

FINANCIAL TIMES

WEDNESDAY 22 FEBRUARY 2023

INTERNATIONAL NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

ASIA

A chance to make the World Bank greener
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Politicians should resist the urge to be daring
JANAN GANESH, PAGE 17

Putin imperils post-cold war order by freezing nuclear arms treaty with US

● Halt called on New Start pact ● Biden counters with Warsaw speech ● EU warns on heightened risk

MAX SEDDON AND ANASTASIA STOGNEI — RIGA
HENRY FOY — BRUSSELS
FELICIA SCHWARTZ — WARSAW

Vladimir Putin has said Russia will suspend its remaining nuclear weapons treaty with the US, a move western officials said spelt the end of the post-cold war arms control regime.

In a state-of-the-nation address ahead of the anniversary of his invasion of Ukraine, the Russian president said Moscow would freeze its participation in the New Start agreement with Washington that limits the number of the two countries' deployed strategic nuclear weapons.

"Our relations have degraded and that's completely and utterly the US's fault," Putin said in his long-delayed speech to Russia's political elite yesterday, just hours before US president Joe Biden offered a sharply different assessment in his own set speech in neighbouring Poland.

Reacting to the suspension of the arms control deal, US secretary of state Antony Blinken said the Russian leader's decision was "irresponsible", while Josep Borrell, the EU's chief diplomat, said Putin was "demolishing the security system that was built after the end of the cold war". Nato secretary-general Jens Stoltenberg added: "More nuclear weapons and less arms control makes the world more dangerous."

The US warned in January that Russia was failing to comply with the 2010 treaty after a breakdown in talks on resuming nuclear weapons inspections, halted during the peak of the pandemic.

Moscow's suspension of the treaty means it will share less information with the US on its nuclear arsenal, though Russia's foreign ministry later said some notifications would continue.

Russia has said talks on the treaty, which is due to expire in 2026, are unlikely to resume unless the west agrees to hold negotiations on Ukraine without Kyiv's participation, which the US has called unacceptable.

Putin also hinted at resuming nuclear tests, though he claimed Russia would only do so in response to the US. "If the



US conducts tests, then so will we. Nobody should have any illusions that global strategic parity can be destroyed," he said. But he did not repeat veiled threats to use nuclear weapons against the west or Ukraine.

Putin's speech was intended to demonstrate Moscow's resolve, despite the failure of its initial blitzkrieg plan in Ukraine and the devastating losses Russia has suffered. "This is about the very existence of our country," Putin said.

In Biden's own set-piece speech, delivered against the backdrop of Warsaw's Royal Castle a day after he paid a surprise visit to Kyiv, the US president countered Putin's claim that western belligerence caused the war. "The west does not seek to attack Russia, as Putin said today... Every day the war continues is his choice," Biden said.

The timing of the set-piece speeches sharpened the contrast between Putin and Biden, two veteran leaders schooled in the cold war whose legacies might be defined on the battlefields of Ukraine.

The Kremlin had postponed Putin's address, his first in nearly two years, and cancelled his end-of-year press conference after his attempted annexation of four Ukrainian provinces backfired disastrously last year.

In apparent acknowledgment of his country's huge casualties, which the UK said might reach 200,000, Putin said Russia would set up a state foundation to support war veterans and their families. Western estimates show that the Ukrainian side has suffered roughly half the Russian casualties.

News & analysis pages 2 & 3

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Kremlin ally Prigozhin's cash rolls in
An FT investigation has found that sanctions against **Yevgeny Prigozhin**, Wagner mercenary group founder, failed to stop his generating revenues of more than a quarter of a billion dollars from oil, gas, diamond and gold extraction in the years prior to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. **Wagner chief, Page 2**

Briefing

► **HSBC raises dividend in bid to block break-up calls**
The UK-Hong Kong bank has raised its payout to a four-year high as profit almost doubled and as it seeks to fend off split calls from investor Ping An. — PAGE 6

► **Eurozone forges ahead**
Business activity has grown faster than expected, strengthening the rebound from last year's energy crisis and reinforcing calls for rate rises to tackle inflation. — PAGE 4

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The price for allowances traded in the bloc's emissions trading system has climbed above €100 a tonne, a milestone for a main EU climate tool. — PAGE 10; LEX, PAGE 18

► **Israel central bank clash**
Ultraconservative finance minister Bezalel Smotrich has vowed to maintain the independence of the bank after criticism of its rate rises. — PAGE 4; MARTIN WOLF, PAGE 17

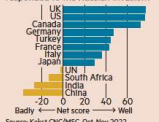
► **Fresh Credit Suisse blow**
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► **Teck sets up coal spin-off**
The Canadian mining group has said it will split off the business to focus on metals that are vital for lower-carbon energy, completing a shift out of fossil fuels. — PAGE 8

Datawatch

View from Ukraine

How well have these countries responded to the Russian invasion?



Source: Baker O'Rourke, Q1-H1 2022. Differing reactions to Russia's invasion are reflected in the views of Ukrainians when asked how individual nations have responded. The UK has the highest net approval, followed by the US, India and China's response is seen as most negative.

Language and chip trouble hurt China's chatbot push
Analysis — PAGE 8

Table with columns for Country and Index Value. Includes Australia (AST500inc GST), China (RM493), Hong Kong (HKS33), India (Rupee200), Indonesia (Rp45,000), Japan (W500inc JCT), Korea (W5,500), Malaysia (RM4150), Pakistan (Rupee350), Philippines (Peso140), Singapore (S\$5,800inc GST), Taiwan (NT\$90), Thailand (Baht40), Vietnam (US\$450).

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SEC fines Mormon church over effort to conceal part of \$100bn investment

ORTENCA ALIAJ — NEW YORK

The Mormon church and a non-profit organisation that manages its \$22bn equity portfolio have been fined by the US Securities and Exchange Commission over attempts to conceal the true value of the investments.

