisioned spending my entire working career at Google, so this news has been particularly hardtoabsorb."

Linkedin is awash in posts like this from Google workers who suddenly lost their jobs this month vie emails, some fail for tote company. Google's parent, Alphabet, is among the tech groups slashing their workforce by thousands. The sector overall has shed about 200,000 jobs in the past year.

One fired Google employee.

about 200,000 jobs in the pastyear.

One fired Google employee told the Financial Times:
"The company motto is "respect the user, respect the opportunity and respect respectable to the opportunity and respect respectable to the opportunity and respect so it is to such entire teams—and however counter it is to companies' public image and management style—there are good reasons why mass lay-offs have to be swift. The abruptness of the firings might be attributed to an effort to protect intellectual property and client relationships, prevent staff from transferring data and other security reasons.

After the initial shock has passed, however, are employers aware of the long-term consequences of their actions? Sandra Sucher, co-author of The Power of Trust: How Companies Build It, Lose It, Reguln It, points out that research shows lay-offs have a detrimental effect on employees and efficient on employees and the support of the power of the protect of the property within an organisation, she says.

Companies that have spent years and huge amounts of money training staff are letting not only institutional knowledge, but their networks of relation of the protect of the protect of the protect of the group were fired. The Slack chat died and the problem went unresolved. "You don't just replace that history, that conversation, the story, that conversation, the protect is the protect of th

that expertise," he says.

The so-called survivors, like my Iriend, are now less likely to trust their employer and will be anxious about future lay-offs. This remaining workforce may resent having to take on a heavier workfoad in more trying turn will prompt further staff exits. Downsizing a workforce by just 1 per cent can lead to a 51 per cent increase in woulturny staff turnover the next year, according to researchers at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and the University of South Carolina. Goodwill 1s fragile. Most individuals who thrive at work do more than is asked of them. Mass lay-offs send the message that rather than hiring someone for everything they bring to work and

hiring someone for every-thing they bring to work and their future potential, they are just a cog in a machine. Workers who choose to

So-called less likely to trust their employer

stay, knowing that hard work and good performance will not guarantee employ-ment, might be more likely to do the bare minimum or be less innovative when a company needs it most. All of this hits profits in the longrum.

longrun.
Companies such as Alphabet are doing the right thing short-term: paying out redundancy, bonuses and remaining leave days as well as six months of healthcare, access tojo by Jacement services, plus immigration support. But those laid off may be impacted for life, as many were after the 2008 financial crisis. They may suffer a hit to their health as well as their finances. A new jot services of the control of the co

Monday 30 January 2023 FINANCIAL TIMES

FEATURES

'Privacy has been extinguished. It is now a zombie'

SHOSHANA ZUBOFF

The professor who predicted that computers would change our lives demands a right to sanctuary from data 'theft'



hese are uncertain times for Silicon Valley. Tech companies are firing staff who they hired in the pandemic. In the pandemic witter, under Elon Musk, has repelled advertisers. Apple, a self-proclaimed privacy champion, wants to reduce the reach of Google. It's possible to imagine that the digital wild west will become more genited.

to imagine that the digital wild west will become more gented.

Yet for the critics of Big Tech, there is little relief. Shoham Zuboff, a professor emerita at Harvard Business School, published: The Age Guswellmer. Capitalism in 2019 — a blast about how tech companies had made billions of dollars by sucking up private data. "We thought we were searching Google, but Google was searching us," she summarised. Today she's frustrated that efforts to restrain tech companies are so fragmented. "We have fantastic scholar privary, others who are focused on privary, others who are focused on disinformation, others who are focused on the nexus with democracy," she says,

disinformation, others who are focused on the nexus with democracy," she says, when we meet in London. This "Balkanisation" reduces the ability to pinpoint the "actual source of harm"; people's data is treated as a costless resource, just as forests and other parts of nature were in centuries past.

as forests and other parts of nature were incenturies past.
Zauboff cites data that, in the US, which has no federal privacy law, people have their location exposed 747 times aday, in the EU, which she says has the "best regulation", it's 376. "It's better, but it's not nearly better enough. Mark Zuckerberg once promisedy out that particulation will be tell you, on arriving in a strange city, which har to go to and a bartender would already have prepared your

'We're regulating with blinders on . . . don't understand our adversary well enough

favourite drink. That dream has faded only on the basis of practicality, not principle.

In a paper published in November, Zuboff argued that Apple and Google had strong armed European health officials ower Cowid tracing technology. This possible to have a democracy, it is not possible to have a democracy, it is not possible to have a democracy in so not possible to have a democracy in some possible to have a democracy in some possible to have a famour and the supplementation of a created the illusion of acting as Robin Hood, when only democratic oversight could protect individual rights.

overstight could protect individual rights.

She sees its move against Google as simply an "expansion" of surveillance capitalism. Tim Cook's promises to protect privacy can be withdrawn any time. "Users have no say."

Tech surveillance matters, Zuhoff argues, because it robs us of "life-sustaining inwardness." Mor can individuals realistically opt out by themselves, What we need is a right to sanctuary.

Last year Brussels introduced the Digital Services Act, its most comprehensive tech legislation to date. The UK parliament is currently debating the online safety bill. Zuhoff wants these to be stepping stones.

stones.

Normally in newspaper interviews, the journalist asks questions, and the interviewee answers them. An interview with Zuboff is different. You ask questions and, more often than not, she

responds with first principles — step-by-step explanations of how she believes that surveillance capitalism has taken

step expandations of into she benezian has taken hold this century. The transfer of the control of the century can be a control of the century can be century can be control of the century can be century can be control of the century can be contro

tul people decide how to spend the later part of their lives. Her opus on surveillance capitalism was her own late-career flourish. It was published when she was 67, after a light-ning strike had burnt down her family home in Maine and after the unex-pected death of her husband and some-time co-author, the businessman Jim Maxmin.

Zuhoff argues that tech companies

pected death of her husband and sometime co-author, the businessman Jim
Maxmin.

Zuboff argues that tech companies
knew that the public would never support their data collection. "Right from
the start, they were understood as
things that had to be secret, had to be
camoultaged from users, lest they provoke resistance." She quotes a recent
Google executive as saying: "Won't it
creep people out to know how much we
are paying attention?"
much more reluctant to patent their discoveries, because they don't want the
public to know exactly what they're
doing. They're no longer in most cases
making their own data available to
researchers."
So Zuboff sees the need for a regulatory fishing expedition. The EU's tech
laws will create" new cadres of people
with new mixes of skills that are going to
go inside the corporations. Their brief
will be to lift the hood, to understand
what's really going on. One of the huge
problems that we have is that most companies is intentionally designed to
be misleading. Gadlighting is a rhetorical art form that is genuinely practised
by these companies."
Zuboff rarely uses short answers or
plain terminology. Nonetheless, she is
direct about content moderation companies' attempts to remove harmelic content in the proper of the companies of the proper of the prop

pied as long as keep getting : really doing."



How do you control your own data?
 I do everything that a person can do. I use encrypted services, I use a VPN. I rarely deploy apps on my phone unless absolutely necessary.

Will tech companies sue the EU over new regulations? The standard MO is litigation. They want to tie individuals, agencies, groups up in court for as long as possible. They have the capital to be able to do that.

She is more positive about age-appropriate design, where platforms are endered to minimise harm to children and to collect less data from them. The KP plomered age-appropriate design, but after Brexit will miss out on Brussels' more muscular power' against surveillance capitalism, says Zubolf, She also sees 'a move to weaken and denature the existing data protection bill that favours the big tech companies and perpetuates the missegates and perpetuates the missegates and perpetuates the missegates idea that democracy must get out of the way.'

and perpetuates the misnegotten idea that democracy must get out of the way."

