

FINANCIAL TIMES

WEDNESDAY 15 FEBRUARY 2023

INTERNATIONAL NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

ASIA

Condo makeover for Manhattan office space
BIG READ, PAGE 15

The new interventionism is laden with risk
MARTIN WOLF, PAGE 17

Beijing boost Xi offers Raisi reassurance

Chinese president Xi Jinping welcomes his Iranian counterpart Ebrahim Raisi to Beijing yesterday, the first such visit in 20 years. Xi pledged to increase trade with Iran and "constructively support" efforts to revive its nuclear deal with world powers, an effort to offer reassurance on his commitment to a 25-year co-operation agreement with Tehran signed in 2021. The remarks were a response to Iranian complaints that the deal had failed to deliver. Raisi said relations with China were "moving forward" but that "what has been done is still behind what should have been done". Iran's concerns focus on Beijing's deepening ties with its Gulf neighbours and potential appetite for Russian oil. However, analysts said tension between the US and China gave Beijing an incentive to strengthen ties with Tehran.



Xi Jinping and Ebrahim Raisi walking on a red carpet during their meeting. (AP Photo/Andrew H. Guthrie)

Russia masses aircraft within striking range of Ukraine targets, west warns

◆ New phase as land forces stutter ◆ Nato speeds air defence deliveries ◆ Ammunition needs critical

Western intelligence shows Russia massing aircraft within striking range of Ukraine, an indication that Moscow is preparing to throw its jets and helicopters into the war to support its stuttering land offensive. The prospect of an air war in Ukraine has prompted Kyiv's allies to prioritise rapid shipments of air defence assets and artillery ammunition, western officials said, to respond to the shift in approach by Moscow as the war enters its next phase. Intelligence shared among Nato allies shows Russia is assembling fixed-wing and rotary aircraft close to the border with Ukraine, according to two officials briefed on its contents.

In meetings with allied countries supporting Ukraine yesterday, US defence secretary Lloyd Austin highlighted the threat of Russia's significant air force. "It was very clear that we have a short window of time to help the Ukrainians prepare for an offensive and that they had some pretty specific needs," a senior US administration official said. "The Russian land forces are pretty

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depleted so it is the best indication that they will turn this into an air fight. If the Ukrainians are going to survive... they need to have as many air defence capabilities and as much ammunition... as possible," the official added. Austin said later yesterday that the US did not see imminent signs of a "massive aerial attack" from Russia on Ukraine but that Washington and its allies were rushing as much air defence capability to the country as they could. "We do know Russia has substantial aircraft... and a lot of capability left," he said. Ukraine's air defences were "not enough and we're going to keep pushing until we get more because that threat is out there," he added. Russia has used its sizeable air force sparingly since Vladimir Putin launched

the invasion last year, relying instead on missiles, artillery and troops. Western analysts have suggested that this could be because of fear in Moscow that Ukraine's air defence systems posed a threat to Russian aircraft or because its fleet was in poor condition. But intelligence assessments indicate that Russia's air force is "actually quite preserved," a senior Nato diplomat said. "More than 80 per cent probably is safe and available... So we are expecting that they're preparing to launch an air campaign and they've been trying to [disable] Ukrainian air defences with attacks," the person added. Some 54 western allies used a meeting at Nato's headquarters yesterday to lay out additional pledges of military equipment for Ukraine. The US is expected to

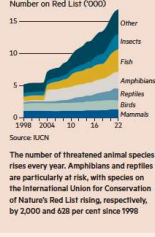
announce another assistance package this week, which will include air defence and ammunition, said people familiar with the matter. Ukrainian and Nato officials have recently warned of ammunition shortages, with western capitals concerned by the impact of strained defence supply chains and dwindling domestic stockpiles. Those immediate needs trumped longer-term requests for materiel, such as fighter jets, or quicker shipments of western battle tanks, officials said, given Russia's new offensive, which Nato said on Monday had already begun. "What Ukraine tells us that they really need is ammunition and additional air defence capabilities," a western official said. Additional reporting by Laura Pitel in Berlin

Briefing

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Top brass at Goldman Sachs, Bank of America and Wells Fargo have said that confidence in the economy has improved over the past few months.— PAGE 6
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- ◆ **Biden set to tap Brainard**
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- ◆ **BBC raid after Modi film**
Tax officials have searched Indian bureaux, weeks after a report critical of the premier's actions during deadly riots in Gujarat when he was top official.— PAGE 3

Datawatch

Endangered species



The number of threatened animal species rises every year. Amphibians and reptiles are particularly at risk, with species on the International Union for Conservation of Nature's Red List rising, respectively, by 2,000 and 628 per cent since 1998.



US military struggles to explain close encounters

Analysis ► PAGE 3

Singapore wealth fund cools on China for fear of risks in abrupt policy shifts

KAYE WIGGINS — HONG KONG
MERCEDES RUEHL
AND LEO LEWIS — SINGAPORE
Singapore's sovereign wealth fund has put the brakes on private investments in China as it steps up scrutiny of risks in the world's second-biggest economy. GIC, one of the world's biggest investors in private equity, has scaled back commitments to China-focused funds over the past year, five people with knowledge of the matter said. It has also significantly slowed the pace of its direct investments in Chinese companies. Although GIC was an early backer of China's growth story, some of the fund's most senior figures have struck a more cautious tone in internal discussions over the past year, two of the people said. The fierce debate inside one of Asia's most powerful sovereign wealth funds

reflects concern over how Chinese president Xi Jinping's policies might affect investors, despite the end of "zero-Covid" curbs that hit growth last year. "They have dramatically decreased investments," said one executive who had tried to tap GIC for funds to invest in China, adding that the "pivot" came at a time when it was difficult to find other places to invest in on the same scale. ItJuzi, a data provider that monitors investments in China, recorded just two direct investments in Chinese groups by GIC last year, down from 16 in 2021. Senior managers are uneasy at the geopolitical risk from souring US-China relations and fear that Xi's "common prosperity" drive to reduce inequality might have unintended negative consequences, two people close to GIC's decision-making process said. GIC, chaired by Singapore prime minister

Lee Hsien Loong, has an estimated \$700bn under management and has reaped impressive returns from China over almost three decades. Its investments in the country, which it does not quantify, have been hit by the property crisis and Beijing's crackdown on tech companies. The fund owns a stake in Ant Group, whose \$37bn initial public offering was halted by Chinese regulators in 2020. The fund was "burnt bad" by the crackdown on Ant and has become wary of unexpected moves from Beijing that could hit its investments or its ability to exit them, one of the people said. GIC said it still had "significant exposure" to China and that it "continues to explore long-term opportunities". Additional reporting by Hudson Lockett in Hong Kong and Ryan McMorrow in Beijing. "Crowded trade" page 10

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STOCK MARKETS		CURRENCIES		GOVERNMENT BONDS	
	Feb 14	Prev	Feb 14	Prev	Yield (%)
S&P 500	4105.05	4137.29	-0.78		
Nasdaq Composite	11814.51	11891.79	-0.65		
Dow Jones Ind	33967.07	34268.93	-1.50		
FTSE100	1824.43	1823.01	0.08		
Euro Stoxx 50	4350.98	4241.38	0.22		
FTSE 100	1762.05	1761.69	0.02		
FTSE All Share	4345.09	4345.77	-0.02		
CAC 40	7213.81	7208.59	0.07		
Nikkei 225	15380.56	15351.24	-0.11		
Nikkei	27802.77	27427.32	0.64		
Hong Kong	21113.78	21164.42	-0.24		
MSCI EM \$	2813.04	2783.91	0.54		
MSCI ACWI \$	1013.53	1013.67	-0.01		
FT AllShare 200	652.25	646.87	0.83		
FT AllShare 500	5391.44	5320.75	1.15		
FT AllShare 2000	4211.75	4163.19	1.14		
EUR/USD	1.072	1.072	0.00		
GBP/USD	1.276	1.274	0.02		
USD/JPY	118.1	118.2	-0.08		
USD/CHF	0.908	0.908	0.00		
USD/INR	81.488	81.161	0.40		
USD/HK\$	7.799	7.770	0.36		
USD/SGD	1.321	1.318	0.23		
USD/THB	3.658	3.657	0.03		
USD/PHP	55.80	55.80	0.00		
USD/IDR	1488	1488	0.00		
USD/SGD	2.84	2.77	0.07		
USD/INR	2.44	2.37	0.07		
USD/THB	2.38	2.32	0.05		
USD/CHF	0.908	0.908	0.00		
USD/JPY	118.1	118.2	-0.08		
USD/GBP	0.787	0.787	0.00		
USD/INR	81.488	81.161	0.40		
USD/HK\$	7.799	7.770	0.36		
USD/SGD	1.321	1.318	0.23		
USD/THB	3.658	3.657	0.03		
USD/PHP	55.80	55.80	0.00		
USD/IDR	1488	1488	0.00		
USD/SGD	2.84	2.77	0.07		
USD/INR	2.44	2.37	0.07		
USD/THB	2.38	2.32	0.05		

INTERNATIONAL

Ukraine

Berlin chides allies for tank delivery delays

Pistorius says capitals that put pressure on Germany have yet to follow through

GUY CHAZAN IN BERLIN AND HENRY FOY BRUSSELS

Germany's defence minister has voiced frustration with European partners who spent months pressing Berlin to supply tanks to Ukraine but have failed to deliver any heavy armour themselves.

For months, the German chancellor was reluctant to provide Ukraine with main battle tanks in case that increased the risk of a direct confrontation between Nato and Russia.

Officials in Berlin hoped the flurry of announcements would prompt allies to follow through on their promises. Thirteen European armies operate about 2,000 Leopard 2s, according to the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

have triggered fears that Ukraine might lack the heavy armour to deter Russia. Pistorius said Portugal had agreed to send three Leopard 2A6s — an "appropriate contribution" for a relatively small country.

ing deliveries from Norway. Warsaw was also in "advanced talks" with Spain. Nato officials said Berlin was waiting for the coalition to get before sending its own contingent.

Defence

Nato suggests Finland and Sweden might join alliance separately

HENRY FOY — BRUSSELS RICHARD MILNE — OSLO

Nato has for the first time openly acknowledged the possibility of Finland and Sweden joining the military alliance separately, breaking a taboo over their previous insistence they join as a pair.

The prospect of the two Nordic neighbours being delinked represents an admission that diplomatic efforts to lift Turkey's block on Sweden joining have so far failed and a willingness among Nato officials to allow Finland to skirt that dispute.

"So the main question is not whether Finland and Sweden are ratified together," secretary-general Jens Stoltenberg said yesterday. "The main question is that they are both ratified as full members as soon as possible."

Both were in a better security position than they were before Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine almost a year ago, he said.

It is the first time Stoltenberg has veered from the official line from Nato, Helsinki and Stockholm that the two applications should be treated as one joint bid.

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Turkey's president, has indicated he is willing to ratify Finland's Nato membership but not Sweden's, accusing Stockholm of harbouring Kurdish activists and allowing a Koran to be burnt in front of Turkey's embassy in the Swedish capital.

Asked about the possibility of Finland being approved first, Ulf Kristersson, Swedish prime minister, said that "we will always respect each other's decisions".

Hungary has also dragged its feet on ratifying the two countries' applications, but its opposition is seen as less insurmountable.

Last year, the Finnish president and centre-left government spent considerable time convincing their more reluctant neighbour that joining Nato would be the right response to the current security environment.

But senior Finnish officials said that if Turkey were able to ratify Helsinki's application, it would be unthinkable for Finland — with its 1,500km long border with Russia, the longest of any EU country — to refuse to accept it.

"It is essential that Finland is in Nato as soon as possible. Of course, we want Sweden in there too, but if we have to wait a month or two extra for that, I do not see that as a problem," said one senior European diplomat.