Ensign Peak Advisers, the firm owned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS), set up more than a dozen shell companies to help hide the size of the church's portfolio, according to a statement released by the US regulator yesterday. It also failed to file quarterly disclosures known as 13F forms.

The SEC's order provides rare insight into how Ensign, which is thought to manage more than \$100bn in donations on behalf of the Mormon church, seeks to keep its investments and their value hidden from public view. The Salt Lake

City-based adviser invests in a range of assets, including stocks, bonds and real estate, but little else is known about its operations.

"We allege that the LDS church's investment manager, with the church's knowledge, went to great lengths to avoid disclosing the church's investments, depriving the commission and the investing public of accurate market information," said Gurbir Grewal, director of the SEC's enforcement division.

Ensign has agreed to pay \$4m to settle the charges while the church will pay \$1m. Neither has admitted to any wrongdoing.

Ensign, which was founded by the Mormon church in 1997 and is considered to be among the world's largest investment vehicles, created 13 shell companies with locations across the US.

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STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS			
	Feb 21	Prev	Chg		Feb 21	Prev	Chg		Feb 21	Prev	Chg
S&P 500	4011.78	4079.09	-1.65	EUR	1.068	1.059	0.009	US 2 yr	4.70	4.63	0.08
Nasdaq Composite	11544.99	11787.27	-2.68	GBP	1.214	1.203	0.011	US 10 yr	3.82	3.82	0.10
Dow Jones Ind	33729.01	33626.89	-1.52	CHF	0.880	0.888	-0.008	US 30 yr	2.94	2.97	0.07
FTSE100	1821.43	1825.09	-0.20	HKD	134.715	134.000	0.715	UK 2 yr	3.93	3.79	0.13
Euro Stoxx 50	4248.89	4271.19	-0.52	INR	163.537	161.267	2.270	UK 10 yr	3.61	3.47	0.14
Nikkei 225	2977.75	2951.57	-0.48	JPY	0.989	0.987	0.002	UK 30 yr	4.01	3.99	0.11
Hang Seng	4343.82	4375.01	-0.58	GBP 2 yr	-0.03	-0.05	0.02				
MSCI World	7263.28	7273.99	-1.11	JPY 10 yr	0.50	0.50	0.00				
MSCI EM	1095.21	1099.42	-0.58	JPY 20 yr	1.48	1.48	-0.01				
MSCI ACWI	645.14	645.03	0.17	JPY 30 yr	2.94	2.90	0.05				
FT Wilshire 2000	3203.89	3248.62	-0.21	GER 2 yr	2.53	2.48	0.07				
FT Wilshire 5000	4192.39	4178.73	-0.30	GER 30 yr	2.48	2.41	0.08				

INVASION: FIRST ANNIVERSARY

Warsaw speech

Biden vows Putin will 'never' win in Ukraine

US president warns allies 'bitter' fight lies ahead in defence of democracy

FELICIA SCHWARTZ — WARSAW

Joe Biden attacked Vladimir Putin for starting a war of "choice" in Ukraine that Russia would "never" win, as the US president sought to rally the west for a long and bloody campaign to defend democracy in Kyiv.

Speaking against the backdrop of Warsaw's Royal Castle, Biden challenged head on accusations of US belatedness by Russia's president in his own speech earlier yesterday. "The west

does not seek to attack Russia, as Putin said . . . this war was never a necessity, it's a tragedy. Every day the war continues is his choice."

The addresses, delivered just hours apart, laid out starkly different world views ahead of Friday's anniversary of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, an era-defining war that has reshaped the international order.

Addressing an enthusiastic crowd in the Polish capital, Biden mocked Putin's strategy as misconceived and self-defeating, while calling on the west to act on Kyiv's pleas for weapons to mount a counteroffensive.

"Brutality will never grind down the will of the free and Ukraine will never be

a victory for Russia," Biden said. "Never."

But Ukraine and its allies needed to be "clear eyed" about the "hard and bitter" days of fighting that lie ahead.

"The defence of freedom is not the work of a day or a year."

While Russia's sputtering military campaign has failed to meet its goals and Moscow has suffered heavy losses, Putin's forces remain in control of some 20 per cent of Ukraine's territory.

Since Russia invaded Ukraine last year the US has given nearly \$30bn in military aid to Kyiv, as well as \$15bn in direct budget support and \$2bn in humanitarian aid.

Biden yesterday celebrated his visit to Kyiv on Monday, saying: "I can report that Kyiv stands strong, it stands proud, it stands tall and most importantly it stands free."

He vowed to support Ukraine as long as it took, defying those who question whether he would be able to maintain public support for a long war.

In comments before Biden made his speech, but after Putin's address, Jake Sullivan, US national security adviser, played down the choreography of the clash between the leaders.

"We did not set the speech up as some kind of head-to-head," Sullivan said. "This is not a rhetorical contest with anyone else. This is an affirmative statement of values, a vision for what the

world we're trying to build and defend should look like."

The event had the feel of a campaign rally, with US, Polish and Ukrainian flags on display and songs by Bruce Springsteen and Beyoncé blaring as the crowd assembled for a speech translated, simultaneously, into Ukrainian, Russian and Polish.

"President Biden needs to push back against the . . . notion that Ukraine's cause is lost," said Daniel Fried, a former US ambassador to Poland and a distinguished fellow at the Atlantic Council think-tank. "That their resistance is noble but in the end futile, that Putin will simply grind them into dust. That view is widely held and persistent."

International support

Kyiv yet to receive more than half of west's €64bn pledged aid

DARIA MOSOLOVA — LONDON
ROMAN OLEARCHYK — KYIV

Less than half of the financial aid pledged to Ukraine by the west has actually reached Kyiv since Russia's invasion last year, according to analysis of international support.