The problem for privacy advocates is, that theirause seems to offer too few that theirause seems to offer too few that theirause seems to offer too few theirause of privacy legislation is annoying cookies pop-ups. Regulation seems impractical: the UK and France have both wanted to place age limits on porn sites, but have so far failed to find effective ways of doing so.

Similarly, Zuboff criticises Apple and Google for taking control of Covid tracing, but what if their system simply worked better than the centralised ones favoured by European health officials? She laughs at the suggestion.

But she admits regulation is hindered because we can I get inside [tech companies] to know what's really going on.

'Our information spaces must exist under public law and be governed by democratic institutions'

democratic institutions

We're regulating with blinders
on .. We don't understand our adverone yiell with a similar to the the conone of the control of the control of the congainst technology itself, but the ceaonatic logic that underlips it — "diff." She holds out the possibility that we
could use data and prediction for the
commo good. The counterargument is
that there are basic trade-offs. Tech
services, whether for predicting text
that there are basic trade-offs. Tech
services, whether for predicting text
sawers or the fastest diriving routes,
can only work by accumulating data
and reducing our privacy.

I ask what she makes of Mussk's ownexhip off wither. "We've get politicians,
lawmakers, elected officials, as well as
the entire citizenty, focused on one man
and asking the question, "what will be
the control of the control of the control
off 'Our political stability, our ability to
know what's true and what false, our
health and to some degree our sanity,
is challenged on a daily basis depending
on which decisions Mr Mussk decides to
take. I regard this as fundamentally
intolerable ... These spaces cannot
exist solely under corporate concontrol. ... We're two decades into the digfine and the control of the meaning of these
technologies."

cies, taken stock of the meaning of these technologies."
Musik has put Donald Trump back on Twitter. The former US president's suspension from Facebook will end "in the coming weeks", its parent company has aid. Zuboff saghast. "It should not be a decision that belongs to individuals such as Musk or Zuckerberg or anyone else." The implications for democracy are to ogreat. "In an information civilisation, our information spaces must exist under public law and be governed by democratic institutions... With luck and determination we will look back on the days of the information

civilisation:

She compares the west's tech glants to China's surrellance state. This is a world in which privacy has been extinguished. Privacy, is now a zomble category. None of us have privacy, even as wethought about it in the year 2000. Her sense of dystopia is visceral. Somehody just invented a type of paint that you can put on your face that con-

founds facial recognition. Young people on Reddit are very excited about this. This is terrible, Henry! "The abolition of surveillance capitalism requires new laws that allow societies to decide" what becomes data in the first when

laws that allow societies to decide "what becomes data in the first place, what be share, with whom, and to what purpose". Instead, tech marches onwards, par-ticularly in the form of artificial intelli-gence. "ChatGPT has shaken us up. It has shocked people, forcing us to recog-

nise how far Al has come, with virtually no law and democratic governance to shape or constraint its development and application."

Al's development has relied on stealing human data, she argues. She points hopefully to the EUS proposed Al Act—"the first law to assert democratic governance over the application of Al". Eut it's hard not to feel that, even when Sillon Valley stumbles, it is still a step ahead.



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ARTS

'I make films to conjure ghostly presences'

French director Alice Diop's new movie 'Saint Omer' dramatises the trial of a woman who left her child to die. She talks to Tobias Grey

hen Alice Diop decided to attend the 2016 trial of Fabienne Kabou, a young Senegalese to drown on a French beach, she want to drown on a French beach, she want to drown on a French beach, she want to find myself crying." Diop says, "But when I turned around I saw that many of the women attending the trial — and there were a lot of them, not just locals but others who had travelled from afar—were also weeping."

It was at this moment, on the last day of the trial in 3 sint-Omer, northern France, during a compassionate summing up by Kabous defence lawyer, that Diop, 43, knew she wanted to make her than the want of the work of the want of the work o



The distinction is not one that Diop particularly likes to dwell on. "I think of myself as a film-maker and not as a black woman," she says. "I was just very honoured to have been chosen by myeers for a film like this, which treats the question of black women's bodies in a universal way. In that respect my film is very political.

"I've always had the conviction that

nised a part of my own numanty. Why shouldn't people recognise themselves in a film about black women and the question of motherhood?"

Saint Omer stars Guislage Malanda as Laurence Coly, a woman loosely based on Fableinne Kabou, and Kayije Kagame as Rama, a newly pregnant writer who attends Coly's trial in the hope of turnimit into a power.

as Rama, a newly pregnaturities who as tamas, a newly pregnet of turning tinto a novel.

"By creating the fictional character of Rama I could put my finger on what interested me about everything lheard during the trial," Diopasys. "This is not a time the state of the trial that the trial that the trial that the trial that the trial matter and bond. The difficulty of being a mother is very rarely the difficulty of being a mother is very rarely posten of. That's what interested me.

Diop, who has a son, worked on the script for Solin Omeri parallel with ther the Solin Omeri parallel with the Thin Solin Omeri parallel with the trial that the script for Solin Omeri parallel with the Encounters Award at that year's Berlin Charles of Nons, which wou the Encounters Award at that year's Berlin our side of Nons, which worth the experience of the parents, who emigrated to France from Sengal, suddy our side of the covered it with regular collaboration and the properties of the Counter of the Nons of the Counter of the Cou



each film, which I didn't notice when I was writing them," she says.
Diop based the look of the apartment in Saint Omer, where Ramalives with her husband and mother, on the one she husband and mother, on the one she had been also and protecting upself from the Perhaps it was a way of taking some distance and protecting myself from the story that Saint Omer tells," she says. In Nous, Diop's mother, who died when she was 17, is a fleeting presence shown briefly in a home movie that the film maker rediscovered many years after her death. For Saint Omer, Diop created home movies of Rama's family inspired by the ones in Nous.

"In a way, it felt like I was recreating "In a way, it felt like I was recreating "In a way, it felt like I was recreating

home movies of Ramás family inspired by the ones in Nous.

"In a way, it felt like I was recreating the life of my own mother if she had lived longer," she says. "One of the reasons I make films is to conjure these ghostly presences and recount the lives of these invisible bodies."

In various ways, all of Diop's films explore the migration experience. Her 2007 documentary Les Sénéguloises et la Sénéguloise analysed the emotional and psychological impact that it can have on the children of immigrants, while 2016's La Permanence is about a doctor who heals men traumatised by the experience of exile. In Saint Omer Laurence is depicted as an intelligent woman who nonetheless has a tenuous grasp on real. Her lawyer wonders what happened to the once-confident young woman

who travelled to France from Senegal to study law and philosophy: "Consider this young lady, full of ambitions and desire, arriving in Paris, and ask your-self this question: how did she become the state of the st

'The film is linked to the way people perceived this woman. It reveals a form of racism that is very French'

in the way people perceived this woman. It's something that reveals a form of raisen that is way French. Diop is not sure yet what he react limit with the perceived in the properties of the pr



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Enigma of the 'immaculate concussion'

PODCASTS Fiona Sturges



ouknowhow it is. You wait ages for a podcast on Havanas yndrome, the mysterious phenomenon that left scores of US diplomats in Cuba with neurological problems, and then two come along at once.