Additional reporting by Marton Dunai in Budapest

Turkey, Earthquake

Erdoğan blamed for building standards amnesty

Reprieve was designed to relieve slum misery but is linked to deadly collapses

ADAM SAMSON — ANKARA ATILA JEAN YACKLEY — ISTANBUL

President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is facing a backlash for overseeing a 2018 amnesty for faults in millions of buildings across Turkey, regularising poor construction practices that were exposed in last week's earthquake.

Erdoğan's government approved 7.4m applications within 18 months, granting legal status to buildings that had breached a broad set of basic licensing, design and safety rules.

The critics underscore how the quake has become a political issue for Erdoğan just three months before a general election. He was already facing public discontent over his government's early response to the quake, which critics have said was slow and disorganised.

The quake, which has now surpassed the 1939 natural disaster in fatalities, has killed more than 35,000 people in Turkey, 3,580 in neighbouring Syria and toppled thousands of buildings.

Civil engineers and earthquake specialists said the destruction was significantly worsened by insufficient building standards in the quake-prone areas.

Erdoğan's 2018 amnesty was among the biggest in a string of populist measures launched since the 1940s, often ahead of elections, Ribeiro said. The



Life savers: rescuers search for survivors in a south-east Turkey earthquake zone last week.



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so they could benefit from utilities such as electricity. The 2018 amnesty was the first to include illegal units built after Turkey's last big deadly tremor, in 1999, in Izmit, in north-western Kocaeli province.

'Every amnesty expanded upon the last one and gave citizens the sense that the state would forgive infractions'

a tool that was often deployed before elections, according to research by Meltem Şenol Balaban at Middle East Technical University.

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Debt reduction

Brussels urges end to stalemate over reform of budget rules

SAM FLEMING — BRUSSELS

Brussels has urged EU capitals to unlock talks over reforming the union's budget rules as soon as possible, as policymakers seek to foster public investment in priorities such as the green transition and avoid overly draconian debt-reduction plans.

in November to simplify the EU's labyrinthine budget pact and give individual states greater ownership of debt-reduction plans.

political point that needed to be resolved in the discussions between EU capitals the question of how much 'differentiation' there should be between member states' public debt reduction plans, which he said was needed given their sharply varying debt burdens.

something the parliament will do in a couple of months". Officials are hoping a deal can be struck at the Ecofin meeting of finance ministers next month, tying up a consensus among EU leaders at a summit in late March.

Paolo Gentiloni, the economics commissioner, said EU leaders needed to be aware of the "urgency" of the need to amend the rules, as Brussels seeks to rapidly push through a legislative overhaul of its debt and deficit pact.

Officials are concerned a failure to make progress on the revised framework by next month would undermine hopes of getting legislation through before European elections next year.

The rules would, on the other hand, also need to ensure there was a "common framework" underpinning the pact. "We need a political consensus very soon, and then a certain amount of time to give the European parliament the possibility to discuss our legislative proposals," Gentiloni said. "This is not

It's not always obvious for member states, for ministers and leaders, to be aware of the urgency of this subject," said Gentiloni. "But if we don't address this issue, this issue will address us."

Enforcement of the stability and growth pact has been suspended since the early months of the Covid-19 economic crisis, but policymakers including Gentiloni say it will be reimposed next year.

"If you go back to the normal, previous situation, I don't think this is a good message for our countries and for the economy," the commissioner said. The union, he added, "should have fiscal rules that are considered fit for purpose, and the existing ones are only partially fit, and on this we even agree".

The commission reforms would, among other things, ditch an EU rule that requires a 1/20th-a-year reduction in debt ratios by member states with debt above the EU's ceiling of 60 per cent of gross domestic product.

The need to update the budget rules has become more urgent, given the global race to boost investment in the green agenda, especially given EU fears that the US's \$369bn Inflation Reduction Act will lead to corporate spending being diverted to the US.

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Genetiloni said there was one central



Member states are debating ways of making it easier to redirect EU funds towards the green transition, something that was discussed in a Brussels summit last week.

Italy and other southern member states have also floated the idea of giving capitals an extra year to next their share of the EU's €800bn NextGenerationEU pandemic recovery fund. US green tax credits see Companies

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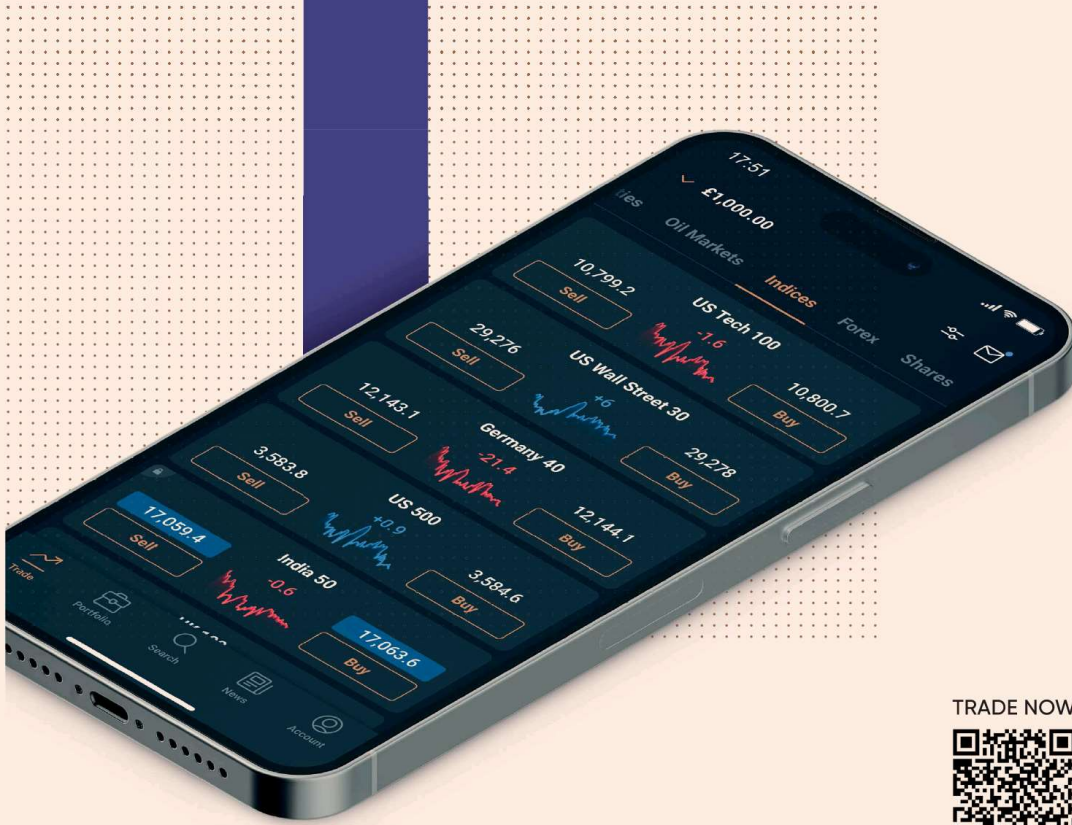
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Branching out Apple's diversification strategy to shift manufacturing from China to India will be a long process COMPANIES

Companies & Markets

US bank chiefs upbeat about 'soft landing' for economy

- Corporate data 'better than thought'
- Fears of inflation-led recession ease

JOSHUA FRANKLIN – NEW YORK

Executives at some of Wall Street's biggest banks said that the US economy was holding up better than corporate leaders had expected and that the mood was more optimistic than it was a few months ago.

The comments from top brass at Goldman Sachs, Bank of America and Wells Fargo reflect the growing belief that the Federal Reserve may achieve a so-called "soft landing" for the US economy in its battle to tame inflation while avoiding a recession.

"The consensus has shifted to be a little bit more dovish in the CEO community that we can navigate through this in the US with a softer economic landing.

"Those consumers have money. They're employed... and they have a lot of capacity to borrow"

than what people would have expected six months ago," Goldman chief executive David Solomon told an industry conference organised by Credit Suisse yesterday.

Solomon's brighter view was echoed by BoFA chief Brian Moynihan yesterday, who said profit margins at midsize companies were holding up "better than they thought" and consumer spending, which accounts for about two-thirds of US economic activity, remained strong.

"If you look at the consumer, they keep spending money," Moynihan told the BoFA Securities financial services conference. "Those consumers have money. They're employed, and they're spending money and they have a lot of capacity to borrow."

Wells Fargo chief financial officer Michael Santomassimo also said that "spending data is still really healthy". The comments mark a shift in tone from late last year when top US bank executives, while highlighting a resilient consumer, issued wary outlooks for the global economy. Solomon said at the time that some of Goldman's clients "sound extremely cautious". But, at the midpoint of the current US earnings season, corporate America's top leaders have been split on the chances of the country escaping a recession.

S&P Global's risk appetite index, which surveys data from about 500 US equity market institutional investors, this week showed that risk appetite from investors remained negative but the degree of risk aversion had fallen to the lowest since November.

In its battle to reduce inflation, the Fed has lifted its main interest rate from near zero to a target range between 4.5 per cent and 4.75 per cent in less than a year.

This has fuelled concerns that the US economy could tip into a recession in 2023 and that unemployment will rise.

Recent data has indicated a surprising level of resilience in the labour market during the second half of 2022 and into the start of this year, raising hopes that the Fed may be able to bring down inflation and avoid a recession.

However, new data yesterday showed the US consumer price index declined by less than economists anticipated, serving as a reminder of the persistence of high inflation in the US.

Despite his more optimistic tone, Solomon issued a caveat that inflation was "still sticky" and that "it's still uncertain exactly what the trajectory will be of tamping down inflation".

"I think we're in an environment where we're probably going to have kind of more sluggish, slower growth for a period of time until we get a lot of this to rebalance," Solomon said.

Soaring ambition Air India to buy 470 jets in effort to position country as international hub



Ready for take-off: Air India's order is among the biggest the industry has ever seen

CHLOE CORNISH – MUMBAI
CLAIRE BUSHEY – CHICAGO
SYLVIA PFEIFER – LONDON

Air India will buy 470 planes from Airbus and Boeing in one of the biggest aviation orders globally, as the country's air-passenger market rebounds from early pandemic lows.

The carrier plans to buy 40 long-distance wide-body A350 jets, as well as 140 A320neo and 70 A321neo single-aisle aircraft from Airbus. From rival Boeing, it said it would buy 190 of the narrow-body 737 Max jets, 20 twin-aisle 787s and 10 777s, with the option to purchase another 70 jets.

The deal is part of an overhaul by owner Tata Sons of the recently privatised carrier and eclipses previous records for a single airline.

Airbus did not disclose the financial terms. The list price for the planes from Boeing totals \$34bn, although airlines typically receive discounts as high as 50 per cent. Still, the price tag makes it the third-largest sale in the US company's history.

Tata Sons chair Natarajan Chandrasekaran announced the Airbus purchase yesterday at a virtual event attended by India's prime minister, Narendra Modi, French president Emmanuel Macron and Tata patriarch Ratan Tata.

The family conglomerate bought Air India from the government last year, returning the airline to its original owners. The airline had been nationalised in 1953. Tata has promised to modernise the carrier.

"Air India is not yet another project," said Chandrasekaran, adding it was akin to a "national" project. "A lot of emotions are involved in this project, there are huge expectations."

He said that Air India had options to "increase the fleet size" as the carrier grew, and the company is expected to buy more planes from Boeing.

Airbus chief executive Guillaume Faury hailed the deal as "historic", and said that the A350 and A320neo planes had been chosen "to script Air India's revival".

"The time is right for India to turn into an international hub," he added. The deal is also a welcome boost for

Adani says shares rout is 'temporary' volatility

CHLOE CORNISH – MUMBAI

Indian tycoon Gautam Adani has dismissed a share-price rout triggered by a short-seller assault on his conglomerate as "temporary" volatility.

At the quarterly earnings release of his Adani Enterprises yesterday, the ports-to-power mogul said his conglomerate's biggest division "will continue to work with the twin objectives of moderate leverage and looking at strategic opportunities to expand and grow".