Ukraine's finance ministry received €31bn by December 2022 of the €64bn promised by western countries after Russia launched its full-scale attack last February, research by the Kiel Institute for the World Economy has found.

"There is a problem with disbursements in that they are volatile, delayed and not stable," said Tymofiy Mylovanov, founder of the Kyiv School of Economics and an adviser in Ukrainian president Volodymyr Zelenskyy's administration.

The EU and the European Investment Bank have together pledged about €30bn in total since the invasion began, the biggest share of the west's budgetary support to Ukraine. However, €17.5bn of this sum has yet to reach Kyiv.

"The situation was worst last summer when a lot was promised but not much delivered," said Mylovanov, adding that the trend was set to improve this year.

The EU overhauled the payout structure for its package last November, promising "regular and predictable financial assistance" of up to €18bn for 2023, at a rate of about €1.5bn each month.

The Ukrainian finance ministry said its budget deficit last year amounted to \$5bn a month. "Even with the help of international partners, it was not possible to fully finance this gap," the ministry said. "There were" delays in providing Ukraine with the already announced financing" in 2022, the ministry said, a gap that Kyiv sought to fill by printing more money, "which in turn had a negative consequence".

The ministry said it projected a deficit of \$38bn for this year, lower than in 2022, and that its priority was to attract funds from donor countries and international financial institutions. "We expect to receive timely, rhythmic and predictable funding from international partners," the ministry said, adding that it had reached a preliminary agreement with the IMF last week that could pave the way for a fully fledged financial assistance programme.

Christian Trebesch, an academic at the Kiel Institute, noted that it took the EU up to six months to secure legal and political sign-off for some of its financial support in the wake of the invasion.

Such time lags are "certainly a problem when you are in the midst of a war, and need to finance large infrastructure expenses [and] an army, while your revenue has collapsed," he said.

When accounting for military and humanitarian aid, EU member states and institutions have together committed €55bn, lagging behind the US.

EU aid transfers were also dwarfed by the public funds that member states released to deal with internal economic problems caused by the invasion.

According to the Bruegel think-tank, Germany, the bloc's largest bilateral donor to Kyiv, committed 721 per cent of its gross domestic product to fund energy subsidies last year, 20 times the sum it has pledged to Ukraine.

Russia. Mercenary group

Wagner chief's cash rolls in despite sanctions

Revenues from Prigozhin's businesses help Putin ally become powerful warlord

MILES JOHNSON — LONDON

Russian mercenary leader Yevgeny Prigozhin generated revenues of more than a quarter of a billion dollars from his global natural resources empire in the four years before Moscow's invasion of Ukraine, according to corporate records.

A Financial Times investigation has found that years of western sanctions against the Wagner mercenary group's founder failed to stop hundreds of millions flowing to Prigozhin from oil, gas, diamond and gold extraction.

Wagner has been accused of human rights abuses including murder, torture and rape in almost every country in which it has operated.

Revenues from Prigozhin's businesses in countries such as Sudan and Syria since 2018 have helped the Kremlin-backed catering magnate emerge as a powerful warlord in President Vladimir Putin's invasion of Ukraine.

The FT analysed the accounts of Wagner-backed companies already under sanction by the US, EU and UK for being controlled by Prigozhin, as well as companies not under sanction revealed in leaked legal documents.

The results for the first time show the financial scale of what has been described by Washington as a "transnational criminal organisation".

The analysis excludes Prigozhin's domestic Russian catering and property businesses, which have received large state contracts and account for a significant part of his fortune. The US Treasury last month said that Wagner, which has recruited tens of thousands of Russian conscripts to fight in Ukraine, had engaged in "serious criminal activity, including mass executions, rape, child abductions and physical abuse in the Central African Republic and Mali".

The overseas mercenary and propaganda operations of the Wagner Group in support of dictators and military strongmen have provided the Kremlin with a dependable foreign policy tool while at the same time helping enrich its founder.

Prigozhin for years denied any connection to the Wagner Group and its international mercenary operations



Yevgeny Prigozhin: analysis excludes his domestic Russian catering and property businesses, which have received large state contracts and account for a big part of his fortune. FT analysis. FT.com/Prigozhin

until last year, when he admitted founding it in 2014 and appeared in a video recruiting fighters in a Russian penal colony.

Yet while Prigozhin, who was first placed under sanction by the US in December 2016 and put on the FBI's most wanted list in 2021, came under growing scrutiny from western governments, a barrage of sanctions did little to halt Wagner's natural resources businesses in Africa and the Middle East.

In 2018 the US government placed under sanction Evro Polis, a Prigozhin-controlled company that was awarded energy concessions by Syrian president Bashar al-Assad in return for Wagner mercenaries liberating oilfields from Isis during the country's civil war.

Evro Polis's accounts show that the sanctions had limited effect on its operations, with the company going on in 2020 to generate sales of \$134m, and net profits of \$90m.

That represented a return on equity of 180 per cent, which was repatriated to Russia. In December 2021, two months before the invasion, the company

reported a contract-related collapse in revenues to just over \$400,000 but still boasted \$92m of cash on its balance sheet.

Other Prigozhin mercenary operations are far smaller but have continued to trade in spite of being under sanction. M Invest, a company operating in gold mining in Sudan, which was placed under sanctions by the US in July 2020, still generated sales of \$2.6m the following year.

Two companies that export records show have shipped large quantities of industrial equipment to Wagner-backed companies in Sudan and Central African Republic generated more than \$6m in revenues up to the end of 2021.

The accounts also show how some Prigozhin-controlled companies appeared to switch their operations into other entities before western moves to shut them down. Mercury LLC, a company operating in the Syrian oil sector and placed under EU sanctions in 2021, generated sales of \$67m in the three years before the designation but declared zero revenues afterwards.