First up is an eight-parter from Project Brazena and PRX called The Sound-Bystery of Havanus Syndrome, in which the British journalist Nicky Woolf investigates the aural and visual disturbances first experienced by officials working at Cuba's US embassy in 2016.

in Zulia. Such as a Chair so Schillads, Sulferer reported hearing a high-pitched buzzing noise and feelings of intense pressure in the head. Then came longer-term symptoms including nausea, vertigo, blurred vision, insomnia, hearing and memory loss. Scans showed evidence of damage to the brain, though there were no entry or exit wounds. Doctors called it "the immaculate concession," though as the story went public, and the PBI and CLA began to investigate, it was anoitted Havana syndrome.

But is literal and, if so, who or what is

Havana syndrome.
But is it real and, if so, who or what is behind it? Could it be a mass psychosis, and that loud buzzing sound just some really noisy cicadas? These are some of the questions plaguing Woolf, whom

many will know from the excellent Finding Q podeast, in which he searched for the architect of the online movement Qhon. Here he has alighted on a similarly knotty story, one that is a lost policy and the search of the online properties. He has alighted on a similarly knotty story, one that is of espinage and geopolitical strife rolled into one.

He hears from neurologists, political analysts and sound experts, and talks to Havana syndrome patients — or, rather heinterviews their partners since many of those afflicted still find fulficult to talk. The series gest heavy on the drama, deploying chilling sound effects ministing the experiences of victims in the partners are proposed to the properties of the partners and the properties of the partners are properties of the partners and the partners are properties of sound, woolf observes: "A powerful enough

soundwave is a shockwave, a powerful enough shockwave destroys everything in its path. That's the duality of sound. It can create beauty or pandemonium." Havana Syndrome, a new podcast from Vice, similarly ponders how and why this mysterious illness took hold. It is

Vice, similarly ponders how and why this mysterious lines stook hold. It is the work of journalists Jon Les to the hold. It is the work of journalists Jon Les the work of journalists Jon Les the holds of the holds

'The Sound': podcasts.apple.com 'Havana Syndrome': podcasts.apple.com



Havana syndrome sufferers reported hearing a buzzing noise and feelings of intense pressur in the head

Monday 30 January 2023 FINANCIAL TIMES

FT BIG READ. LAW

How the rise and fall of the high-profile Greek MEP at the centre of cash-for-votes allegations rocking the European parliament has prompted calls for widespread anti-corruption reforms. By Eleni Varvitsioti, Andy Bounds, Alice Hancock and Silvia Sciorilli Borrelli

Inside the EU's 'Qatargate' scandal

or a member of the European parlament, Eva Kallilived life more like a movie star.

The Greek politician spent her free time on yachts in the Aegean, glitzy nightcubs in Athena, hanging out at events with supermodels such as Naomi Campbell and spending summer vacations at yoon offs: Richard Branson's Necker Island Caribbean hiddenway.

Branson's Necker Island Caribbean hideway.
Work involved panel discussions with reypto billionaires and trips abroad including to Qatar ahead of the World Cup, besides the more mundane task of chairing debates in her role as a vice-president of the European parliament. Now the former TV news anchor, 44, is confined to a prison on the griny industrial outskirts of Brussels, under constant surveillane, with just two vicious and a second to be a surveillance, with part when the constant surveillance, with just when the constant surveillance, with just works ta a month from her two-year-old daughter.
She stands accused by Belgian prosecutors of accepting cash and gifts from Qatar and Morocco in exchange for her cutors of accepting cash and gifts from Qatar and Morocco in exchange for her The final plot twist is yet to be written: is Kalli innocent, as her lawyer claims, seduced and duplet by her talian part-ner? Or did she take advantage of lax parliamentary oversight to line her own pockets?

Whatever the answer, there is no

pockets?
Whatever the answer, there is no doubt that the so-called Qatargate scandal has rocked the EU and forced it to confront uncomfortable truths about how it manages lobbying by foreign

confront unconfortable truths about the with the manages lobbying by foreign powers.

The parliament, a junior partner in many areas of EU policy, has cast itself as a champion of human rights and the rule of law. The three human rights each mother and the rule of law. The three human rights and the rule of law. The three human rights and the rule of law. The three human rights sand the rule of law. The three human rights have material impact on the ground, activists as pressuring sognerments and raising the profile of local campatigness. Hersecture and the partnership of the storedness parliamentary critics building stadiums and hortes for the footblill world Cup last December. Doha denies the allegations.

Meanwhile, Morocco was lobbying for adal on fishing rights and the recognition of its sovereignty over the disputed territory of Western Sahara. It to denies paying bribes. EU lawmakers this month have begun the formal process to lift the immunity of two more of their colleagues suspected of wrongloing, the proposed of the substantial to the control of the substantial to the substantial to

seaspacency and anti-corruption rules."

The sandal undermines the legit macy of the whole European project, says Arancha González, a formet Spanthe for the European Commission. "Legitimacy rests on the national parliaments and the direct electronal representatives of the citizens in the European Corroll representatives of the citizens in the European Corruption and foreign interference. Governments have fallen over corruption."

Anatomy of a scandal

Anatomy of a scandal Kaili's own fall was quick and brutal. Ske was in the garage of her apartment block in Brussels at about 10.50am on December 9, when police arrived to arrest her partner Francesco Glorg dan impounded his care. Returning to her lat, she read a local newspaper report that Glorgi, a parliamentary assistant, had been arrested along with two others on suspicion of corruption, her lawyer Michails Dinitralopoulossail.

She knew exactly who to call: Piler Antonio Pazner, the former MEP who once employed Glorgi and saw him frequently. He didn't answer, because had already been arrested as well.

According to her lawyer, Kalli then found 200,000 in cash in the apartment. She believed the money — "a

found €300,000 in cash in the apartment. She believed the money — "a monster" she called it — belonged to Panzeri, now director of a human rights NGO. She called her father, who was looking after the daughter she had with

iorgi. Kaili put the cash in a suitcase — along ith nappies and baby food for the child and told her father to take it to the



'The parliament a message tolerance

corruption

Sofitel hotel near the parliament where an unnamed friend of Panzeri would collect it.

an unnamed friend of Panzert would collectit.
The police, who had been watching throughout, picked her father up and hauled him off. He was released later that day but Kailli's role was enought to invalidate her immunity as an MEP's his that dayse that Kailli's role vas enough to invalidate her immunity as an MEP's his that does no sught in flaggarate; prosecution with corruption and money-laundering, Kailli has been put through "rotrure" in custody, Dimitrakopoulos alleges — held in a cold cell at one point with a bright light on keeping her awake torn or the has the busys, and denied contact with her lawyer for three days. He is filling an official complaint. The Belgain federal prosecutor's office declined to comment.

federal prosecutors of the director-general of the International Trade Union Confederation, and Niccolò Figà-Talamanca, who ran an established human rights campaign group, were also detained while several offices in parliaments.

rights campaign group, were also detained while several offices in parliarights campaign group, were also detained while several offices in parliavisential was released without charge but Kaili, Panzeri, Giorgi and Figi-Talamanca were charged with corruption, money laundering and membership of a
criminal organisation. Some CL-Sun in
cash was seized in total, including the
suitcase and more from Kaili and Panzeri's homes.
Figi-Talamanca, whose NGO shared
tis Brussels office with one run by Panzeri's homes.
Figi-Talamanca, whose NGO shared
tis Brussels office with one run by Fanzeri's homes.
Figi-Talamanca, whose NGO shared
tis Brussels office with one run by Fanmedia reports verified by the Fit!
lawyer declined to comment.
Prosecutors, her was sked parliament to
lift the immunity of two other Socialist
MEPS, Mart Tarabell of Belgium and
Andrea Cozzolino of Italy. Both say they
are innocent.