Adani's comments came hours after home affairs minister Amit Shah said that India's ruling Bharatiya Janata party had "nothing to hide" over US short seller Hindenburg Research's assault on the billionaire.

Adani, regarded as a close ally of Narendra Modi, has painted the threat to his conglomerate as a "calculated attack on India". Opposition politicians have used the longstanding relationship between Modi and fellow Gujarat native Adani to needle the prime minister, who has not directly addressed the issue.

Adani Enterprises shares rose as high as Rs1,889 yesterday, up 9 per cent on the opening price of Rs1,725 and up from a low of Rs1,017 on February 3, according to National Stock Exchange of India data. The stock is still down about 45 per cent since Hindenburg published a report last month alleging stock manipulation and fraud.

The Adani Group has denied the allegations but Adani Enterprises had to cancel a \$2.4bn share sale that was intended to broaden its investor base.

India's regulator told the Supreme Court on Monday that it was investigating allegations made in the Hindenburg report and share trading before and after its publication, Reuters reported.

Adani Enterprises said it had made "no material financial adjustment" to its quarterly results, which refer to a period before the Hindenburg report was released. The Adani Group's biggest unit by market cap, Enterprises reported a profit after tax of Rs8.2bn (\$99m) for the three months to the end of December; it posted a Rs120m loss for the same period last year.

Adani Enterprises said earnings had been boosted by increased profits at units including its coal-trading division, a 40 per cent year-on-year rise in passenger numbers at its airports, and rising solar-panel manufacturing capacity.

Quarterly revenues rose 42 per cent year on year to Rs270bn.

Britain's Rolls-Royce, whose Trent XWB engines power Airbus's A350 jets. It will also create 450 manufacturing jobs in the UK, where Airbus builds commercial aircraft wings.

Boeing predicted that within the next decade India will become the third-largest market for air travel, behind the US and China. It expects regional traffic will grow at 7 per cent annually through 2041, nearly double the world average.

Today's order leaves Air India "well positioned to achieve its expansion plans", said Stan Deal, chief executive of Boeing's commercial jet business.

The aircraft will be delivered over several years. Both Boeing and Airbus have struggled to deliver planes amid persistent supplychain issues since the peak of the pandemic.

Airbus's Scherer said that the company would deliver the first of the six A350-900s at the end of 2023. The 34 A350-1000s will be delivered a couple of years later, while the 210 single-aisle aircraft will be handed over "from the tail-end of the decade", given supply-chain constraints.

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SoftBank needs Son to work his magic on chip designer Arm

INSIDE BUSINESS ASIA



Kana Inagaki

In what he claimed was his last presentation to investors in November, Masayoshi Son lamented that his entrepreneurial knack would be wasted as SoftBank shifted to a full defensive mode to cut losses. To avoid that, he pledged to devote himself entirely to growing Arm, the UK chip designer owned by the Japanese technology group.

Four months on, it's not exactly clear to the outside world what the 65-year-old founder is up to. For the first time in decades, and being true to his word, Son did not appear on stage last week as SoftBank revealed first investment losses of \$5.5bn for the latest quarter.

What was clear, though, to investors was just how much the future of SoftBank, which Son dubs as "a vision capitalist", rests on one company, Arm.

Following a historic sell-down in Alibaba, an investment on which Son built his name as one of the world's greatest technology visionaries, Arm now accounts for a bigger percentage of SoftBank's net asset value than the Chinese e-commerce group. At 16 per cent, Arm is also bigger than the 13 per cent share of the overall NAV for SoftBank's domestic mobile business.

In a note to clients, Macquarie analyst Paul Golding said it seemed "prudent" for Son to focus on Arm, considering that SoftBank's future and its share perfor-

ance "now rests squarely with" the British chip subsidiary and the Vision Funds, one of which holds a 25 per cent stake in Arm.

The good news is that Arm's performance has improved during the October to December quarter. Its three-month revenue increased from \$581m to \$746m, and its pre-tax profit increased 77 per cent from a year earlier for the nine-month period. At its earnings presentation last week, executives said SoftBank was on track to list Arm's shares during the fiscal year to March 2024.

But that is where the good news ends. After launching its first Vision Fund in 2017, Son unveiled a grand plan to turn SoftBank into a "strategic holding company" from a telecoms group. Since then, it has committed \$163bn in investments via the two Vision Funds and a Latin American fund, but cumulative losses stand at \$4.8bn.

As one analyst put it, SoftBank is now looking more like a "momentum investor" than a "vision capitalist". It invested in struggling office company WeWork, collapsed Greensill Capital and cryptocurrency exchange FTX as valuations of technology start-ups were soaring.

Now it is in full protective mode, hoarding cash and reducing debt to survive a prolonged tech rout, higher interest rates and a global economic slowdown. That is a relief for some investors, but it does raise questions of whether, with valuations falling, the Vision Funds are missing an opportunity to invest in good start-ups at reasonable prices.

Following the frantic pace of deal activity in recent years, the Vision

Funds made only two investments in the last quarter. Navreet Goel, finance chief of the Vision Funds, says their late-stage portfolio is worth more than \$37bn and will be ready to list once market conditions improve. That includes the Vision Fund 1's 65 per cent stake in Arm, which SoftBank bought for \$33bn in 2016 and it now estimates is worth \$2.6tn (\$20bn).

With the massive sale of its stake in Alibaba, Arm will be one of the last major assets SoftBank can monetise.

The question is whether Son is now going on an offensive to make sure that Arm's initial public offering, most likely in the US, succeeds.

Before the IPO, analysts say it makes sense for SoftBank to first assemble a consortium of the biggest technology companies that would buy some of SoftBank's stake in Arm – an idea that has previously been floated by US chip-maker Qualcomm. If SoftBank then lists Arm, it will ensure that its semiconductor technology remains widely available and, crucially, allow Arm's share price to avoid an overhang if investors fear that the Japanese group will keep selling its stake in its British subsidiary to plug its losses.

The Vision Funds are mostly dormant for now but Son can no longer walk away from them since he owes the company he founded more than \$5bn due to the widening losses at the group's various investment vehicles. If SoftBank shuts down the Vision Funds, Son will face the obligation to repay the money the company fronted him to invest in the technology-related funds. For SoftBank's fortunes to recover, Son needs a rebound in global markets but, more immediately, he needs to work his magic on Arm.

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COMPANIES & MARKETS

Fixed income. Poor incentives

Sustainability bonds stumble amid greenwashing scrutiny



Issue of debt that aims to uphold climate pledges falls as scepticism on penalties grows

KENZA BRYAN

The market for a class of bonds once touted as the future of green investing is flagging as investors worry that the debt does not impose sufficiently stringent penalties on companies for missing their climate targets.

Last year, \$60bn so-called sustainability-linked bonds (SLBs) were issued around the world, a 37 per cent decline on 2021's total. Dwindling sales came as a disappointment to analysts who expected rapid growth that would eclipse the longer established market for green bonds. Barclays had expected 2022 issuance of more than \$200bn.

Sustainability-linked debt aims to tie companies to their climate promises by punishing them with higher interest rates if they miss environmental targets. Investors have frequently viewed them as preferable to green bonds, which allow issuers to raise cash for specific green projects but do not impose any obligations on the company as a whole to meet goals such as cutting emissions or water usage or overhauling their supply chains.

In practice, however, the "step-up" in coupon payments embedded in the bonds' terms have been too small to provide much incentive to issuers to clean up their act, analysts said.

Meanwhile, some environmentally conscious investors simply do not want to hold debt issued by companies at risk

of renege on their green promises. "Both myself and the market are quite concerned about the quality of these instruments [SLBs]," said Charlotte Edwards, head of ESG fixed income research at Barclays.

Investors will probably be a bit more "picky" about what they are buying in 2023, she added.

A symptom of market dysfunction for some is that SLBs have not so far benefited from the elusive "greenium", a lower borrowing cost that companies hope to achieve when they issue bonds with a sustainability label.

While Barclays' analysis of hundreds of green bonds and their vanilla equivalents suggests green bond yields are 0.05 percentage points lower – representing a cheaper borrowing cost for issuers – it has not observed any comparable spread for SLBs.

This might be because the reward promised to investors for an issuer's climate failure is not particularly high: generally 0.25 percentage points, lower than the typical 1.25 percentage point penalty built into some bonds to protect investors in case of a fall in the issuer's credit rating.

Polish oil refiner PKN Orlen became the first SLB issuer to pay a coupon step-up last year, the interest payments on its two bonds worth 2bn zlotys (£368m) rising by one-twentieth and one-tenth of a percentage point, respectively, after its sustainability rating was slashed by data provider MSCI.

Some policymakers worry that the bonds are giving a free ride to companies to burnish their green credentials.

Paul Tang, a lawmaker leading the European parliament's efforts to bring

sustainable debt instruments into regulation, said SLBs in their current form were a "greenwash machine".

Esma, the financial sector regulator for the EU, warned this month that SLBs could be considered a "free lunch" for issuers, for example because of the widespread use of call options, which means issuers could recall a bond before a step-up takes place, as well as low step-up rates.

"We are not against the instrument itself but it needs work," Tang said, highlighting EU proposals to make companies tie step-up objectives to formal transition plans.

As companies currently set their own targets, accountability for slow progress is low. Most issuers who tie SLBs to emissions targets, like the supermarket Tesco, exclude big chunks of their carbon footprint from scope.

Brazilian meat packer JBS was hit by an SEC complaint by an NGO last month for issuing \$3.2bn of SLBs tied to a tiny part of its emissions. JBS has rejected the premise of the claim and said the bonds' focus on direct emissions was a reflection of poor data availability. Others like Sembcorp, the Singaporean power provider, have simply moved high-emitting assets off-balance sheet after issuance.

Julien Lefournier, a lecturer in green finance at Paris universities and former Crédit Agricole banker, compared the practice of SLB issuers choosing their own objectives to the French televised singing contest *Ecole des fans*, in which children give each other marks and every contestant is awarded first place. "They called this the democratisation of green finance, it was meant to be open to everyone

– but it has become a big joke," he said.

A test of the market's maturity could come later this year and next year when Edwards expects a flood of coupon step-ups for index-eligible SLBs. Italy's state-owned energy company Enel, which issued the first SLB in 2019 and 27 others since, could be responsible for many of these.

One SLB is linked to a target of 60 per cent renewable installed generation capacity, which it fell short of in its latest results, and which Italy's turn to coal since the start of the Ukraine war may have pushed out of reach. This target is for 2022, based on data due to be published in April or May.

Enel said it was on a clear trajectory to achieving net zero emissions by 2040. If it did fail to meet the objective, this would be as a result of the gas crisis and the Italian government's decision to temporarily maximise production from coal-fired power plants, Enel added.

More step-ups could turn out to be a good thing if they give investors confidence the market is capable of making issuers pay for climate failure.

A Morgan Stanley report last month recommended issuers start setting goals that are trickier to meet, "otherwise the bond's impact is de minimis".

An enduring catch-22 is that, when step-ups do happen, they can look bad for investors who buy SLBs in part to hit green financing targets.

"If you're a sustainable investor you don't want the step-up to be triggered," said Eric Pedersen, head of responsible investments at Nordes Asset Management, which manages €29bn. "It would be a sad extra dollar if the coupon were raised for that reason."

Both myself and the market are quite concerned about the quality of these instruments

Equities

Turkey leans on pension funds to prop up stocks

ADAM SAMSON – ANKARA
GEORGE STEER – LONDON

The government of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has ordered private pension funds to boost their holdings of Turkish stocks after a sell-off in the wake of last week's earthquake prompted authorities to halt trading on Istanbul's equities bourse.

The decision, announced yesterday, came a day before Istanbul's stock exchange reopens and is aimed at bolstering financial markets.

It was closed six days ago as traders rushed to sell equities following the devastating earthquake on February 6.

Erdoğan is battling criticism over his handling of the response to the earthquake, which has killed more than 31,000 people in Turkey and thousands more in Syria, as well as the building standards put in place before the disaster.