'I consider any sanctions against me to be absolutely illegal. I spit and I will spit on any sanctions'

The analysis of Wagner-backed natural resources companies is based on their most recently available accounts up to December 2021. The revenues and profits delivered by these companies in Russia have been converted back to dollar rates from the rouble at current exchange rates.

Prigozhin, in response to a recent FT article about his business activities and sanctions evasion, wrote on his Concord catering group's Telegram channel: "I consider any sanctions against me, PMC Wagner, as well as any legal entities and individuals of the Russian Federation, to be absolutely illegal. . . I spit and I will spit on any sanctions."

In response to another FT article about Wagner activities in Africa, including killings and propaganda, he said the article was correct but claimed he was not making large profits. "The Financial Times, if you don't know this is a British publication, published an article about the Wagner PMC, where much seems to be true," he wrote. "Except for the last part, where they talk about my financial enrichment."

Defence contracts

EU weighs using budget to speed up arms supplies for ally

HENRY FOY — BRUSSELS

Brussels is drawing up a proposal to use the EU budget to pre-finance purchases of weapons and ammunition, in what would be an unprecedented foray into the defence industry designed to speed up arms supplies to Ukraine.

The European Commission is exploring how it could leverage the bloc's budget to provide downpayments to arms manufacturers in order to spur increased production, people briefed on the plans told the Financial Times.

The plans come in response to concerns over whether Europe can produce armaments as fast as Kyiv is consuming them in its defence against Russian aggression. A final commission proposal is set to be circulated among the EU's 27 members before a meeting of defence ministers on March 7.

"We need a new injection to get the defence industry moving," said one of the officials, all of whom declined to be identified, as the plans are not public. "The reality has moved beyond the current systems."

The plans are being drawn up with the assistance of commission lawyers given

that the EU's governing treaties forbid the use of bloc funds for military purposes. They could be adjusted before they are made public given the legal complexities, the people said.

The proposal would echo the commission's initiative to secure Covid-19 vaccines during the pandemic. Then, Brussels provided advance payments to pharmaceutical companies to ensure that member states — which covered the final cost of the jobs — would have sufficient supplies.

Ursula von der Leyen, commission president, said last weekend that advance purchase agreements would "give the defence industry the possibility to invest in production lines now to be faster and to increase the amount they can deliver".

When asked about the draft proposal, the commission said the bloc was "considering options to jointly procure standardised defence products, such as ammunition".

Securing sufficient supplies of ammunition for Ukraine has become an acute issue in recent weeks, as senior officials, including NATO secretary-general Jens Stoltenberg, have warned that Europe's

defence industry is "under strain" trying to keep up with demand.

Russia is firing more than 20,000 artillery shells in Ukraine each day — as many as European factories manufacture in a month. Ukraine is firing about a quarter of that.

In response, EU capitals have backed plans for joint procurement contracts to streamline defence orders and encourage manufacturers to expand production, such as an Estonian proposal for countries to combine on a \$4bn contract to buy 1mm artillery shells.

The commission's proposal, which was sketched out to EU foreign ministers on Monday, would significantly advance that effort by using the bloc's €1tn seven-year budget to guarantee those orders.

"The EU has multiple ways to proceed with such a project," said a second official. "Some kind of long-term compensation mechanism will need to be found out. . . and the [EU] budget is the big game. It's the biggest game."

Work on the commission's prepayment proposal comes after almost a year of the EU's so-called European Peace Facility fund, of €5.5bn, which has been used to reimburse member states for weapons they supplied to Kyiv.

But officials say that the urgent need to encourage the defence industry to expand its production means money is required up front, rather than retrospectively.

"[Ukraine] has cannons but they lack ammunition," Josep Borrell, the EU's foreign policy chief, said on Monday. "So, we do everything we can," he added, in reference to the existing reimbursement scheme and new ways involving the commission to "do common purchase".

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INVASION: FIRST ANNIVERSARY

Russian war machine bogged down one year after Putin expected victory within days

Kremlin grapples with military setbacks, financial woes and wavering public support in conflict against Kyiv's forces

FT REPORTERS

When he ordered the invasion of Ukraine, Vladimir Putin envisioned Russian forces capturing Kyiv in little more than three days. A year on, Russia's army is no closer to winning the war – and has even lost part of the territory that Putin attempted to annex last September. Russia's battlefield losses are so huge that western officials doubt it has the capacity to mount an offensive on the same scale again. Sanctions, meanwhile, have hurt the economy and cut Russia off from supply chains crucial to sustaining Putin's war machine.

Despite the dire state of his forces and the years-long gauntlet the economy faces, Putin has shown no indication that he intends to seek a way out of the war, insisting Russia's victory is "inevitable" and its "goals will be met full". The FT has examined four key areas Putin must draw on: Russia's stock of munitions; the Kremlin's economic war chest; the forces on the battlefield; and ordinary Russians' feelings about the war. The bottom line is that his war machine is under enormous pressure and could struggle to mount the decisive offensives he has promised. But Russia will have the resources to keep fighting in Ukraine for some time to come.

Munitions
On a visit to an arms factory in Siberia in February, Dmitry Medvedev, Putin's former stand-in president, said Russia needed to build and modernise "thousands of tanks" to defeat Ukraine. "Our enemy was begging for planes, missiles and tanks when he was out of the country," Medvedev said, referring to Ukrainian president Volodymyr Zelenskyy's visits to the US and Europe. "What must we do in response? Increase production of all kinds of arms and military equipment."