Panzeri, who lett parliament in 2019,
has admitted leading a criminal enterprise and struck a plea bargain with
prosecutors, the has promised to give
full details of his crimes and others'
involvement in return for a lighter
sentine.

seatence.
The evidence for the scheme is extensive, according to two officials familiar with the matter. Folice had been watching Panzer for months after a tip-off from a foreign intelligence service that Morocco was seeking to influence EU affairs, they say. In July 2022, Belgian intelligence officers planted video cameras in Panzeri's Brussels home after

finding £700,000 in cash there.
Frosecutors allege that the Italian, 67, had also taken money from Qatar to improve perceptions of its human rights record ahead of the World Cup there last December.

He and Giorgi, his former assistant, were filimed on CCTV heading into a meeting with a Qatari delegation led by labour minister Ali Bin Samikh at Marri at a Brussels hotel on October 10.
Panzeri enters with an empty bag-Giorgi with his daughter in a pushchair. Giorgi was then working for Cozzolino, the Italian MEP, and living with Kaili.
The Greek MEP had become Panzeri's Inside woman, according to legal documents of the Cozzolino, the Cozzolino, the Italian MEP, and living with Kaili.
The Greek MEP had become Panzeri's Inside woman, according to legal documents with the Cozzolino of the Cozzolino of the Cozzolino or the Cozzolino or the Cozzolino or defining labour rights in the country and turned up to yote in favour of abelishing visas for Qataris visiting the EU in a committee of which she wasn't a member.



Giorgi attended the vote accompa

Giorgi attended the vote accompa-nied byanofficial from Doba. According to several MEPs present, they jumped and cheered when the vote passed. In November, the parliament voted on a resolution on human rights in Quata. With Kail's help, the text of the resolution was watered down by amendments from the socialist and cen-tre-right groups, according to public records.

records.

But it still contained criticism. And after the scandal broke the final vote on

after the scandal broke the final vote on visa-free travel way postponed. Some MEPs say the alleged scheme had no meaningful impact. "My impression is that [Parazeri's] group was trying to show the Qataris they were working hard on their behalf, which is why they made all these scenes," says Brando Bentlet, the head of Italy's Democratic party (PD) socialist delegation. "But they! dish really gain any sub-received the properties of the properties of "The immact of the alleved full is set to

stantial results."

The impact of the alleged plot is set to be more pronounced, however, for the individuals accused of carrying it out.
Kail's journey to infamy is a tale of hard work, and harder networking.

She was elected a councillor in her home city of Thessaloniki at the age of 24. Evangelos Venizelos, a future deputy prime minister, took her under his wing and two years later she secured a job as a news anchor for the Greek news station Magn. TV.

Mega TV.
Kaili was regularly photographed in the trendiest bars and restaurants of Athenis in the company of TV executives and well-heeled Athenian socialities and business scions. She was seen the VIP tables of nightclubs and music venues, often accompanied by Greek-Russian oligarch Ivan Savvidi, who used to be a member of the kussian parliament.

She successfully ran for the national parliament with the leftwing Pasok party in 2007 as a power of the parliament of the parliament with the leftwing Pasok party in 2007 as a power of the parliament of the parliament

'We need to really clean up the EU institutions

bottom to

otherwise

is never going to end'

salary to her own pocket, according to two people familiar with the case. She also allegedly claimed money for staff travel to parliamentary sessions in Strasbourg when they stayed at home. Her lawyer, Dimitrakopoulos, declined to comment on each of these allegations. Old said it had completed an investigation into two MEPs over sus-plicions of fraudulent management of funds, but would not make further comment.

tunds, but would not make further comment.
People close to the investigation sus-pect the cash received by Panzeri and Glorgi was used to pay off others. "Oth-erwise they would have wired the money to offshore bank accounts," says one person.

erwise they would have wired the money to dishore bank accounts," says one person.

Some of this cash was handed out by Panzeri as donations: trade union boss Visentini, for example, admitted accepting almost €50,000 towards his Visentini, for example, admitted accepting almost €50,000 towards his mittelligence service shows Panzeri handing it over in envelopes embossed with a Santa Claus. Visentini says he sent the money to ITUC's solidarity fund to pay for flights to a conference.

Visentini travelled with Panzeri to Dohain October 2022, on flights paid for by the Qatari government, the person close to the investigation says. ITUC had drawn criticism for praising improvements to the treatment of migrants by Qatar, including the abolition of the kpdid system that prevents workers changing employers. Visentini add it was "Gally untrue" he did any-time to the did any-time to the did any-time to the prevents workers changing employers. Visentinial and the vast "Gally untrue" he did any-time the did any-time to the prevents workers changing employers. Visentinial and started an Internal Inquity, but said the suggestion that any other entity I has influenced its views is "entirely false".

Anti-graft reforms

Anti-graft reforms

prime minister and now a liberal MEP, says that the parliament had been "waiting for years for an ethics body but there has been too much infighting between the institutions". Those other institutions—the council of member states and the commission—have not been implicated in the Quatagate scandal.

omemore states and ure continuous manufacture of the Quargate scandal.

Many MEP want further reforms,
such as contrision secondstadt, one of the top earners, says that
"the main thing is transparency, to
declare everything you do," adding that
"finerests interfered in an MEPs work
declare everything you do," adding that
if interests interfered in an MEPs work.
Leading the second second
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The FT View



FINANCIAL TIMES

Another threat to UK media freedom

A loosely worded bill conflates journalists and whistleblowers with spies

whistleblowers with spies

The Official Secrets Act, so an old joke
runs, exists not by protest screets but to
protect officials. An overhaul of the UK's
espionage apparatus — the first since
the Official Secrets Act was updated in
1899 — means this is now no laughing
matter. The loosely worded, wide-ranging national security bill, which has
reached report stage in the House of
Lords, risks lumping in investigative
journalists, whistleblowers and civil-society groups with spies. Leaks that
merely embarrass the government
could result in swinging jail sentences;
all from a government that so readily
provides ample material to discredit
itself. The bill, if passed as drafted, could
become a fraconant not lof or a future
government even more shy of accountabillity than those of recent years.

The national security bill makes it a criminal offence to publish or disclose protected information that could prejudice the UK and assist, directly or indirectly, a foreign power. The bill does not differentiate between hostile powers and allies — and does not distriguish differentiate between hostile powers and allies — and does not distriguish compared to the country of the compared to the country of the country public interest defence for country public interest defence for journalists — are commendation of the Law Commission, whose original sugestions the Home Office otherwise took up when sponsoring the bill. Despite cross-party support for such a child country of the country of th

which are over 100 years old. They currently fall to capture 21st-century threats from hostile states that can attack British infrastructure and institutions with impunity from an overseas computer. New laws to deter state-sponsored cyber attacks and foreign influence campaigns are needed, particularly in the context of Russia's war in Ukraine and an assective China.

ence campaigns are neoceo, partu-larly in the context of Russla's war in Ukraine and an ssertive China. But without additional safeguards, the bill will further chill responsible journalism. Since Russia invaded Ukraine, the UK has pledged to crack down on oligarch's and despots legal tactic of choice to silence their critics. Slapps, or strategic lawsuits against public participation. But the reality is murkler. A Financial Times investiga-tion found that lawyers for Yeegeny Prigozhin, the sanctioned founder of Russla's notorious Wagner Group, received UK government authorisation to the property gallering information is already an offence, as phone hackers

security bill, if passed as drafted, could become a draconian tool for a future

found out. But responsible journalists must already contend with a UK framework where there is no US-style constitutional protection of free speech, and where contempt of court, claimant-friendly libel laws that favour deep pockets, the threat of private prosecution and data protection laws are all invoked to suppress unfavourable articution and the protection laws are all invoked to suppress unfavourable articution and the protection laws are all invoked to suppress unfavourable articution and the protection laws are all invoked to suppress unfavourable articution and the press freedoms. Yet another junitive, vague law means newstrooms and whistleblowers will self-censor. Tightening up the bill is imperative. But from a government that consistently uses loose language to draft such each yet and the protection of the protection

Opinion Asia

The problem with Japan's 'new capitalism' ideology





hen things were downright dismal at Nintendo in 2015, its late, remarkable in 2015, its late, re

In theory, US tech lay-offs might be an opportunity for Kishida to press harder on his narrative

harder on his narrative only way to secure the future of an old, shrinking society, levala, nather unexpectedly, is now being quoted on accial media from beyond the grave — his assertions about how to run a happy software ship in rough seas have been repeated by the tearful and newly jobless of Silicon Valley, But was he right?