Turkey's Bist 100 equity index has tumbled 18 per cent this year in a slide that had started even before last Monday's quake as investors fretted about a tightly contested election scheduled for May.

Turkey's stock market was suspended on February 8 after two days of tumultuous trading.

The Turkish lira has also remained under pressure, trading yesterday near an all-time low of 118.85 to the dollar.

Borsa Istanbul, the exchange's operator, did not respond to a request

It may be politically expedient but it is hard to see how it benefits pension fund investors

for comment on whether it would proceed with this week's reopening.

Private pension funds will be required to allocate 30 per cent of the funds the government contributes to match individual pension contributions to Turkish stocks, said an announcement in the Official Gazette yesterday. The previous requirement was 10 per cent.

The government matches 30 per cent of pension contributions up to a yearly maximum wage, according to HSKP.

Funds will also be allowed to increase the weighting of a single stock in their portfolio to 10 per cent, from 1 per cent previously.

Murat Gülkan, chief executive of OMG Capital Advisors in Istanbul, said investors were likely to react positively but said regulatory changes designed to keep the Bist 100 buoyant may "impede healthy price discovery and will lead to greater problems down the line".

Forcing pension funds to up their stakes in local stocks after a big rally since 2019, which has only recently reversed, "may be politically expedient ahead of elections but it is hard to see how it benefits pension fund investors", Gülkan added.

Erdoğan has already promised to provide families affected by the earthquake 7.11.000 (\$530) in aid but economists expect more measures in the coming weeks to dull the financial blow from the disaster.

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Equities

China reopening bets now a 'crowded trade', fund manager survey warns

CHRIS FLOOD

Global fund managers are becoming increasingly nervous over the durability of the rally in Chinese equities, with one in five of the view that it has become the market's "most crowded trade".

Allocations by global fund managers to emerging market equities, including China, increased for a third month in succession in February, according to a widely watched Bank of America monthly survey that canvassed the views of 262 participants who oversee combined assets of \$763bn.

Chinese blue-chip stocks in Shanghai have risen 14 per cent since the start of November as investors warmed to President Xi Jinping's decision to drop its zero-Covid policy.

But fund managers have become concerned about the rapid increase in the popularity of Chinese stocks, a potential warning sign that momentum could flag.

It was the first time a "long China equities" position featured as the most crowded trade in the survey's history, which dates back to 1985.

The reopening of the Chinese economy is expected to push up inflation globally, adding to the uncertainty over the outlook for monetary policy in the US and Europe.

Just over two-thirds of the survey's respondents said they believed that inflation would rise as a consequence of China reopening and the biggest "tail risk" for fund managers was that inflation would stubbornly remain "higher for longer".

US consumer price data was higher than expected yesterday, increasing investor worries that the US Federal Reserve would have to raise rates further.

"It is clearly good for global economic growth that China's economy is reopening but if this does translate into higher inflationary pressures, as we have seen on other parts of the world during the post pandemic recovery, then that could pose problems for central banks (outside of China)," said Michael Hartnett, chief investment strategist at BofA global research.

The BoA survey found that a net 46 per cent of fund managers had moved to an "overweight" allocation in emerging market equities in February, helped by increased optimism about the outlook for the Chinese economy and growing confidence that the rise of the US dollar had peaked.

Some strategists argued that the rally in Chinese equities still had further to run. Société Générale estimates that the Shanghai market is trading on a price to earnings multiple for this year of 11.6 times with earnings growth forecast at 18.8 per cent, the bank found.

That compared with a multiple of 12.4 times and earnings growth of 6.7 per cent for emerging markets.



Chinese blue-chip stocks in Shanghai rose 14 per cent since November 1

Asset management

Hedge fund Element to slim down after taking \$1bn hit in equities rally

LAURENCE FLETCHER

Jeffrey Talpins' Element Capital, one of the world's biggest macro hedge funds, is planning to shrink its asset base in an effort to improve performance after a run of poor returns, including losing more than \$1bn in last month's market rally.

New York-based Element, which manages about \$12bn in assets and has one of the sector's best long-term records, suffered a 9.6 per cent loss last month, according to people who had seen the numbers, as equity markets rose strongly on hopes that interest rates were almost done.

Element will now let investors exit its fund more easily than usual by temporarily relaxing its redemption terms, the people said.

The move, which has not previously been reported, is aimed at reducing the firm's assets in order to make it more nimble and able to respond quickly to market moves, the people said. Element declined to comment.

January proved a tough month for some hedge funds as equities rallied by more speculative stocks that were

hard hit last year, and bond markets also gained on hopes that bond markets were finally succeeding in taming inflation.

Those market moves inflicted heavy losses on funds that had been positioning for higher rates, including some computer-driven funds betting on falling bond and equity prices.

Element's loss follows two years of gains on hopes that bond markets were finally succeeding in taming inflation.

Those market moves inflicted heavy losses on funds that had been positioning for higher rates, including some computer-driven funds betting on falling bond and equity prices.

Element's loss follows two years of gains on hopes that bond markets were finally succeeding in taming inflation.

The move is aimed at making it more nimble and able to respond quickly to market moves

negative returns, the first annual losses in its 18-year history. It suffered an 8.9 per cent drop in 2021 after taking a roughly \$1bn hit in the bond market tumult of October that year.

Last year, it lost a further 3.4 per cent after betting that inflation would prove more transitory than it eventually did.

That decline came even as rivals such as Caxton, Rokos and Brevan Howard were making big gains from the huge sell-off in global government

bonds and the rally in the US dollar as interest rates were raised sharply to combat inflation.

Element will now relax its redemption terms that allow investors to withdraw only 25 per cent of their money each quarter and instead permit unlimited exits before the end of March. It will also allow clients to give less notice before pulling their money out.

The move highlights a growing concern among hedge fund managers that becoming too large can potentially hurt their performance by making them slower to react to big market moves.

While losing assets reduces the amount that firms can earn in management fees, many believe that it is more important not to damage their performance record.

Firms such as Millennium and Citadel are among those that have returned some capital to clients in recent years.

Element has been closed to any new inflows for nearly five years, during which time it has already handed back more than \$5.5bn to investors, but the firm nevertheless feels it needs to shrink further as it looks to prosper in the current market environment.

MARKET DATA

WORLD MARKETS AT A GLANCE



Table listing market indices by region (Americas, Europe, Asia, Global) with columns for Index Name, Last Price, and Previous Price. Includes indices like S&P 500, Nikkei, Hang Seng, FTSE 100, etc.

STOCK MARKET: BIGGEST MOVERS

Table showing the biggest movers in the stock market, categorized by Active Stocks and Active Producers. Columns include Stock Name, Price, and Change.

UK MARKET: BIGGEST MOVERS

Table showing the biggest movers in the UK market, categorized by Gainers and Losers. Columns include Stock Name, Price, and Change.

CURRENCIES

Table showing currency exchange rates for various currencies against the US Dollar, Euro, and Pound. Columns include Currency, Rate, and Change.

FTSE ACTUARIES SHARE INDICES

Table listing FTSE Actuaries Share Indices with columns for Index Name, Last Price, and Previous Price.

FT 30 INDEX

Table showing the FT 30 Index components with columns for Index Name, Last Price, and Previous Price.

FT WILSHIRE 5000 INDEX SERIES

Table showing the FT Wilshire 5000 Index Series with columns for Index Name, Last Price, and Previous Price.

FTSE GLOBAL EQUITY INDICES

Table showing FTSE Global Equity Indices with columns for Index Name, Last Price, and Previous Price.

FTSE SECTORS: LEADERS & LAGGARDS

Table showing FTSE Sector Leaders and Laggards with columns for Sector Name, Index Name, Last Price, and Previous Price.

FTSE 100 SUMMARY

Table showing the FTSE 100 Summary with columns for Index Name, Last Price, and Previous Price.

UK STOCK MARKET TRADING DATA

Table showing UK Stock Market Trading Data with columns for Index Name, Last Price, and Previous Price.

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MARKET DATA

FT500: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table with columns: Stock, Price, %Chg, Div, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists top 500 companies including Apple, Microsoft, Amazon, Google, and others.

Table with columns: Stock, Price, %Chg, Div, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists companies from the FT500, including various European and Asian firms.

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Table with columns: Stock, Price, %Chg, Div, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists companies from the FT500, including various European and Asian firms.

FT500: TOP 20

Table showing top 20 companies by market cap, including Apple, Microsoft, Amazon, Google, and others.

FT500: BOTTOM 20

Table showing bottom 20 companies by market cap, including various smaller firms.

BONDS: HIGH YIELD & EMERGING MARKET

Table showing bond yields and returns for high yield and emerging market categories.

BONDS: GLOBAL INVESTMENT GRADE

Table showing bond yields and returns for global investment grade categories.

INTEREST RATES: OFFICIAL

Table showing official interest rates for various countries and currencies.

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Table showing yields for various bond categories including government and corporate bonds.

FX RATES

Table showing foreign exchange rates for major currencies.

GLTS: UK CASH MARKET

Table showing UK government gilt yields and market activity.

INTEREST RATES: MARKET

Table showing market interest rates for various instruments like swaps and futures.

BONDS: EURO-AREA

Table showing bond yields and returns for Euro-area countries.

BONDS: UK FTSE ACTUARIOS

Table showing yields and returns for UK FTSE Actuarial bonds.

GLTS: US FTSE ACTUARIOS

Table showing yields and returns for US FTSE Actuarial bonds.

COMMODITIES

Table showing commodity prices for various goods like oil, gold, and agricultural products.

BONDS: EURO-AREA

Table showing bond yields and returns for Euro-area countries.

BONDS: UK FTSE ACTUARIOS

Table showing yields and returns for UK FTSE Actuarial bonds.

GLTS: US FTSE ACTUARIOS

Table showing yields and returns for US FTSE Actuarial bonds.

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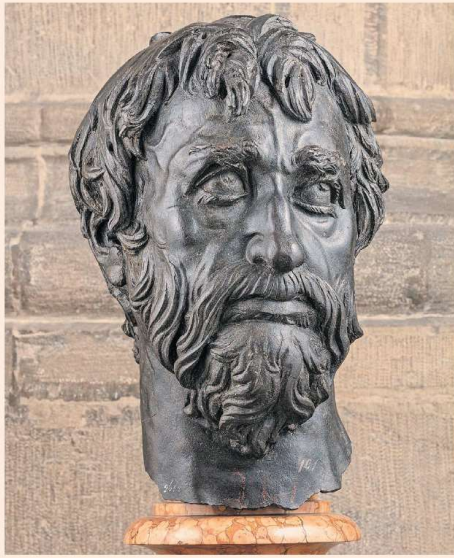
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ARTS

Donatello and the dawning of a new world

Now arrived in London, this show at the V&A of the sculptor's work is both fascinating and revelatory, writes Jackie Wullschläger

Reimagined for the sleek, glossy underground hangar of the Victoria and Albert Museum's Sainsbury Gallery, the tremendous touring Donatello retrospective arrives in London — the UK's first show ever devoted to the artist — as a rather different beast from its initial iteration in Florence. Although smaller — about half the works by Donatello have come, plus many contextual pieces — it remains fascinating and revelatory, and the cultural repositioning itself is illuminating. Only the virtuoso opening is the same: the larger than life marble "David", all compressed energy, stands with the head of Goliath at his feet. Carved in stone which imitates every texture — soft fabric against flesh, hard rock lodged in the giant's forehead, delicate amaranth wreath — he looks at once real and archaic. Donatello was 22 when he conceived this sculpture for Florence's cathedral in 1408. It ended up instead on Piazza della Signoria, a symbol of civic freedom. The shift from sacred to secular location was emblematic. Donatello, born into the medieval Gothic age, ushered in Renaissance humanism with his individualised, expressive figures: one of art's foundational stories. Florence's grand, old-school show unfolded this historically, in a labyrinthine layout across two weathered palazzi between streets Donatello himself once trod. The V&A's installation in a single bright, open-plan gallery is spectacular in another way — immersive, modern. Themes are foregrounded over biography, and the all-over jumble brings a vibrant sense of the clashing influences and currents shaping Donatello: classicism, Catholic piety, republicanism, the new science of



perspective, traditional goldsmithing. A dramatic row of portrait heads curving across the centre of the space wonderfully recalls typical V&A fashion shows. The silver-plated "Reliquary Bust of San Rossore" is no idealised martyr but a character we might glimpse at a Florence coffee bar: animated face, dark

eyes, tousled hair, furrowed brow, stubbled jawline, thoughtful downward gaze. So too the painted terracotta bust representing politician Niccolò da Uzzano, looking up, showing his strong aquiline nose and heavy eyelids. Every element is vivid, from the moles on his neck to the folds of his red gown.