But even as factories work around the clock in three shifts, the defence industry faces an uphill battle to make up for Russia's astonishing losses. UK defence secretary Ben Wallace said in December that since the invasion began, Russia had lost at least 4,500 armoured vehicles, 150 unmanned aerial vehicles, 12 naval vessels and more than 600 artillery systems. Of the 2,300 tanks lost in Ukraine, about half were its most modern battle tanks, according to a report last week by the International Institute for Strategic Studies. Although Russia is deploying about 1,800 tanks and has a further 5,000 in reserve, many are Soviet-era vehicles in poor condition.

Russia has also used most of its pre-war stock of 3,000-3,500 missiles with a range greater than 300km, according to Pavel Luzin, a visiting scholar at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. On the front lines, the situation is equally difficult. The US said in December that Russia could sustain its current rate of artillery and rocket fire only until early 2023 as stocks of fully serviceable ammunition dwindle, leaving Moscow's forces to switch to degraded arms. Defence spending will soar this year but the increased funding is unlikely to compensate for deeper problems in Russia's production cycle, according to Luzin. Like many industries, Russia's defence factories rely on advanced foreign-manufactured semiconductors, which the country is now barred from importing under western sanctions.

Inspecting downed Russian weapons and equipment, Ukraine's armed forces have found components from household appliances such as washing machines, an indication that Moscow is scouring consumer items to compensate for the shortfall. "Russia's defence industry won't survive in its current state," Luzin said. "They have reserves of components up to 2025 but not for everything. Production overhead has gone up significantly already. It's not clear how long the foreign equipment will keep working. It's a zombie industry."

Finances
Last month, Putin proudly told his cabinet that predictions of economic collapse had proved unfounded. "The real dynamics turned out to be better than many expert forecasts," he said. "Remember, some of our experts here in the country – I'm not even talking about western experts – thought [gross domestic product] would fall by 10, 15, even 20 per cent."

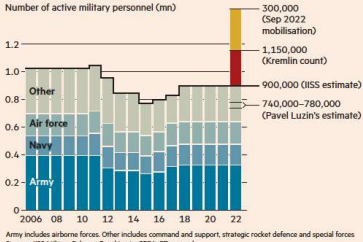
GDP has fallen just 2.1 per cent as record oil and gas profits of Rb11.6tn (\$165bn) helped the Kremlin compensate for efforts to shut Russia out of global markets and supply chains. But recent figures indicate that this feat may be one-off in January, energy revenues fell 46 per cent year on year



Russia to spend a third of its budget on defence and security



Russia's armed forces



while military spending ballooned, sending the deficit soaring. Russia exports income from energy, which accounts for about 40 per cent of revenue, to drop 25 per cent this year as the west attempts to place an embargo and price cap on its oil exports. It has lost more than half its gas exports after Europe moved to lessen its dependence on Russian energy and lacks the infrastructure to reroute supplies to Asia. To compensate for the increase in defence spending, the Kremlin has been preparing to plug the holes by dramatically cutting its expenditure and reliance on international capital markets. The assets controlled by Russia's National Wealth Fund grew from 1.9 per cent of GDP in 2008 to 10.2 per cent by the beginning of the invasion. A year later, it is down to 7.2 per cent – owing to currency revaluation and the state using its assets to cover the deficit. In 2023, the budget law projects a deficit of Rb2.9tn, equivalent to 1.9 per cent of GDP, much of which the state plans to cover with NWF money.

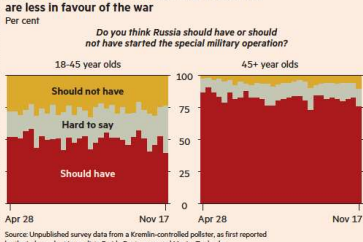
Russia is also likely to turn to debt markets rather than spend the fund completely. The war has forced Russian policymakers, previously obsessed with keeping state debt low, to increase borrowing, mainly from state-owned banks. But the country's debt still accounts for only 16 per cent of GDP and may at worst grow to 18 per cent by the end of the year, a far from critical level, estimates Natalia Lavrova, chief economist at BCS Global Markets. In addition to the NWF and borrowing, Russia can pinch a share of companies' profits as it did through a \$20bn windfall tax on Gasparum in 2022. The cabinet was discussing a "voluntary contribution" from big Russian companies, the first deputy prime minister, Andrei Belousov, said this month.

Another option is to cut non-military spending. Maxim Mironov, a professor at IE Business School, said Moscow could decide to "not invest in infrastructure, not repair roads, like in the '90s, given that Russians are very tolerant to changes in their quality of life". **Mobilisation**
In September last year, as he was announcing the start of a draft for the armed forces, defence minister Sergei Shoigu said Russia had a "mobilisation resource" of almost 25m men with military experience that it could deploy. This number, according to analysts, is misleading. But working out what the real figure might be – the manpower Moscow could mobilise and what constraints are in play – can give some insight into how long it is able to maintain its assault on Ukraine. Before the start of the war, Russia's army totalled between 740,000 and 780,000 personnel, according to Luzin, far fewer than the official figure of 1.15m. Moreover, only up to 168,000 troops were combat ready, while 100,000 or so were in units that served as their reserves, according to Luzin. The rest were support personnel. The Russian forces deployed in Ukraine suf-

Russia's trade with China, India and Turkey has grown since the war in Ukraine



According to Kremlin polling, younger Russians are less in favour of the war



fered heavy losses in the first weeks of the invasion and by July, US officials were estimating that up to half – more than 50,000 troops – had been either killed or injured. The effect was stark in elite units. By late summer, up to 50 per cent of Russia's airborne force had been taken out of combat, according to a pro-war Russian military commentator, former defence ministry press officer Mikhail Zvinchuk, speaking on state television. On September 21, Putin announced a draft to call up 300,000 men for the front line. Since the start of the year, rumours of a second mobilisation have been rife, but analysts say a draft of the same scale is not likely yet.