For those who see the cull as necessary, the large-scale lay-offs at Google, Microsoft, Amazon, Salesforce and other technology sector titans should, in principle, be a masterclass for hell likes of Japan in how "real" share-holder capitalism does corporate evolution. Instead, even in the US, it has reignified questions about how desirable and beneficial shareholder content of the course swaper yeally is.

In theory then, this ignified has a formation of the course of the course

more than unfurl a flag that reads

"bang!"
There was a chance that a well for-mulated blueprint for "new capital-ism" could be Japan's gift to the world at the precise moment that old capital-ism was looking rather too blood-hirsty. It might, with some serious thought, have provided a framework

for toning down the shareholder pri-macy pressures in favour of the sort o broader stakeholder capitalism with which Japan was more comfortable

which Japan was more confortable anyway.

Japanese companies, despite presenter from more word investors to struck to their line that employees should carry equal weight with shareholders among the priorities of Eos. A lot of that is the self-justifying fluif of ossified management, but much of its genuine.

Kishida has made substantial speeches on new capitalism—one last the opening of parliament. If has also destablished a steering committed of the control of the c

stallsm, or even as windication of Ivada-ism. The first is that Kidhida seems to have realised the Idea works better, the more vaguely it is defined. He is not, say people dose to him, especially doctrinaire, and has not precisely worked out where problems are faults of capitalism, and where they are simply those of a self-preservational management cohort, inefficiency and inherited risk-aversion. To tightly define new capitalism would commit him to major reforms he does not, 15 months into the job, appear eager to push through.

him to major reforms he does not, 15 months into the job, appear eager to push through.

A second reason is that there is a growing – very quiet – recognition among many Japanese CEOs that the sort of mass lay-offs hitting the US tech sector, while ugly and sad in themselves, reveal something highly desirable about the liquidity of the US job market into which those ex-Google been jettisoned. They will get other jobs, and different sectors will benefit from the cross pollination of talent.

Larger, listed Japanese companies, at the cost of corporate innovation and other issues, have never encouraged that liquidity; many may now wish that they had. To produce a new captal-usin with a promise of far greater vitality, Kishida must, unfortunately, acknowledge the need to accelerate one of the nastier and more destabilism of the profile of the meter and more destabilism. The great problem with Iwata-ism.

The supplies of the problem is the total content of the propriet is the second of the problem with Iwata-ism.

The problem with Iwata-ism.

The great problem with Iwata-ism.

The supplies of the problem is the problem with Iwata-ism.

doubt" rather than the empirical tests that the US has been running for

Letters

Danone has thrown down a methane challenge

Dannot became the first dairy company to anomate 18 mounted the company to anomate 18 move that was rightly welcomed by the FT ("Dannote choosing over emissions", Lex, Jauura 21). But the French dairy group is in fact an outlier in a sector that has been painfully slow to tackle its methane footprint. There is little pressure from governments – agricultural emissions are an afterthought in climate policy even though the food sector is responsible for over 40 per cent of global methane emissions. This must change. The global methane pledge – a commitment by

Failures of free trade

by 30 per cent compared to the 2020 baseline — will be difficult to deliver in the rich world without tackling agriculture.

agriculture.

Our research shows that the EU is on track for a mere 17 per cent methane reduction by 2030, because of its failure to get to grips with emissions from the meat and dairy sector.

Yet there are ample opportunities for significant reductions — up to 67 per cent — if there is the political will to act.

act.
While there seems to be a scientific consensus that we should all consume less meat and dairy, the money is going

in the opposite direction: the EU alone spent CI43mm promoting the consumption of meat products over the past frey exars. Using this money to promote healthier diets could be a first step to start reducing the EU's methane footprint.

step to start requency use a service of the footprint.
As would requiring companies such as Nestlé and JBS Foods to follow Danone's lead and the recommendations of the UN report on net zero commitments — by reporting their methane emissions and publishing binding climate plams. Nuss Urbancie Changing Market's Foundation London EC2, UK

have a lot to answer for

have a lot to answer for Janan Ganesh's distribe against protectionism ignores a few important bits of reality (Opinion, January 25). The system created by Bretton Woods worked well enough until China was allowed entry into the World Trade Organization in 2001. Thereafter the communist regime, following Lenin's principle of "hanging the capitalists with the rope they sell us", proceeded to exploit its openness, largely through massive theft, thereby undermining foundation. Ganesh states that concern with

massive timet, unervoy unermining it foundation.

Gamesh states that concern with Charles to the control of t

evisceration of America's industrial heartland, as businesses and jobs flowed to third world sites, the "great sucking sound" Naffa created and which Ross Perot described so presciently. Populism, I'm afraid, has a real foundation in the failures of free trade.

trade.
Finally, on a historical note, had it heeded Joseph Chamberlain's call for "fair" trade at the outset of the 20th century, in response to the challenge offered by protectionist Germany, Britain might have averted or at any rate dramatically slowed its historic decline.

Emeritus Professor Albion M Urdank University of California Los Angeles, US

Feedback loops and mother's milk

mother's milk

The underlying theme of Martin Wolf's

"in defence of democratic capitalism"

(The Weekend Essay, Life & Arts,
January 21) is the proposition that the
sustainability and success of the
marriage of miveral suffrage
democracy (USD) and the market
capitalist economy (McE) is
theoretically sound in that the two
systems support and reinforce such
other in feedback loops whereby USD
provides the space for citizens'
aspiration for a higher and better
standard of living.

This also explains the prosperity of
the west and others in Asia and
elsewhere, and why authoritarian and
elsewhere, and why authoritarian and
elsewhere, and why authoritarian and
off wiston, will merve he able to capture
the fruits of free markets.

**Professor MedAl Al Bazzaz
***Former World Bank Economist
Alexandria, VA, US





Taiwan's next election: why the US might be worried

the US might be worried
The concerns regarding Taiwan's vicepresident Lai Ching-te as mentioned in
Kathira Hillés "Taiwanes presidential
contender with firm line on
independence tales centre sender
in 2024, war would be
more likely given his stance on
Taiwan's independence. It is believed
that the US is willing to go to war with
China over Taiwan only if China were
to initiate the attack. Washington
would have second thoughts if China's
stack resulted from Taiwanese
provocation, such as a declaration of
independence. Hence the US has been
keeping watch on Taiwan to avoid
potential moves that might be seen as
provocative.
An assumption has been made in

keeping watch on Taiwan to avoid potential moves that might be seen as provocative.