for the first time. "The Ascension with Christ giving the Keys to St Peter" has Mary, Apostles and angels interconnecting, overlapping, reacting, against a line of trees, diminishing in linear perspective to lead us to the city of Jerusalem, beneath clouds whipped by a breeze animating the entire scene. "Madonna of the Clouds" sets the still, watchful child and flowing figure of the Virgin in heaven: wind, airy atmosphere, rising angels are made permanent — eternal — in compact marble. Material, technique and meaning are inextricable. Images of the Madonna and Child were a generic Gothic formula. In multiple and hybrid media — the painted terracotta "Madonna of the Apple"; the bronze relief "Chellini Madonna", its outer side hollowed out for recasting; the Louvre's "Piot Madonna", the long-fingered terracotta Virgin encased within a tondo of wax medallions — Donatello revitalised the trope. Infusing it with tenderness and emotional nuance, he influenced painters' and sculptors' treatment of the motif for centuries. With sumptuous draperies covering the bodies volume and warm presence, and the delicately incised faces, cheeks fused, held within a perspectival window, Berlin's marble "Pazzi Madonna", the show's most beautiful work, perfectly balances abstraction and naturalism. Interestingly, it shares characteristics with the "Dudley Madonna" — the Virgin with wiggling baby on her lap, her gossamer dress and veil built in refined gradation of planes — which the V&A downgrades to a copy, possibly 19th-century. Florence however upholds the attribution for that and for others which the V&A demotes — notably the affecting scene of angels weeping over the dead Christ, "Imago

with his trousers down, curly pigtail, belt adorned with gilded poppy seed-pods and snake winding around his sandals — inscribed as a wine god, mischievous as a Cupid, sexy, baffling, amusing. His cousin sprites, joyous little "Spirittelli", are bizarre fusions, derived from the pagan putto, adapted as celebratory figures associated with Christian baptism. "Spirittello with a Tambourine", gleefully about to strike the instrument, and the graceful "Dancing Spirittello", each balanced on cockle shells, were made for Siena Cathedral — their balletic movements inspired Botticelli's "Primavera" — and are reunited here from collections in Florence and Berlin. A pair from Paris perch on candlesticks, as if about to take flight. In contrapposto pose astride a tortoise, "Winged Putto with a Fantastic Fish", originally part of a fountain, stares out impudently. Donatello, said Vasari, "took delight in all things, set his hand to doing everything, without considering whether it was insignificant or prestigious". The V&A's reduced-scale show gives full scope to the smaller pieces, their exhilarating detail, sometimes playful, sometimes condensing deep spiritual mystery into pocket-sized carvings. Among Donatello's signature shallow reliefs, *rilievo staccato*, partly carved, partly drawn in fine chiselled lines to achieve astonishingly dynamic effects of light on pale marble, the two luminous "sky" pieces appear together

Born into the medieval Gothic age, Donatello ushered in Renaissance humanism

Pietatis", almost universally accepted as Donatello's. It's a academic quarrel, but it seems to me that grouping these exquisite works with Victorian copies/pastiches — especially when Donatello's most famous sculpture, the later, lithe, sensual bronze "David", is here only in 19th-century plaster reproduction — is distorting, blurring true distinctions between master and imitator. London's show is called *Donatello: Sculpting the Renaissance* — the artist as maker of forms. Berlin, the exhibition's second venue, had *Donatello: Inventor of the Renaissance* and Florence simply *Donatello: The Renaissance*, thus asserting grander claims that Donatello, as Francesco Caglioti, the curator who conceived the project put it, was not merely "shaper of an age on the level of Giotto, Raphael and Caravaggio, but... a phenomenon of rupture that introduced new ways of thinking, producing and experiencing art". This show brings us fantastically close to that phenomenon; there's no need to play down genius.

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FT FINANCIAL TIMES



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Later comes the psychologically intense bronze "Head of a Bearded Man", with flowing locks and eyes raised to heaven: it may depict a condottiere mercenary nicknamed Gattamelata ("honeyed cat"), or a biblical prophet, or a pagan river god. Some of the most gripping, intricate pieces of theatre combine attenuated Gothic figures and metalwork with fresh, realistic representation, architectural perspective (Donatello was a pupil of Brunelleschi) and abstract patterning: the damascened bronze/copper reliefs "Crucifixion" enacted in a chiselled rocky landscape and "Miracle of the Mule", framed by barrel-vaulted architecture; the tempestuous openwork "Lamentation over the Dead Christ". Mary is collapsing, the Magdalene rushes forward with raised arms, St John withdraws in silent grief. This deceptively emotive multi-figure frieze anticipates not only Rodin's "The Burghers of Calais" but Picasso's distraught women in "Guernica".

The freestanding sculptures are more purely classical; the highlight is the laughing winged child "Attis Amorino"

Sinfonia heads east for new adventure

CLASSICAL

Britten Sinfonia
Milton Court, London
London Symphony Orchestra
Barbican, London

Richard Fairman

One of the most bizarre of Arts Council England's recent funding decisions was to cut the entire portfolio grant to the Britten Sinfonia. Presented under the banner of "levelling-up", it delivered a body blow to an orchestra founded to bring high-quality music to the previously impoverished east of England. Where was the logic in that?

Based in Cambridge, the medium-sized Britten Sinfonia finds itself left with precious little time to plan its survival. An announcement is expected imminently of an appeal to raise £400,000 annually to replace the grant it has lost for the next three years.

Nobody could accuse the orchestra of lacking a sense of adventure. Taking a Middle Eastern theme, its latest concert presented a rare performance of Delius's complete incidental music to *Hassan*, a verse play by James Elroy Flecker. *Hassan* scored a big hit at its premiere in 1923, but even with the linking narration, devised by Meurig Bowen (Britten Sinfonia's artistic director) and spoken with panache by broadcaster Zeb Soanes, it doesn't obviate that the play is a lot of lokum. Generous



Joseph Tawadros plays the oud with the Britten Sinfonia

helpings of racism and sexism surely make it unrevivable today; but Delius's music deserves rescuing and the Britten Sinfonia's performance, conducted by Jamie Phillips, showed how imaginatively it uses its modest resources. An orchestra of fewer than 30, together with chorus, creates a lightly suggestive Middle Eastern atmosphere, rising to a visionary pilgrim's procession at the end as *Hassan* sets off on the golden road to Samarkand.

Given the subject matter, it was a neat idea to precede *Hassan* with half an hour of music played on the oud by Egyptian-Australian Joseph Tawadros. This is surely the kind of programming that

Arts Council England professes it wants to promote. ★★★★★

The future of the London Symphony Orchestra looks more secure. The LSO suffered a 10 per cent cut to its grant, and Simon Rattle's decision to leave as music director has been a blow, but at least the succession is well in hand.

As Antonio Pappano prepares to take up the role of chief conductor in 2024, his appearances assume extra significance, especially this concert which had no soloist, only three hefty pieces for large (or super-large) orchestra.

As the spotlight has fallen recently on black British composers, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor's *Ballads in A Minor* has become a popular concert opener, thanks to its stirring ideas, even if flitting short on subtlety. By way of contrast, Liza's *Die Ideale* is imaginatively fluid in its layout and style, but lacks a burning sense of where it is going. One of his last tone poems, it was welcome here as the work's a rarity in the concert hall.

Finally, Pappano and the LSO let rip with Strauss's *Ein Heldenleben*. Rich colours, deep textures and generosity of decibels kept the emotional heat at maximum, when a cooler air might have prevailed from time to time, but for a well-played performance with a strong grip on the drama this delivered the goods. The high-class solo virtuosity of Roman Simovic deserves a special mention. ★★★★★

britten-sinfonia.com
lso.co.uk

FT BIG READ. COMMERCIAL PROPERTY

A growing roster of New York's towers are being rendered obsolete by remote working. Developers spot a chance to meet demand for homes and replenish once-bustling business districts.

By Joshua Chaffin

Over the past quarter century, Nathan Berman has mastered a peculiar art in New York City property development: converting out-of-fashion office buildings into residential towers.

Berman, now 63, a child of Holocaust survivors, emigrated with his family from Ukraine when he was 14 and took a meandering path to real estate. He worked as an art dealer for years, before dabbling in property in the 1990s.

What intrigued him about conversions was the realisation that he could give new life to a fading work of art. The 18 projects he has since completed, he says, are a way of "paying homage to the skill, artistry and sheer effort" of previous craftsmen.

These days, conversions are the talk of the city's property developers and Berman has become their unexpected man of the hour. Fellow developers, lenders and urban planners are all seeking his expertise as they grapple with a growing roster of New York City office towers being rendered obsolete by the rise of remote working.

"He sort of wrote the book on this," says Marty Burger, chief executive of Silverstein Properties, which owns the World Trade Center, among other properties. Last year, Silverstein partnered with Berman's company, Metro Loft, to buy and convert 55 Broad Street, a 50-storey office tower in the financial

district. It is now raising a \$1.5bn fund to pursue other conversions.

"Right now, I bet you every major developer has a feasibility study on their desk on residential conversion," says Dan Shannon, managing partner at MdeAS Architects, adding, "I would seriously doubt the Chrysler Building's next life will be as an office building—at least not the top section."

For city officials, conversions are a way to chip away at a chronic shortage of housing on a highly regulated island where new construction is a notoriously slow and expensive undertaking. The shortage has grown so acute that in January the median monthly rent for a Manhattan apartment increased by 15 per cent from the previous year to a record \$4,097. The city's exorbitant cost of housing is widely blamed for its related crisis of homelessness.

A panel appointed last year by Mayor Eric Adams to envision a "new" New York City has identified conversions as a top priority and recommended tax incentives and zoning changes to hasten them. "The need for housing is desperate and the opportunity offered by underused office space is clear," Adams told a gathering of civic leaders in January. The mayor has also announced separate proposals to make it easier and faster to build housing in New York.

Yet even some panel members doubt that conversions will create much, if any, affordable housing without generous government subsidies. In any case, there are myriad reasons—from architecture to economics—why conversions have been such a rarity.

"It's almost like surgery," is how Berman describes his painstaking work. He sounds bemused by the sudden buzz surrounding it. "Five years ago, people looked at me like I had two heads," he says. "Conversions weren't as mainstream. But now fast time has come."

Five years ago, people looked at me like I had two heads. Conversions weren't as mainstream. But its time has come



Nathan Berman, above, whose expertise on how to convert office space into residential use is being sought. Top, the 55 Broad Street building, and below, 180 Water Street: two conversions in Manhattan's financial district

Turning offices into condos

competitive, convert them, or surrender them to lenders.

For investors, residential conversions have a neat logic, according to Max Herzog, senior managing director, at ILLI, the property services company. While office buildings are plummeting in value, so-called multifamily housing—essentially, rental apartments—have become prized by investors as New York City rents have surpassed pre-pandemic levels. "The market is just so ripe for these conversions," Herzog says. "It's very hard to create new supply of residential in this city. Really, one of the only ways to bring new supply to the city is to convert these buildings."

If successful, the initiative could leave a lasting imprint on the city, according to Vishaan Chakrabarti, the renowned architect and a member of Mayor Adams' panel.