Half of all recently mobilised men are likely to still be in training, according to Michael Kolman, director in the Russian studies programme at CNA, a think-tank. "Russia may not need another large mobilisation wave," he said. Instead, it "could keep mobilisation quietly rolling at a sustainable rate". The question of how many more could be called up is not straightforward. There are indeed about 30m men of fighting age, 18-50, in Russia, but in that group only 9m-10m have military experience, primarily because of conscription, according to researcher and demographics specialist Igor Eremov.

But that figure includes those who might be sick or disabled, or who have exemptions, for example because of their profession. Russian demographers agree that about 500,000 Russians, mostly men of fighting age, have fled the country since the start of the invasion. Nevertheless, "there is still a pool of several million people from among whom Russia can continue to recruit participants", Eremov said. "From a demographic point of view, Russia can continue to rake in people for the fighting quite a long time." But there are other substantial con-

straints, from the capacity of the army to house, equip, train and pay new troops, to the Kremlin's willingness to take men out of economic life and trigger new waves of panic and mass migration.

"Who will command all these mobilised men, in the context of a deficit of lower-level commanders, lieutenants and sergeants?" Luzin, said. "Who will feed and clothe them? What will they be armed with? Who will do their civilian jobs in their place?"

Demographer Dmitry Zakotvansky estimates that the army could theoretically recruit up to 1m more men, although that "would require a lot of financial and also political strain, and would come at the cost of another shift in public opinion".

Russia's defence ministry announced plans at the end of last year to increase the size of the army to 1.5m, of whom 695,000 would be contract soldiers who volunteered rather than conscripts. Luzin said these plans were unrealistic, adding: "The real aim is to secure a huge military budget."

Public support

After annexing parts of four Ukrainian provinces under Russia's control last September, a crowd of 180,000 people gathered in Red Square for a rally led by Putin and an array of pop stars.

But when the music stopped, the crowd meekly lined up to board dozens of buses waiting to take them home, a sign that the rally had been a *massovka*, a stage-managed event in which the Kremlin pays ordinary people to stimulate spontaneous enthusiasm.

The lack of euphoria over one of the most significant developments in the war suggests that Russian society is on edge. Although any domestic challenge to Putin and the war has been crushed, the difficulty of manufacturing displays of support is taxing for the Kremlin.

Putin has claimed the invasion enjoys overwhelming support. In polls taken in September, the state-run Vtsiom claimed up to 75 per cent of Russians backed the war, while the Levada Center, Russia's only independent pollster, found a similar result – 72 per cent.

But analysts say Russia's crackdown on dissent – in which Putin signed a new law introducing prison sentences of up to 15 years for "discrediting the armed forces" by so much as calling the conflict a "war" – has made judging the true extent of public support difficult.

The censorship has destroyed Russia's independent media and all but wiped out antiwar activism, but police have used it equally against ordinary Russians for making antiwar comments at a bus stop, in a restaurant, or online.

That means the support for the war shown in the polls does not tell the full story. In a study that sociologist Philipp Chapkovsky and political scientist Max Schaub conducted in the war's early weeks, when Levada found 81 per cent of Russians supported the war, about 15 per cent of respondents changed their answers depending on how the question was presented.

Asked if they supported "the actions of the Russian armed forces in Ukraine", the same wording used by Levada, 68 per cent replied in the affirmative. But when presented with a list of questions on varying topics and told only to name the number of statements they agreed with, only 53 per cent backed the war.

Some scholars have begun to look for broader trends indicated in responses. Fewer than half the Levada Center's respondents said they "definitely support" the invasion, with almost as many expressing tepid support and opposition slowly increasing.

Those trends increased after Putin's decision to mobilise 300,000 people in September. Levada found that 47 per cent of respondents felt anxiety, fear or dread, while 15 per cent felt anger – against 23 per cent who felt pride.

Moscow is also tracking those trends. In a secret poll conducted by a Kremlin-controlled polling agency in November, 60 per cent of Russians said Putin had done the right thing by starting the war – a 10 per cent drop since the spring.

The poll, reported by independent journalists Farida Rustamova and Maxim Tokvaylo, also pointed to a growing generation gap: only 40 per cent of Russians aged 18 to 45 thought Russia was right to start the war against 76 per cent over 45.

These trends appear to capture big changes in public behaviour. "The main goal of pressure [to support the war] is to change people's behaviour so they don't want to criticise the government or protest," said Levada director Denis Volkov. "You can hardly argue that's been successful."

Reporting by Max Seldan and Anastasia Stogin in Riga, Polina Ivanova in Berlin, and Chris Campbell, Dan Clark, Sam Joiner and Caroline Novati in London



INTERNATIONAL

Single currency area

Eurozone business activity bounces back

Data expected to keep pressure on ECB to maintain tightening cycle

MARTIN ARNOLD — FRANKFURT

Business activity in the eurozone grew faster than expected this month, strengthening the rebound from last year's energy crisis and reinforcing calls for the European Central Bank to keep raising interest rates to tackle high inflation.

S&P Global's flash eurozone composite purchasing managers' index, a measure of activity in manufacturing and services, rose to 52.5 from 50.3 in Janu-

ary, according to figures released yesterday. The result was significantly higher than the 50.6 expected by economists polled by Reuters. It was also above the 50 mark for the second consecutive month, meaning a majority of businesses in the 20-country bloc reported increased activity.

"Business activity across the eurozone grew much faster than expected in February, with growth hitting a nine-month high thanks to resurgent service sector activity and a recovering manufacturing economy," said Chris Williamson, chief business economist at S&P Global Market Intelligence.

The eurozone economy has proved more resilient than initially feared to

the fallout from Russia's invasion of Ukraine, with a mild winter helping to reduce natural gas consumption, lower fuel prices and allay fears of European shortages. The improving European outlook was mirrored in the monthly survey of investors by the ZEW Institute, which said its economic sentiment indicator for Germany outstripped expectations by rising 11.2 points to a 12-month high of 28.1 in February.