An assumption has been made in Taiwan that Beijing is also trying to maintain the status quo. With Beijing showing increasing impatience and intolerance of Taiwan remaining outside its control, what happens if Beijing were to only accept candidates for the presidency who support a Taiwan version of One country, two systems—that is they must support the unification of China and Taiwan? Would the US support a pro-China and Taiwan to avoid war? On the other hand, if Washington has decided not to ald Taiwan not woil works with some pro-China agent independence, what if Beijing in Taiwan to "make" Taiwan declare independence. With the increasingly fragile status in Taiwan to "make" Taiwan declare independence. With the increasingly fragile status quo, the US will need to be prepared to

independence?
With the increasingly fragile status quo, the US will need to be prepared to dear the disemma of seeing a pro-China Tahwan or going to war with China. Tahwan or going to war with China. Tahwan or going to war with China. Research Associate, Centre of Tahwan Studies, Soes, University of London UCL, UK

Emerging technologies usually create new roles

ISSUAIDLY CREATE NEW TOLES
Predictions that recent advances in
generative artificial intelligence – and
tools such as ChaGCT – will mark the
codes and other professions need to be
turned down a notch ("Generative AI:
the new era of meahine learning", The
Big Read, January 26).
In the 1980s and 1990s, the demiss of
administrative roles due to the
personal computer revolution was
anticipated. However, the reality, based
on Us labour statistics, tells avery
different story. While admin roles
peaked in 1980, they only retreated
back to the level seen in the pre-PC
1950s.

950s. Similarly, 25 years ago many redicted that desktop publishing and raphic manipulation software such as predicted that desktop publishing an graphic manipulation software such . QuarkXPress and Adobe PageMaker would render graphic designers obsolete. Again the numbers tell a different story, with a global rise in such roles over the past 10 years. When everyone has access to an

such roles over the past 10 years. When everyone has access to an emerging technology such as generative Al, novel ways are found to use those tools and a new wave of creative innovation emerges.

Martin De Saulles

Tunbridge Wells, Kent, UK

Britain's steel plan risks producing a stranded asset

Britains steel pian itses producing a stranded asset It's hard to believe that the UK government has in mind either protecting the jobs of steel workers or stemming the climate crisis with its latest steel subsidies ("Hunt eyes carbon tax in steel deal", Report, January 23)

After all, the writing was on the wall when the government signed off on the asset of the control of the steel steel subsidies at west Cumbria.

Elsewhere steel makers have been quickly moving away from coal-based furnaces towards cleaner technologies. Over the past year top producers like ArcelorMittal, Salegitter, and ThyssenKrupp have invested billions in coal-free steelmaking plants and made plans to close conventional furnaces. By 2030 over hat the work of the plant will be ready for retirement or enivestment, meaning that the majority of coal-based furnaces could be rapidly phased out. Any new investment in coal for steelmaking audickly runs the risk of becoming a stranded asset, and with it, the employment opportunities promised to locals.

Steel will continue to be integral in the global economy, but Eritain would fare better by creating jobs not already marked for expiration.

Cattlin Svalee.

Investors should look at Salesforce's stock issuance

Suesforce's stock issuance
Your article about Salesforce
("Activities all salesforce to account
with campaign for focus on profits",
("Activities all salesforce to account
with campaign for focus on profits",
Report, January 26; contains chaese to
a core underlying problem for investors
profilist actock issuance, both for
employee compensation and expensive
acquisitions.
The statement that "Salesforce's
operating margins have remained
around 20 per cent for years" does not
tell the complete story. Operating
margins, using the so-called generally
accepted accounting principles or USG
AAP, have been closer to zero. For the
full year 2022 accounts, using GAAP,
the operating margin was 2.1 per cent.
Also misleading is the statement that
Salesforce is trading "at its cheapestever multiple of free cash flow". Nearly
half (46.5) per cent for FY22) of "free
cash flow" stems from the issuance of
equity for stock-based compensation. It
is improper to capitalise seash flow
generated by shaving off part of the
capital structure to pay an operating
expense.

capital structure to pay an operating expense.

Many of Silicon Valley's leading firms tout similarly misleading financials, but the one constant area of growth for these firms is growth in shares outstanding. Salesforce grew its share outstanding. Salesforce grew its share outstanding. Salesforce grew its share count by 28.4 per cent over the past three years alone, which is the financial equivalent of quicks and from a shareholder value perspective.

Ken Broad

Mill Valey, CA, US

Weighing the relative merits of T-bills and CDs

Lex is certainly correct to point out the utility of certificates of deposit and Treasury bills (January 26) in the present environment. However, several advantages of the latter over the former are neglected. First, three and salvantages over CDs. Second, interest as month? I bills have a slight yield advantage over CDs. Second, interest that the contract of the

resides, the difference in yield can be significantly increased.
Finally, T-bills are guaranteed by the federal government.
Oops! Well, two out of three is not too bad.
Randolph M. Shverson
Debtinguished Professor
Department of Political Science
University of Colifornia, Davis
Davis, CA, US

And finally, a Brexit benefit

And finally, a Brexit benefit Ibelieve Ihave found a Brexit benefit C'Plattic bottle expering plan delayed to 2025, Report, January 211.

There are more interesting high believe to 2025, Report, January 211.

There are more interesting hobbies but the shift from coloured milk bottle lids to clear plastic ones to improve recycling means that I—and presumably others with eyesight issues—can no longer instantly see if a milk bottle has a cap on 1t, let alone what type of milk is in the bottle. A splash of colour on the label doesn't compensate for the case of a coloured cap.

My new hobby—colouring the new clear milk bottle lids in green, red or blue—has required an investment in red, green and blue permanent marker pers that I've never needed until now. I assume that It this hobby has to be taken up widely it will result in a significant boost in sales. Or a urche the convergence of the converge

Monday 30 January 2023 FINANCIAL TIMES

Opinion

We are not ready for the long grind to come

Ruchir Sharma



ver the past half century, as governments and central banks teamed up ever more closely to manage commits and central banks teamed up ever more closely to manage commits growth, recessions became fewer and farther between. Often they were shorter and shallower than they might have been. After so much mildness, most people cannot imagine a painfully lasting business cycle. But the global economy is heading into a period unlike any we have seen in decades.

Faith in government as a saviour in recession has been worming its way into people's minds for most of their life-times, since 1980, the US economy has spent only 10 per cent of the time in recession, compared with nearly 20 per cent between the end of the second

world war in 1945 and 1980, and more than 40 per cent between 1870 and 1945. One increasingly important reason is government rescues. Combined stimulus in the US, the EU, Japan and the UK, including government spending and central bank asset purchases, rose from 1 per cent of gross domestic product in the recessions of 1980 and 1990 to 5 per cent in 2001, 12 per cent in 2002, and astagesting 35 per cent in 3020. In the product in the pandemic care in a single product in the product in the pandemic care in the product in the pandemic care in the product in the pandemic care in the product in the pandemic can be produced in the professional psyche. Some commentators are beginning to say the world e-connections are beginning to say the world e-con an outright recession in the latest and quite that optimistic. But

In the latest consensus surveys, econo-mists aren't quite that optimistic. But

they continue to expect the mildest recession since the second world war, starting soon and lasting less than six months, as the Federal Reserve again comes to the rescue. This consensus view may be wrong in key respects, whether on how soon the next recession arrives, how long it lasts or how gener-ous the rescue effort can be. In 2020, governments injected so

deglobalisation will push the new normal for inflation higher

much money into the economy that consumers are still sitting on much of it two years on — BLSI hin the US alone. Investment by US and European business barely broke stride. Governments continue to spend, Because of this, the next downturn may come later than expected, a view bolstered by the latest US GIP data, which showed a resilient

When the pandemic stimulus finally runs out by year end, the next downturn, once it comes, may not pass so quickly. The key sticking point is inflation. This is now retreating almost as quickly as it surged last year – as supply chains normalise and "revenge spending", unleashed by the end of lockdowns and boosted by stimulus, calms down, and boosted by stimulus, calms down, but it is not likely to return to its prepandemic level of under 2 per cent.