The example that Chakrabarti and others point to is Lower Manhattan. As New York rebuilt from the 9/11 terror attacks, authorities prioritised the conversion of office buildings, and—

saying: "I think you need a certain amount of intestinal fortitude because it's a big risk."

"People want windows"

One developer likens the buzz around conversions to the burst of enthusiasm last year for turning office buildings into life sciences laboratories to serve the biotech industry—until developers discovered the complications.

That may again be the case. Many office buildings are simply not fit to be converted. In a residential building, New York City requires operable windows and minimum amounts of natural light and ventilation in each habitable room. A typical residential tower might have a 30ft depth on either side of a core housing an elevator.

By contrast, many modern office buildings lack operable windows and their floor plates tend to be far larger to suit corporate tenants. The depth from the edge to the core might be 45ft or more. A crucial challenge, then, for designers is what to do with all that windowless interior space?

One solution is to carve an interior room and call it a "home office", thus skirting the window requirement. But it is hardly ideal, says Shannon: "People want windows!"

Elevators are also an issue. Office buildings tend to have many of them to accommodate a rush of traffic in the morning and evening. For a residential building, that would be excessive.

The list goes on and becomes ever more technical—from the ratio of treads-to-risers on stairs to the amount of open space that must be left behind a residential building. A vital measure called the floor-area ratio—which limits the size of each floor relative to the size of the lot—also differs and allows for the far greater density of office buildings compared to residential ones.

"It's not simple. And sometimes the buildings are old and they need repair," says Gloria Glas, an Argentine-born architect at SLCE, who has spent a career mastering the Byzantine-building codes of her adopted city.

Developers can petition for waivers but that takes time and often requires them to make other concessions to win approval. In property development, time really is money.

Some buildings are off limits because they have been landmarked or because they are in neighbourhoods where residential buildings are restricted. The latter is a remnant of an earlier era when planners wanted to separate housing from the noise and pollution of manufacturing in areas such as the Garment District. Since then, manufacturing has largely departed and the ideal touted by developers is the blended "live-work-play" neighbourhood.

Then there is the question of vacancy. Some of the bigger conversions of recent years have involved office buildings that were empty or nearly so. But if tenants must first be removed, that can become a costly ordeal.

"There are buildings that are just not well equipped to be converted based on their floor plate size, based on their ceiling height, based on their mechanicals, based on whether you have to move the elevators," says Burger. "Then you have to look at whether you can get it for the right price."

Silverstein used artificial intelligence to rank all the properties below 96th Street on a series of conversion criteria. Of 2,500 or so buildings, it identified 323 that were suitable. If the company could convert a fraction of those over the next seven or eight years, Burger estimates, it might amount to 10,000 to 15,000 new units of housing. That is a sliver of the 500,000 new units Mayor Adams has pledged to build over the next decade.

Downtown offers the best terrain for conversions. Many of its buildings had from the pre-air conditioning era and so tend to have smaller floor plates and operable windows. The underlying real estate is less expensive than it is in Midtown. And, by a quirk of zoning, more buildings are eligible. Those built before 1977 can be converted under the most lenient rules. In Midtown, the cut-off date is 1961. The city's office adaptive reuse task force suggests a new across-the-board 1990 date, estimating it would add 120mm sq ft of office space to the eligibility pool.



180 Water Street: two conversions in Manhattan's financial district

Possibilities at a price

Berman and Downtown go way back. The developer cut his teeth with loft conversions in Tribeca before tackling his first full building conversion at 17 John Street. Once a part of Insurance Row, the 120,000 sq ft building was nearly vacant by the mid-1990s—a time when, Berman says, the neighbourhood "was being given away".

He and his partners paid \$5.2mm for the building, and then spent \$14mm on the conversion. A dozen years later, they sold it for \$85mm. "At the time, it was a huge building for me," Berman recalls.

By 2014, he had graduated to 180 Water Street. It was nearly five-times the size and required extensive surgery. To solve the depth problem, Berman and his architect, Avinash Malhotra, cut a 30ft by 40ft core from the centre of the building. "It was the only way to bring light and air to an impossibly deep space," he explains.

Zoning rules allowed them to then restore the lost space with additional floors. When they were finished, a 25-storey, 1970s office building had morphed into a 29-storey tower with 580 rental apartments.

Metro Loft will soon attempt to top that feat by carving two shafts into 25 Water Street, a squat 1.1mm sq ft building it is now converting with GFP, a family-owned New York developer. "What we have basically learnt along the way... is that every building is convertible in New York City," says Berman. "The difference is how efficient and how expensive it's going to be."

The city's rental properties tend to have firm price points. A downtown studio may rent for \$2,700 per month—whether it is 390 sq ft or 440 sq ft. For Berman, that margin matters. Fifty feet saved can be meaningful for an investor's return—particularly when extrapolated over an entire building.

Berman's talent is solving the "puzzle" of a conversion layout. He fusses over matters such as how to apportion closet space or whether a bathroom should be shared or en suite. "This is where the art comes in," he says. "You're looking for the optimum layout."

While Berman converts offices into rental units, Harry Macklowe is trying a different approach in what may be the city's grandest office conversion. He has spent \$1.5bn to gut One Wall Street, the Art Deco headquarters built for Irving Trust in 1928, and turn it into 566 luxury condominiums. The job has taken five years, a span that would break many other developers.

Macklowe, the visionary behind Apple's "glass cube" Manhattan store, is optimistic about office conversions in a city where, he says, there are no barriers to location in terms of where New Yorkers are willing to live. But he worries about the numbers. Projects only "penetrate" as developers say, if they can buy the underlying asset at a sufficiently low price to justify the investment.

Since the onset of the pandemic, investors have been awaiting a fire sale of distressed office buildings that always seems to be just a quarter away. "Every one always says, 'It's a recession. It's a great buying opportunity.' Then you go to the market and no one wants to sell at a reasonable price," says Burger.

Hence, developers are clamouring for incentives. The 1970s-era 421a tax abatement that has been the city's main inducement to encourage the construction of rental housing expired last year. Opponents complain it enriched already wealthy developers without delivering enough affordable housing. Mayor Adams and New York governor Kathy Hochul are vowing to push for some sort of replacement, although it would need the support of the state legislature.

In the meantime, Berman should have plenty of puzzles to solve. "We are talking to a lot of people," he says. "Trying to figure out what to do with these buildings."



\$1.5bn Cost of gutting One Wall Street (above) to create 566 condos

323 Buildings suitable for conversions in Manhattan below 96th Street

with the help of federal financial incentives—eventually lured tens of thousands of residents to the neighbourhood. An area that once went dark after 5pm is now a swirl of office workers, baby strollers, schools and restaurants.

Chakrabarti is hopeful that conversions could replenish a neighbourhood like Midtown Manhattan, where local businesses have been devastated by the lack of commuters, leading to vacant storefronts and other signs of decay. New residents would help to sustain those businesses, and so enhance the neighbourhood's appeal for corporate and retail tenants. They would eventually justify investments in things like public parks and wider sidewalks.

"9/11 transformed Lower Manhattan in fundamental ways and I do think Covid is going to change Midtown in ways that we still don't fully understand," says Chakrabarti, who directed the Manhattan office of city planning under former mayor Michael Bloomberg. And yet, like Berman, he acknowledges that conversions can be daunting.

'9/11 transformed Lower Manhattan... I think Covid is going to change Midtown in ways we still don't fully understand'

The FT View



FINANCIAL TIMES
Without fear and without favour

The mysterious objects in North America's skies

China's spy balloon and three unidentified craft show warning system gaps

Not since the 1950s and the launch of the Soviet Sputnik has there been so much paranoia about mysterious flying objects over North America.

engaged in surveillance, and not weather research as Beijing asserted. The US military says it has recovered electronic components, including sensors, from the airship.

such overflights are new phenomena, or regular ones that have finally been spotted thanks to increased vigilance.

Russia's war on Ukraine, and unexplained blasts that crippled a Baltic gas pipeline, have already laid bare the vulnerability of critical subsea infrastructure

in over-the-horizon radar would improve readiness, but better use of artificial intelligence was also needed to discern patterns in data.

Opinion Employment

A war for climate talent is hotting up in the City



Pilita Clark

In 2017, Eugénie Mathieu was a senior Greenpeace campaign strategist in New York, trying to stop ancient forests being chopped down to make toilet paper.

says her organisation now has allies spread across the big companies, regulators and government departments it hopes to influence.

As competition for green business experts grows, financial firms are snapping up staff from environmental non-profit groups at a pace – and price – that industry veterans say is striking.

Sustainability manager is the second fastest-growing job title in the UK, according to LinkedIn

energy transition's effect on capital markets. He says at least 10 per cent of his 50-odd staff have gone to banks or fund managers in the past 12 months.

"We've lost people to banks on what are without doubt for us insane salaries," says Mark Campanale, founder of the London-based Carbon Tracker Initiative think-tank that studies the

"It's more of a steady trickle than the flood of leavers I feared it might become," she told me.

"This is not just a European phenomenon. In the US, the BlackRock asset manager giant in 2021 hired a climate science expert from the World Wildlife Fund and the chief strategy officer from the Rocky Mountain Institute clean energy non-profit.

"Plastics" was the one-sonor piece of career advice that the film "The Graduate" made famous in the 1960s. "Climate" is the term today.

What is clear is that, as climate change becomes a more pressing concern, the market for people who know their way around a carbon footprint is hot. Sustainability manager is the second fastest-growing job title in the UK, LinkedIn reported last month, up from seventh fastest this time last year.

"You can get loans now for an organisation that will have cheaper rates if you're hitting certain ESG targets, which will usually be around carbon intensity, so that puts a chunk of work onto the business."

"We've quadrupled in size since Covid," says Helen Pradas-Page of Acre, a recruitment firm that specialises in sustainability.

A hiring spike spurred by ESG rules, plus growing demand for more specialist knowledge in investment teams, means it is sometimes possible to include people from a non-profit background, she adds.

"Business experience also matters. One person who left a non-profit for a City job told me having more than a decade of corporate experience was vital. "It really helped to have that on my CV because it gave people confidence I wasn't a nutter tree-hugger."

"I doubt this trend is temporary. Regulators and investors may be driving demand for green expertise today, but tomorrow's workforce is set to propel it much further.

Letters

No substitute for experience if UK wants tech entrepreneurs

I admire your columnist John Thornhill, in part, because he is a fellow entrepreneur, but a corrective is due (Opinion, February 10).

successful companies started by entrepreneurs. The veterans of Genentech, Chiron and Cetus in the San Francisco Bay Area have started hundreds of companies. Likewise, in Boston with Genzyme, Biogen, etc.

There is a rub unlike 40 years ago, today's venture capitalists are not investing to create big successful independent companies. VCs are now transactional.

managerial talent, under current investment strategies, that fail will be even smaller.

Why a British return to the EU folk looks unlikely

Gideon Rachman asks, "Why not reverse Brexit inside a decade?" (Opinion, February 7). There are plenty of reasons why not.

Public opinion is anti-Brexit rather than pro-EU, and if the economy picks up and people feel better off in 2024 or beyond, Brexit will have a diminishing effect on voting intentions.

Even during the time of Labour prime minister Tony Blair, who was in favour of the euro, opinion polls showed that those joining the single currency outnumbered those in favour by large margins. The UK would not secure another opt-out from joining the euro. No legal steps have been taken against a country for not doing enough to join the euro, but no UK political party could guarantee that no such steps would ever be taken.

What UK political parties could do would be to pledge that in government they would never agree to the UK joining the euro. That might reassure some voters but complicate rejoining the EU.

Then there is the question of the UK becoming liable for the debt of other member states, along the lines of the post-pandemic €850bn recovery fund. President Emmanuel Macron of France has refused to rule out future joint EU debt.

Common debt requires unanimity. Some UK political parties might pledge to block future EU joint debt initiatives if the UK did join the EU. Although it's unclear how this would play out, the joint debt issue has the potential to dissuade some Brits from voting to re-join the EU.