Signs that the region's economy has weathered the worst of last year's energy crisis without suffering a deep recession are likely to bolster expectations that price pressures will remain high for longer.

"With the labour market still very

tight and price pressures strong, the surveys will reinforce ECB policymakers' conviction that their tightening cycle still has some way to go," said Jack Allen-Reynolds, economist at research group Capital Economics.

Since inflation soared last year, the central bank has raised rates by an unprecedented 5 percentage points and committed itself to a further half percentage point rise next month.

Several policymakers have said recently that further monetary tightening is likely beyond that.

"With inflation so high, further rate hikes beyond March seem likely, logical and appropriate," Olli Rehn, head of Finland's central bank and a member of

the ECB rate-setting governing council, told *Börsen-Zeitung*. "I assume that we will reach the terminal rate in the course of the summer."

The PMI survey, based on responses collected between February 10 and 17, showed an increase in average selling prices, as companies passed on more of their higher costs to customers. S&P Global said this was "in part linked to the impact of higher wage costs", although the rate slowed slightly from January. International energy growth slowed even as businesses grew more confident about their prospects and supply bottlenecks eased further to reduce delivery times from suppliers.

See Markets Insight and Opinion

Rate increase

Israel finance minister fends off criticism of central bank

JAMES SHOTTER — JERUSALEM

Israel's finance minister has vowed to maintain the independence of the central bank after a cabinet colleague criticised his raising interest rates.

Bezalel Smotrich, an ultranationalist who called himself a "proud homophobe" and heads the Religious Zionist party, said the independence of the Bank of Israel was "fundamental" for the development of the economy and warned against "populist statements" that threatened it.

The shekel was down 1.7 per cent against the dollar yesterday in the wake of the spat, which ended with a bitter clash over a judicial overhaul being advanced by Benjamin Netanyahu's hardline government that has sparked weeks of mass protests and concern from Israel's allies.

Cohen's comments came after Eli Cohen, foreign minister, said there was "no justification" for the bank's decision to raise its benchmark rate to 4.25 per cent on Monday, the eighth time it has increased rates since April. Israeli inflation hit a 15-year-high of 5.4 per cent last month, above the central bank's target of between 1 per cent and 3 per cent.

However, Cohen said inflation was moderating and that the bank's latest rate rise "continues the mistreatment of mortgage holders". He also called on the finance minister to "formulate a framework with the Bank of Israel government to end the interest rate hikes".

Smotrich acknowledged that rate rises were making life difficult for many households. But he said the government would fight the rising cost of living through fiscal policy and, "with God's help", the coalition would draw up a budget that would combine infrastructure investment with a relief package.

Cohen's intervention was also criticised by Amir Yaron, the head of Israel's central bank. "It is desirable of course, certainly as foreign minister, that he understands the importance of an independent central bank," said Yaron. "In every country in which there was damage to the central bank, we know what the end result was."

The squabble over the bank came as Israel's parliament voted on the first batch of judicial changes being pushed by Netanyahu's coalition. Critics have warned that the plan to curb the judiciary would undermine democracy, damage minority protections, foster corruption and weaken the economy.

But Moshe Gafni, head of the ultra-Orthodox United Torah Judaism party, said on Monday that "any attempt" to link the dispute over the judicial overhaul to an economic hit was "politicised".

Martin Wolf sees Opinion

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Legal Notices

Notice of Appointment of Receiver and Liquidator
of
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The Court has appointed the undersigned as Receiver and Liquidator of the Company. The Court has also appointed the undersigned as Receiver and Liquidator of the assets of the Company. The undersigned is authorised to do all such things as may be necessary to carry out his duties as Receiver and Liquidator. The undersigned is authorised to sign all such documents as may be necessary to carry out his duties as Receiver and Liquidator. The undersigned is authorised to take all such steps as may be necessary to carry out his duties as Receiver and Liquidator. The undersigned is authorised to do all such things as may be necessary to carry out his duties as Receiver and Liquidator. The undersigned is authorised to sign all such documents as may be necessary to carry out his duties as Receiver and Liquidator. The undersigned is authorised to take all such steps as may be necessary to carry out his duties as Receiver and Liquidator.

South-east Asia. Attracting talent



Leaps: the Tanglin area of Singapore. The government has been reluctant to help a mostly affluent minority

Singapore's soaring rents undermine bid to oust Hong Kong as finance hub

Overseas professionals look to relocate because of rising housing costs for non-locals

MERCEDES RUEHL — SINGAPORE

Two years ago, Lauren arrived in Singapore from Hong Kong wanting more living space for her growing family.

Now, they intend to move back. The reason: a 6 per cent increase in the rent on their four-bedroom flat and the high and rising cost of living.

A British mother of three whose husband works in finance, Lauren, who did not want to use her full name, said her experience of Asia's two rival financial centres had been an eye opener. "Everyone thinks Hong Kong is the most expensive city," she said.

Her situation is not unusual in the cosmopolitan city state of 5.6m people in which a quarter of the workforce is foreign. A lack of housing supply due to construction delays during the pandemic, and a wave of new arrivals from places including Hong Kong, China, Europe and Japan last year, pushed residential rents to the highest on record, according to the government's private residential property rental index.

Rent per square foot in some central areas has overtaken Hong Kong for the first time, data shows. Analysts warn prices could rise up to 20 per cent again this year as real estate agents report bidding frenzies for desirable properties. The situation underscores the cost of

of it (business) will inevitably flow back into other markets, especially smaller players".

Nicholas Mak, head of research and consultancy at the ERA Realty Network, said rents could grow another 10 to 20 per cent this year. "Singapore's small size means when you apply temperature, things boil fast. There is not a lot of spare capacity," he said.