The most lasting legacy of covid may be its impact on work and wage inflation. One in eight people say they plan "no return" to pre-pandemic activities, including work. The number of hours people of all ages want to work plunged, and their attitude has changed as well. Social media celebrates "quiet quitting and "acting your wage" — meaning do all their chief executives saying that they have pricing power for the first time in decades. Inflation for goods such acra is slowing fast, but that for services is stickier. The Fed tracks a special index for "sticky services" like real estate and recreation — in which prices move slowly — and its rising.

Meanwhile, the world is changing in fundamentally inflationary wayse birth rates have been falling for years but are now rapidly shrinking working-age populations. Countries are retreating inward, offshoring to the nearest and most friendly nations rather than to the least costly.

The pressure from demographics and deglobalisation will push the new normal for inflation higher, closer to 4 than to 2 percent. This will make it harder for central banks to cut rates to counter the next recession. Higher rates mean governments can borrow and spend heavily to stimulate sluggish economies only at risk of furtiting punishment in the global bond markets, which are afterady much less tolerant of free spending.

While the next downturn may take longer to hit, it is likely to take an unfamiliar shape, possibly not much deeper but more enduring, as stickler inflation forces central banks and government rescue teams to the sidelines. The world is not ready for the longgrind ahead.

The writer is chair of Rockefeller Interna-

The writer is chair of Rockefeller Interna-

Beware hollowing out the City of London



n 1651 the population of the City of London was estimated at 130,165. In 1901 it was 26,923. Today it is about \$6.00. It is hardly a thriving 24-hour metropols. Some some sound in urbanism, we have the control of the

Hanging carcasses and white-coated porters kept Smithfield market vibrant as nightclubs moved in

at foreign investors. Housing's allure has sharpened, particularly after the pan-demic shock looked likely to undermine

demic shock jooked likely to undermine the workplace. With residential developments now the mainstay of construction at Long-White mainstay of the long the City's diversaled and north and east fringes. Housing (so much easier to diame the Long-White mainstay of the long-White mainstay and white coaled porters kept Smithfield market is being relocated to the town of Dagenham. The middle conference of the long-White mainstay and white coaled porters kept Smithfield market is being relocated to the town of Dagenham. The last will be compared market hall and tourist New Smith mainstay of the long-White mainstay and white coaled porters kept Smithfield market is being relocated to the town of Dagenham. The last will be come "culture", supplementing the new Museum of London. Orgon "Garden, a beautifully preserved market hall and tourist. The sunder of the long-White mainstay and partition of the long-White may applementing the new Museum of London. Orgon "Garden, a beautifully preserved market hall and tourist to head to the lown of Dagenham. The last will be come "culture", supplementing the new Museum of London. Orgon "Garden, a beautifully preserved market hall and tourist to the lown of Dagenham. The last will be come "Culture", supplementing the new Museum of London. Orgon "Garden, a beautifully preserved market hall and tourist. The sumple conformation white coaled by the preserved

The writer is the FT's architecture critic

The real cost of shadow work





ne of the great economic mysteries of the moment is why worker productivity, particularly in the US, is Some economics say that it's simply a correction from the unsustaniably hard work that many of us did during the Covid-19 pandemic. But there was a productivity dip after the Great Recession, as well. And while there are certainly big long-term factors at play here, such as the failure of education to keep up with technology (which in turn reduces productivity) 11think there are other, undersuperal to the control of the con

that used to be done by other people, which most of us now do for ourselves, usually with the help of digital devices. It is include severything from banking to travel bookings, ordering food in restaurants to bagging groceries, not to mention downloading, and navigating the apps we need to pay parking tickets or track our children's school assignments or even troubleshoot our own techproblems. While neither Lambert nor groups like the IMF Statistical Agency have a good estimate of the total amount of extra work represented by such tasks, it is clearly substantial, and growing, it is clearly substantial, and growing it is clearly substantial, and growin



I lost a couple of hours trying to resolve (unsuccessfully) an order issue with a department store, moving from multiple helpermals to chatbots overseas call centre conversations, which promised to he things but didn't. I even-promised to the things but didn't in the case of the things of the th

All of this may drive consumer prices lower, by reducing human labour.

couldn't find a human to complain to the guy next to me claimed to have been waiting 40 minutes). I eventually boarded without offee or arefund.

One could argue that all of this shadow work drives consumer prices lower, by reducing human labour. Perhaps. But is if productive for the economy as a whole? You have to wonder. Does It make sense for me, as a well-paid knowledge worker, to spend several hours a week struggling with tasks that well the sense of people and minorities in particular are at risk from the kind of labour market

disruption that gives rise to shadow work. Unless states improve education to keep pace with technology, many of these workers can't get new folss, and productivity and growth decline.

Meanwhile, in an increasingly automated economy, human contact in general has become a luxury. Really rich people have other humans to do shadow work for them. And yes, technology may reduce "friction", but that depends on what you consider friction. I'm reminded of MIT professor Sherry Turkle telling me about a sensor-driven app developed by a colleague which allowed cademics to get from class to class without ever running into another human being who might distract them. Frictionless, yes, Also faceless. Clearly, automation and the app economy bring with them many benefits. The emotional costs of busy-ness and distraction that puts all of us in our individual information sloss are hard to ally. But tracking the full economic cost of shadow work would be a worthy project.

Europe should welcome a green subsidy race





o IRA or not to IRA? That is the question for EU leaders as they try to agree on how to respond to the inflation Reduction Act, Washington's betated but punchly comaritment to subsidise the green transition. For the substantial policy and European Common and Common and together the region industrial policy and European Commission president Usula won der Leyen has called for "our European IRA". Flut Parket and the Netherlands resist further subsidies. The commission the fish devided on how interventionist to be. It has challenged the US's most eggetions protectionism and promised to loosen subsidiy rules somewhat. A's overeigntly fund "for EU-level subsidies is endorsed by European

Council president Charles Michel but is hotly contested among member states. The disagreements all revolve around one big difference of judgment as to which of two dangers is the greatest the competitive threat to EU industry or a subsidy race to the bottom? The problem for ogent decision-making is that both "dangers" are misconceived.

To see US spending on greening its energy, industry and transport as a threat reveals a European Interlority complex. The real threat is that the US fails to make good on its belated intention to address climate change. With debt ceiling politics kneecapping Washington's ability to spend even what it has already budgeted, it is misplaced to lear it is doing too much.

European deaders already worry that internet services are dominated by US gaints. If European business leads America's green tech transformation, turned? Or would they prefer it the other way round? Surely not, seeing how they freat a China's ambitions construction of battery factories in the EU. Nobody in their right mind would think

that those threaten Chinese competi-

that mose threaten timese competitiveness.

The tact presupposition is that European companies can only invest in one place, and if that place is America then European economies will fall behind (though European shareholders would not). But the idea that there is only so much investment to go around in the word is a lump of investment fallacy. Even where true for any particular capi-

The EU's embrace of carbon pricing means such grants can have a greater effect than in the US

tal-constrained company, it is not true in aggregate. If too little capital flows to the European economy, it's the flipside of domestic policies that have for too long resulted in export surpluses rather than higher domestic investment.