It also has the potential to set alarm bells ringing in Brussels about the prospect of a British return to the fold. Some member states might favour the option of common debt to support their over-stretched finances. But in such circumstances, unanimous support for a UK return to the EU could not be guaranteed.

Yet another sticking point on the EU side would be some member states seeing the return of the UK as an obstacle to the reforms that would make further EU enlargement possible, because the UK would be likely to block the abolition of national vetoes.

For all these reasons, the UK will not be returning to the EU anytime soon. Derrick Wyatt KC Emeritus Professor of Law Greenpeace, London, UK Bertie Harrison-Broninski Assistant Editor, Land and Climate Review, London SE16, UK

Republicans could win in 2024, but not with Trump

Regarding your editorial "Trump and the future of the Republicans" (FT View, February 5), Donald Trump is the key to the future of the party.

Perhaps there are even enough voters who think like this to provide an electoral majority in the presidential election in 2024 if only the divisive Trump would cease his antic behaviour, declare victory on many policy fronts and step away from the fray in favour of a less irritating candidate.

Big Oil should make way for those who can deliver Pilita Clark cites an idea UK academics have been pushing – that fossil fuel companies pay for a packaged form of carbon offsetting. We believe this is an age-old problem in the world of carbon markets is determining whether a project would have happened anyway, without the additional finance.

Groundless assertions about a trusted profession The job of the consultant is to be a trusted adviser. To understand a client's problems and ambitions. To bring to bear expertise and broad experience to give the client a new perspective. To rigorously analyse the best possible evidence. If I were to apply that approach – familiar to every member of the Management Consultancies Association – to Henry Mance's interview with Mariana Mazzucato, I would be faced with an immediate intractable problem: there was no evidence to back up any of the assertions she made (February 15).

How a Lucy chatbot can call out corporate speak Given all the buzz surrounding ChatGPT, I suggest you develop a Lucy Kellaway version of ChatGPT to call out – and root out – corporate speak (Report, February 15). You'd be performing a community service. Jenny Raybonnet Princeton, NJ, US

Correction The Turkish environment minister reported on Sunday that 170,000 earthquake-damaged buildings had been reviewed by the ministry, not 17,000 as wrongly stated in articles on February 15.

Opinion

How the temperature of US politics came down

AMERICA
Janan Ganesch



Is the US learning to live with division? I don't put this thought forward with much confidence. I will regret it when pandemonium flares again. But the midterm elections of last November passed more or less without incident. The end of the federal right to abortion, an affront to liberal America, has not sparked civil strife. The street protests of 2020 haven't spread to become the ambient noise of the times. Small mercies, true, but not ones you would have counted on a while back. Mark them. History consists of what doesn't happen, not just what does.

Even if we confine ourselves to the actual, there are glimmers in the dark. Take the applause that broke out among Republicans in parts of Joe Biden's State of the Union address this month. Or the bipartisan legislation passed in the last Congress. It is hard to flag these things without incurring the charge of complacency. So, to stipulate, no, Red and Blue America aren't saying, "Oh, come here, you" to each other and skipping hand-in-hand around maypoles. Polls continue to reveal a nation that is divided and that thinks of itself as such. It is just that division – even, at times, violent division – is something the US might be coming to manage. A few things are helping to turn an acute condition chronic. One is Biden himself. White, old, non-Ivy League and, with apologies to his hometown of Scranton, non-metropolitan, no Democratic president since Jimmy Carter has been so superficially digestible

for conservatives. He also deals in the big-government populism that Donald Trump invoked in the abstract without enacting in law. The infrastructure spree, the industrial subsidies: this is politically ambiguous stuff, as hard for jingoist Republicans to oppose as for statist Democrats. The right can't "other" Biden as it did balm. A more lasting one is China. The US has the unifying external rival now that it has missed since the fall of the Soviet Union. Yes, Republicans fault Biden for taking his time to down a Chinese balloon over *terra Americana*. But such tactical bickering is pro forma. The point is that both parties face the same way on, bar climate change, the largest question of the century. Kevin McCarthy, the Republican speaker of the House of Representatives, is untrifling when he says that the US had nothing exterior to detain it in the 1990s. So, we have a personal factor (Biden) and a structural one (China). How neat and journalistic. But also how lacking in the element of mystery that tends to govern these things. At the end of the 1960s, the US was bound for total civic

breakdown. There were political assassinations and riots from which some cities have never recovered. Whereas the military stands out today as the one binding institution – the toast of Red and Blue voters alike – soldiers back from Vietnam inspired far from universal goodwill. Imagine a nation so troubled that Lyndon Johnson, as tenacious a seeker and hoarder of power as democratic politics has known, gives up its highest office without a fight. The breakdown never came. And not for any lack of precipitating events: Watergate might have done it, or the Opec oil crisis. Instead, by 1984, 49 states were voting the same way (for Ronald Reagan). The Great Moderation in economics and politics began. The taming of the 1960s chaos is hard to attribute to any policy. It is hard to credit to any act of leadership. Intellectuals remain incurious about what happened. There is lots to read and watch

on the strife – on the fire last time – but not on its petering out. Was it that the baby boomers, a generation vast in number, entered their thirties and settled down? For whatever reason, the crisis burnt out. Or was sublimated into milder forms. The year 1968 was the peak of something, not the start of it. America's challenge is to ensure that the Capitol stage of 2021 comes to be seen in the same way. One test of a civilised country is whether a citizen can go days at a time without thinking about politics. Ask yourself, wherever you live, how often US politics enters your thoughts nowadays. Indifference, more than the bridges and the upgraded power grid, more than Made In America, might turn out to be the central achievement of the Biden years.

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Interventionism could hinder global trade

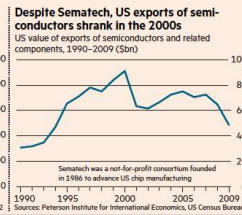
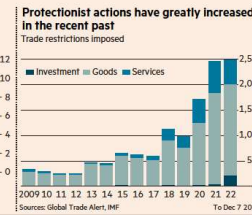
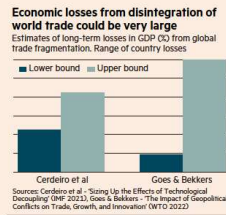
Martin Wolf Economics

Security concerns are driving the fashion for active industrial policy, but there are potential downsides



Where are all interventionists now. In the US, not long ago the bastion of free market thinking, fear of China, worries over the security of supply chains, aspirations for re-industrialisation and hopes of a green transformation are combining to reshape trade and industrial policies. The EU shares US worries over China, mostly in terms of the technological threat. But it is also concerned by the "America First" character of US policymaking, notably the \$569bn Inflation Reduction Act. This growing belief in the ability of governments to reshape their economies for the better may have been inevitable, given economic disappointments and geopolitical tensions. But what does it imply? A big question is what these shifts towards economic nationalism and interventionism will do to the world economy. As things stand today, deep disintegration seems unlikely, though it is, alas, imaginable. It would also be very costly, and geoeconomic fragmentation and the future of multilateralism, a recent discussion note from the IMF, points out. Moreover, the deeper the disintegration the bigger such costs will be. Technological decoupling would be the most costly of all, especially for emerging and low-income countries. Beyond this are the inevitable geopolitical costs. As James Bacchus, former head of the World Trade Organization appellate body, has rightly noted, containing these costs in today's world

poses huge challenges. (See charts.) A narrower question is how well the new interventionism will work in its own terms. Will the US federal government, which is the most active and potent player, obtain the results it wants from the policies it is now committed to employ? There are good reasons for doubt. Successful intervention is hard. It is not that theoretical arguments on intervention are lacking. On the contrary, ever since Alexander Hamilton, arguments for infant industry protection (and other such interventions) have been well known. The core argument is that markets on their own will fail to exploit available opportunities. Harvard's Ricardo Hausman has recently restated these arguments. To such infant industry arguments we can add those for protecting economic, technological or military security. Yet in practice it is quite difficult to make such interventionism work. Too often, for example, it is assumed that the successes of Japan, South Korea and more recently China are due to far-sighted government interventionism. This is exaggerated: the main engine was market competition. Moreover, government intervention becomes more difficult the closer an economy is to the technological frontier: innovation is usually harder than copying. Not least, there is a political economy of intervention, with losers picking governments rather than supporting winners. The more open to lobbying a state is, the greater the chances



of such capture. This is particularly applicable to the US. Helpfully, in 2021, the Peterson Institute for International Economics published a briefing entitled *Scoring 50 Years of US Industrial Policy*. It details some grotesquely expensive policies of industrial protection, noting that "US consumers and taxpayers are currently paying more than \$900,000 a year for every job saved by Trump's steel tariffs, extended by Biden". Sometimes, alas, bipartisanship can be foolish.

What did work? As expected, the star has been Darpa, perhaps the most successful innovation programme in world history. Another success was Operation Warp Speed, the vaccination programme of the Trump administration – a triumph many Republicans have wished to disown. Another was the North Carolina Research Triangle Park. Encouragement of foreign automobile assembly worked quite well, as did tax credits for solar panels. Yet what is striking is how often such programmes failed to make industries competitive, save jobs at reasonable cost or advance the technological frontier. This was notably true for trade measures and firm-specific subsidies. The big successes were in combining public and private outlays on research and development, as one might expect.

Given this, one must wonder whether today's subsidy programmes will work. Against this, there are legitimate security reasons for promoting production of computer chips, whatever the costs. Again, in the absence of better policies, subsidies for the green transition should push the economy in the right direction. Moreover, subsidies have the advantage of being transparent, while protection is a hidden tax on consumers transferred to producers. Tariffs also bias production towards the home market, while subsidies are neutral between domestic and foreign markets. Yet subsidies are not neutral across countries: those with the deepest pockets will win. Moreover, subsidies, especially subsidies limited to domestic producers, will cause friction. The outcome will be a subsidy war. This may lower

Many of these programmes could turn out to be a huge waste of money

Syria's earthquake is not a free pass for Assad

Kim Ghattas

It is a certain kind of dictator who uses a deadly earthquake to rehabilitate himself with the international community while posing for pictures in a disaster zone with his wife. Then again, President Bashar al-Assad also took a victory lap around Aleppo last summer with his family, as though on a cultural day trip, despite his own forces having dropped barrel bombs on the city for years. Assad, a pariah for the past decade, has reason to feel confident again. He's received condolence calls from allies such as Russia's Vladimir Putin but also from those who had shunned him, such as Egypt's president Abdel Fattah el-Sisi.