The task is not to stop a European company from building a wind farm, battery factory or electric vehicle plant

in the US, but to ensure they get built in Europe regardless. Europe has the wherewithal to do so: a firm commitment to phasing out carbon-intensive activities, a carbon pricing system, soon a carbon border tax and —yes — subsidies that range from the Covid recovery fund to EU-financed "important projects of common European interest" in sectoral like batteries and hydrogen. Special control in the state of in the US, but to ensure they get built in

market failure the world has ever known and a subsidy race in green tech and carbon-free energy would be a race to the top, not the bottom. Europe's embrace of carbon pricing means such subsidies can have a greater effect than on the other side of the Atlantic. The most valid complaint by business is that Europe's financial support is to cumbersome, whereas US-style tax credits are o virtually automatic. Tax credits are o virtually automatic. Tax credits are virtually automatic. Tax to credits are o sider bullet they only help companies in a position to pay tax, which favoure setsibilished players over newcomers. But they are quick and easy, the EU is hamstrug, as tax remains a national percegative. Still, all members and treat green investment much more generously in their tax codes. Swift EU.
The job of EU leaders is to make business confident of a lag and gowing market for green solutions. There is no reason why the IRA should make that barder.

Sacking staff en masse How brutal short-term cost cuts can create long-term problems **OWORK & CAREERS**

Inside the grim world of office spyware

20



Pilita Clark **Business Life**

in the space of seven days this month, the chief executive of one global company worked for more than 37 hours, or an average of eight hours a day. He sleep for allmost exactly the same number of hours. Family and friends got a more meager 17 hours of his time and he devoted an even more measily time. He how all this because the chief executive was the 54-year-old Kamil Rudnicki, and he revealed it in a post on Linkedin.

As well he might. Rudnicki is the founder of TimeCamp, a company he set up in his home country of Poland that sells what It calls time tracking software and the rest of us call workplace spayare, bossware or tattleware.

These Big Brotherish apps can These Big Brotherish apps can

workplace spyware, bossware or tattleware.
These Big Brotherish apps can monitor the websites workers visit and the programs they use to tally up how much time is sperint on, say, Twitter vs Excel—even if people are working at home, as many more are thanks to Covid. Some apps can also log workers' keystrokes and physical whereabouts, or take screenshots of their screen. Rudnicki's company made headlines around the world this month when a

civil tribunal in Canada ruled an accountant owed her old employer more than C82,700 (£1,501) after TimeCamps showed she had committed "time theft."

The accountant had logged just over 50 hours of work that her employer said did not appear to have been spent on "work-related tasks", she protested aid did not appear to have been spent on work-related tasks. She protested would not have been spotted by the TimeCamp software installed on her work laptop. But her bosses said TimeCamp could show the time she had spent printing and its data revealed she could not have printed the large pile of documents she would have needed to work on hard copies. Also, she would have had to upload the work she did offline into the company's computer system, and TimeCamp didn't show she had done that either. It looked like a clear win for The idea of Decing

66 The idea of being under constant digital surveillance is awful and I feel fortunate to have dodged it so far 99



FINANCIAL TIMES

the spyware versus the human, which made me wonder how TimeCamp felt about its role in this emerging era of worker surveillable hei impression I got from speaking to TimeCamp's Rudnick list week. On the uspide, the Canadian accountant's case had boosted business at his company, whose 50 employees serve about 4,000 clients in sectors such as software, consulting and business to-business professional services.

business-to-business professional services.

"For us, it's good publicity," he says, explaining that requests for customer demonstrations of Time-Camp's software nearly doubled after the story broke. But the news had also amplified concern about software that Rudicki in absted was not always used in the sinister way widely imagined. Time-Camp sometimes helps employees prove they have worked unpaid overtime, he says. Also, most of his customers used the software only to monitor work done on specific projects so they could show their clients how many hours the jobs had taken. Other companies used it only to check if a work computer had been used or not, rather than logging every

Wealth is property, in a way (10)
7/15 Leading bank admitted bouncing a check? That hurs! (8)
9/17 Dislike an interpretation (8)
10 Revolutionary change overwhelms susceptible city (10)
11 Afghani musketeers displaying hostilit

12 Goes into a hotel to control immoral act

12. Goes into a rive in Activation (6,2)

13. Unscrupilous subordinate maché type eating gnochr regularly (8)

15. See 7

17. See 9

19. NATO plea may be easily delivered (2,15)

21. Advocates showing sense before love exploits (8)

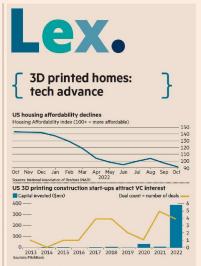
22. Advocates showing sense before love exploits (8)

exploits (8)
23/26/27 Be honest with Goliath wearing little slik tie that's ghastly (4,2,4,2,2)
25 Promote a green site for a power station (10) (10) 26 See 23 27 See 23 28 See Senegal's chaotic metropolis (3,7)

ACROSS

website visited, and some regions require workers to be informed before the software is used. When the software is used, we have the group's software, which allowed nucleic to inclusive his software, which allowed nucleic to inclusive his lat idealing the thousands of productive hours his team had spent in Google Does, Gmail and so on. And the fact that he was the company's second liggest Twitter user this month. "We don't strive to have 100 per cent productivity," he says, "It's not healthy."
That is a relief. So too is his confirmation that people have come up with ruses to trick time-tracking software, such as devices that juggle a computer mouse to make it look as if it's in constant use. Or the low-tech ploy of putting acup on a key-board to press a key down constantly. I found this news very cheering, The idea of being under constant digital surveillance is avoid and if feel fortunate to have dodged it so far. For those who have not, I hope you can move elsewhere, or find a way of making monitored life less onerous. And in the meantime, remember the cup.

pilita.clark@ft.com



Building house has always involved digital solutions — in the form of tradespeople's skillul fingers. Recently, finite have byte for the form of tradespeople's skillul fingers. Recently, finite he mortgage process, disrupting how properties are bought and sold and even selling fractional ownerships in homes. Now technology has staged a more radical intervention. US start-ups are pioneering 3D printing of whole houses. A glant print hade are semillar to expend the nozele of an icing bag squirts out concrete to build whole walls in layers and in stut. This is everdly compelling to expend the support of the seminary of the proposed of the proposed seminary of the pr

Monday 30 January 2023

The added speed could help address severe US housing shortages, particularly for low-income housing. That might reduce overcrowding, evictions and homelessness. The business of printing houses is at an early stage. Two of the biggest companies — Mighty Buildings and Icon — have delivered fewer than 100 houses between them.

Interest is growing, however. Icon is working with US homebuilder Lennar to build 100 30 printed houses stear Austin, Texas. Venture capital graps admitted to the properties of the properties for expension for expe

complicated building rigs, would work in densely populated urban areas. This technology has bags of promise But this resides primarily in it sability to create varied low-cost buildings. House printing could supersede traditional factory-based prefabrication in cheapness and flexibility. It cannot, on its own, solve America's housing crisis.

NIKKEI Asia The voice of the Asian century

CROSSWORD

No 17,319 Set by GOLIATH

JOTTER PAD

2/18 Dish best served cold with one's pudding? It will be enjoyable (7,2,5) 3. Losing sweetheart, cry and leave (5) 4. I'm sorry novice is not into kinky exclue by compiler (6,2) 5. Rascall with umpteen void debts in distressed scenes of privation (15) 6. Announcing why drone crashed there (6)

7 Ball out of poverty and start to monetise

8 Treasure, like Cher? (7)

14 Preserve lots of hugs and caresses (9)

16 Big wild creature once caused nomads to relocate (8)

to relocate (8) 18 2e 2 18 2e 2 18 7e 2 18 7e

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