The UAE's foreign minister Abdullah bin Zayed al-Nahyan has returned for a second visit, after breaking the ice in November 2021. Syrian officials are back on international media, calling for an end to western sanctions and claiming they are hampering relief efforts. In fact these sanctions contain exemptions for humanitarian aid, which have continued to flow to Damascus through the UN in recent years. More than 60 aircraft carrying international aid have now landed in Syrian government-held areas, including Aleppo – mostly from rich countries such as Iraq, Iran and the UAE. But Saudi Arabia, which had been reluctant to rekindle ties with Damascus, has sent a plane carrying 35 tonnes of aid to Aleppo, the first of several. Every effort should be made to help the Syrian people affected by the earthquake, whether in government or opposition-held territories. But this must not lead to Assad

being welcomed back into the international community: rewarding impunity will only breed future instability. Since Barack Obama's infamous 2013 U-turn on his red line over chemical weapons, followed by Russia's full-on military intervention to prop up Assad, the US approach has been to cauterise the Syrian wound. Topping Assad is too costly, but withdrawing American troops from the north-west would hand him a victory. As the influx of refugees into Europe abated and the threat of terrorism was contained, the status quo, though disastrous for Syrian civilians,

was accepted by all. The diplomatic momentum created by the earthquake will make this difficult to maintain. Beyond sending humanitarian aid and tweaking sanctions to allow some financial transactions, the US is unlikely to envisage a wholesale change of policy towards Syria. A state department spokesman told me that "now is not the time for the regime to leverage natural disaster to their benefit". But this is precisely what Damascus is doing – alongside its allies Russia and Iran – and the US should not simply cede the ground. Before the earthquake, Assad's grip over the territory under his control looked untenable, with the economy collapsing, day-long power cuts and Iran doubling the price of its oil supplies to Syria and demanding prior payment. Now, Assad looks set to benefit directly from international aid destined to Syrian areas. Repeated investigations have shown that regime officials, including

some under sanctions, siphon off aid. The government skims funds by manipulating the exchange rate. Assad is also positioning himself as a solution to the wicked problems he has created – by making the minor concession of allowing aid to enter rebel-held north-western Syria through more than one border crossing, for three months, Russia has repeatedly vetoed UN resolutions to expand aid delivery to the north-west. Assad will now expect a reward. In 1990, when George HW Bush built his coalition against Saddam Hussein to liberate Kuwait, he was eager for Arab participation, and Syria got on board. The unspoken, unwritten quid pro quo was that Hafez al-Assad would gain full control of nearby Lebanon, 15 years into a civil war in which Syria was also an actor. After Kuwait was liberated, Bush declared a new world order. The US extracted further concessions from Damascus such as help with the release

of American hostages still held in Lebanon. At the time, it looked like a good deal. But the Lebanese paid the price, living under a 15-year Syrian occupation that entrenched corruption, sectarianism and the stranglehold of Hizbollah. It has now all come crashing down. The UAE and Jordan are among those arguing that ostracising Assad for 12 years has led nowhere. They are not wrong. But with more than a half million dead, millions displaced and fleeing abroad, and thousands still missing in Assad's dungeons, there is no return to the way things were. The price to be exacted from Assad should be high, verifiable, and any concessions to him reversible. Syrians should neither be forgotten nor offered as a sacrifice in hasty compromises because the region and the west have been worn out by his intransigence. The writer is author of 'Black Wave'



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Thyssenkrupp: a test of mettle

The German conglomerate's steel division is expected to be the biggest contributor to operating profits this year, and the most valuable division. Delays to the demerger and listing of the steel and hydrogen units have hurt the stock price, contributing to its long-term underperformance.



Steel makers extract carbon, nitrogen and more from impure pig iron. Thyssenkrupp's corporate transformation will also require some extraction – that of its steel and hydrogen businesses from the rest of its activities. As the group's first-quarter cash burn shows, that will not be an easy task.

Thyssenkrupp has been through a painful restructuring, including the €1.7bn disposal of its elevator unit. But further divestments would be desirable. The group has a market value of €6bn, compared with a sum-of-the-parts valuation nearer €6bn.

But the timing is opportune for buyers. Toshiba received a \$13bn buyout proposal from a consortium led by Japan Industrial Partners last week. That price was then a discount to Toshiba's market value. That has become a premium.

Shares are down a quarter from a June high. Of its six main businesses, its infrastructure systems unit and its energy systems business, with its 40 per cent stake in chipmaker Kioxia, are already worth more than its group market value. Infrastructure and energy systems together account for just a third of group net sales.

Toshiba needs the restructuring its buyers would help it achieve. A persistent conglomerate discount will only worsen. The group has lost more than \$2bn since Bain's buyout plan first surfaced last year.

The struggling conglomerate has received eight buyout offers in recent years. But its eroding earnings, and loss-making units, will eventually deter all buying interest. Toshiba will have to settle for a much lower price if this happens. Missing the market's earning expectations in such dramatic fashion should increase the chances of a deal.

Fintech regulation: about time

Buy now, pay later is about immediacy. That cannot be said of efforts to police this form of short-term credit.

Yesterday, the UK government published draft proposals aimed at improving consumer protection. They arrived more than two years after an official review called for urgent regulation of a practice that carried significant potential harm.

Short-term interest-free loans can be an attractive option for shoppers and

retailers. Merchants will subsidise credit if it leads to more sales. But the expansion of BNPL has encouraged people to amass unaffordable debts. Last year, Fitch reported delinquency rates at some large US BNPL providers had more than doubled, while credit card late payments were relatively flat.

BNPL has tended to escape regulations aimed at interest-bearing loans. In the UK – a market worth £5.7bn in 2021 – the watchdog had to use consumer rights legislation to force providers to redraft their terms last year. But in recent months, regulators in the US, Australia and the EU have announced plans for tougher measures.

Companies have had time to prepare. Sweden's Klarna insists it is ready, and has already stepped up its affordability checks. But BNPL providers have also

been hit by slowing spending, higher funding costs, bigger credit losses and intensifying competition.

Apple announced a plan to enter the market in June, while mainstream lenders have announced BNPL products as a defensive move. Tougher regulation should benefit the latter, as they already scrutinise consumers' financial records relatively carefully.

The strain has shown. Klarna's valuation dropped from \$46bn to \$7bn in July. Shares of US-listed Affirm, which recently announced job cuts and a big quarterly loss, are down 71 per cent over the past year. Earlier this month, Australia's Openpay, which floated in 2019, went into receivership after running up heavy losses.

After several years of rapid growth, some big bills are coming due.

Burger King: tatty patty

In the battle for US fast food supremacy, Burger King's rivals have taken a bite out of its market share. Wendy's has overtaken the former number two burger chain in terms of sales in recent years. Last year, Burger King pulled in \$10.3bn in US system-wide sales, compared with Wendy's \$11.7bn. McDonald's remains the undisputed leader, with \$13.4bn.

For owner Restaurant Brands International, Burger King is the meat of its portfolio. The business accounts for 29 per cent of total group revenues but 42 per cent of its adjusted ebitda. The stock is up just 2.2 per cent over the past five years, trailing far behind the shares of McDonald's and Wendy's. RBI also trades at a discount to its rivals on a price to forward earnings basis.

Pierce price competition and a mature menu may be the issues. Like-for-like sales growth at Burger King in the US grew just 2.2 per cent last year, compared with an average of 3.9 per cent at Wendy's and 5.9 per cent at McDonald's. Profitability has been poor. RBI's 33 per cent ebitda margin is a third less than McDonald's, according to S&P Global Market Intelligence.

Newly appointed chief executive Joshua Kobza needs to follow a recipe for shareholder value at Burger King and the Popeyes chain by boosting margins and paying down borrowings.

There are reasons to give RBI the benefit of the doubt. The company said in September it would spend \$400mm on advertising and store renovations. In November, it brought in Patrick Doyle as executive chair. He made Domino's a digital powerhouse when he ran the pizza chain from 2010 to 2018. Sales at Tim Hortons, RBI's Canadian coffee chain, have rebounded nicely.

RBI's net debt of \$12.2bn, equal to about 5.1 times adjusted ebitda, is very high but manageable. The \$1.4bn of free cash flow RBI generated last year easily covered dividends and buybacks, after interest payments. If Kobza can reduce leverage, profitability should improve. RBI and Burger King may reclaim their crowns yet.

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Flutter/City: falling a Brailford test

The theory of marginal gains popularised by controversial sports coach Dave Brailford is that numerous small improvements bring victory. The City of London seems to be suffering the inverse: numerous marginal losses that diminish competitiveness. A primary US listing for gambling group Flutter would figure as one of those.

The London stock market is suffering a trickle of defections. Last year, for example, Australian miner BHP ditched its dual listing in favour of a main quote back home. Plumbing group Ferguson switched its primary listing to New York.

Each departure marginally reduces the City's status. The stocks disappear from the flagship FTSE 100 index. Incubers of lower value replace them. Liquidity takes a hit. Opportunities for City bankers and advisers diminish.

That is a problem for a financial centre beset by Brexit-related business leakage. But Dublin-based Flutter has no patriotic reason for sticking with London and plenty of financial motives for switching to New York.

Flutter's loss-making US business FanDuel generated just under a quarter of £6.5bn in group revenues last year. But it should become Flutter's main sales engine as sports betting takes off in the US. FanDuel should start producing cash profits this year.

Market liquidity is another issue. Investors trade about 2.8 per cent of the market worth of Nasdaq-listed rival DraftKings daily. The figure for Flutter in London is 0.5 per cent.

Flutter hopes for a valuation uplift in New York. Lex calculates this could be worth some £25m on top of the current enterprise value of £27m. That values FanDuel in line with US peers and the non-US business at a conservative 12 times ebitda multiple.

Flutter bosses are doubtless also aware their pay would rise towards US norms. But they will have to persuade investors on two counts. First, to approve a US additional listing. Second, to make this the primary quote.

US activist Vesta will hardly object. UK long funds will be less of a painover. Meanwhile, Fox might have preferred a separate listing for FanDuel, on which it holds options. Flutter's flight would trigger new

lamentation in the City. The prospect of another marginal loss strengthens the case for multiple, marginal improvements. Despite obstacles for globalisation, the market for capital remains resolutely international.

Toshiba: discounting the worst

There is a lucky number in Japan. Not for Toshiba it seems. In the past week, the electronics conglomerate has received a buyout offer at a discount to market value, suffered the resignation of its chief operating officer over the inappropriate use of entertainment expenses, and reported worse than expected third-quarter results after the market close. Toshiba increasingly faces a buyer's market from acquirers.

It will get worse. Toshiba slashed this year's operating earnings estimate for the second time in a row yesterday. This comes after Toshiba's operating profit fell 88 per cent to ¥5.5bn (\$40.4mm) in the December end period. Hard disc drive sales fell. Also, it booked an impairment for its power and printer businesses. Chief operating officer Goro Yamane's resignation adds corporate governance concerns to an already tainted image.

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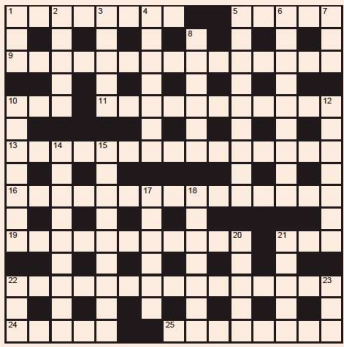
The struggling conglomerate has received eight buyout offers in recent years. But its eroding earnings, and loss-making units, will eventually deter all buying interest. Toshiba will have to settle for a much lower price if this happens. Missing the market's earning expectations in such dramatic fashion should increase the chances of a deal.

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CROSSWORD

No 17,333 Set by IO



ACROSS

- 1 See 13
- 5 Artist's paintbrush not initially fit for purpose (5)
- 12 "That was delivery No.4", wealthy Lord's partner squeals (8ers is 22in 21dn 23) (3,3,4,5,3,3,4,5)
- 10 Mr Harrison is devastating in addition (3)
- 11 As passed by filmsy model on display in airports? (5,5)
- 13/16/19 Excited Kenneth Wolstenholme positively precipitates "hooah!" with it (4,3,3,2,3,5,5,5,3,3,4,2,2,3)
- 21 Be good enough for a spell (3)
- 22 See 9
- 24 Crossword solution: a record number of competitors (5)
- 25 In a bad way: a medical officer wants Nil By Mouth (8)

DOWN

- 1 Fish, a Japanese delicacy – you shouldn't have one (3)
- 2 Translation of 1924: alphabetically the Only Way? (5)
- 3 Feat – or not? Nuts this man's taken out (2,3)
- 4 New boundary of experience's pushed by cold sausage? (7)
- 5 European city government supports not drinking in the House (9)
- 6 In hospital, woman dips into books on a king's wife (9)
- 7 He's evasive, the Bow Street Blackguard (3)
- 8 Vicious Prince Henry given authority to go ahead (6)
- 10 Dish picked up books for teacher (7)
- 12 Undershirt? "A feature of this, not buttoned (7)
- 14 With boosting check most gentle nurses peak (2,7)
- 15 Hole in one nameless gland (9)
- 17 What's seen regularly dropping from birch if colder? (6)
- 18 Afternoon spent just about managing to cycle round Spain? (7)
- 20 Again stitch up European runner (should it be Neckar in this grid)? (5)
- 21 See 22
- 22/21/23 Biggest game of tournament, perhaps? That settles it! (3,5,3)*

JOTTER PAD

Solution 17,332



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