Emma, a marketing professional, moved with her family to Singapore from Hong Kong five years ago and was living in a three-bedroom flat in the island resort of Sentosa. The landlord told her in November the rent would rise from S\$7,000 (S\$2,250) a month to S\$14,000. When they tried to negotiate, they were told to look in other suburbs.

"Our salaries have not gone up by 100 per cent or even 50 per cent — that is all

return to Australia. Shantanu Upadhuay from India works at a popular restaurant as front-of-house staff in the city's Chinatown district. The 29-year-old is also moving to Australia with his fiancée after his S\$500 rent more than doubled. "I can't see myself getting ahead here, I have no savings now. In Australia, you can afford a car and have a life," he said.

Real estate agents agree there is a problem. "I witnessed a crazy incident last year with tenants outbidding each other. It lost control. People are very upset," said Edna Liong, who liaises with tenants for Huttons Asia. "What some landlords ask for is not reasonable."

Another agent, Iva Sultan of ERA, this month made headlines for asking 11 Chinese tenants to vacate their overcrowded flat in a public housing unit.

"The bigger picture, say agents, is that rents are still catching up after years of decline. "Landlords suffered with low rents for many years and nobody brought this issue up," Sultan added.

For all its attractions, high costs in Singapore were becoming a deterrent, said Jon Goldstein, managing partner of Page Executive Singapore, an executive recruiter. "The question at the mid-level of 'should we stay or should we go' — you are hearing that discussion a bit more."

Source: Urban Redevelopment Authority

US Supreme Court hesitant on reforming legal protections for online content

Tech platforms

STEFANIA PALMA — WASHINGTON

The Supreme Court appeared reluctant yesterday to make sweeping changes to legal protections for internet publishers as it began considering the first of a pair of cases that could fundamentally alter laws governing online platforms such as Google and Twitter.

The cases mark the first time the court has weighed in on Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act, which protects online platforms from legal liability over content posted by users, and is widely seen as central to the development of online communications. Both cases stem from fatal terrorist

attacks. In the case before the court yesterday, Gonzalez vs Google, the relatives of a US student killed in a 2015 Isis attack in Paris accuse Google of breaking US anti-terror laws and helping the group spread its message by hosting his videos and content recommended by its algorithms. They argue that Section 230 was enacted before such algorithms changed, fundamentally, how content is consumed online.

During oral arguments, the Supreme Court justices seemed sceptical about interpreting the law in a way that would expose platforms to liability for recommended content. Justice Elena Kagan said there was "a lot of uncertainty" in

adopting the argument "just because of the difficulty of drawing lines in this area".

Kagan added: "Once we go with [the petitioner], all of a sudden we're finding that Google isn't protected, and maybe Congress should wait that system. But isn't that something for Congress to do?"

Some justices raised the risk that eliminating immunity under Section 230 could trigger a wave of legal challenges. "Hundreds of millions, billions of responses to inquiries on the internet are made every day... every one of those would be a possibility of a lawsuit," said chief justice John Roberts. Google argues there is no connection

between the recommended videos and alleged violations of the Anti-Terrorism Act. It also warned that losing immunity under Section 230 would have significant knock-on effects. Google's lawyer, Lisa Blatt, said "all publishing requires organisation" and these "algorithms are inherent in all publishing."

A brief filed by the US Department of Justice warned against an "overly broad reading of Section 230", which it said "would undermine the enforcement of other important federal statutes by the federal courts and the courts."

A string of tech companies, including Microsoft, Meta and Reddit, have filed briefs defending Google's position. Facebook parent Meta argued that algorithms were a "critical component" of its anti-terrorism policies and that a broad Supreme Court decision "would encourage websites to remove all but the most benign views, turning a marketplace of diverse perspectives into a platform for orthodox perspectives."

Global warming

IEA calls for energy profits to be spent on reducing methane leaks

ATTRACTA MOONEY — LONDON

Fossil fuel industry methane emissions hit a near record in 2022, prompting the International Energy Agency to demand that companies use their "windfall" profits to stem leaks of the potent global warming gas.

The latest report from the IEA estimated that the industry was responsible for 155m tonnes of methane released into the atmosphere last year, only slightly below the record high in 2018.

Methane has accounted for about 30 per cent of the global temperature rise since the industrial revolution, with the energy sector making up about a third of human-induced methane, second only to agriculture.

Cutting methane emissions is regarded by climate change experts as among the cheapest and quickest opportunities for tackling global warming, as it is more potent than carbon dioxide but shorter-lived.

Fatih Birol, IEA executive director, urged policymakers to augment pressure for the energy sector to clean up its methane pollution, mainly from leakage and distribution. "From our point of view there is no excuse for oil and gas industry not to move quickly. And no excuse for the governments not to step in and make this happen," he said.

Tackling methane is one of the most important things that can be done in tackling global warming

Oil and gas companies reported a bumper year in 2022 after Russia's war on Ukraine created an energy crisis that forced Europe to turn to fossil fuels.

Birol said the oil and gas industry's income jumped to about \$4tn last year compared with \$1.4tn-\$1.5tn in previous years.

"I make the IEA point very clearly: we would like to see a significant chunk of this \$4tn go into investments into clean energy transitions, including tackling methane emissions."

By investing 5 per cent of oil and gas companies' 2022 "windfall income" in existing technologies, such as leak detection and repair, methane emissions from the sector could be cut 75 per cent, he said.

"Tackling methane is one of the most important, if not the most important things, that can be done in tackling near-term global warming," he added. The report calculated that, based on average gas prices from 2017 to 2021, about 40 per cent of methane leakage could be stopped at zero net cost because the price of preventing emissions was below the market value of the captured gas.

The IEA said about 75 per cent of the methane was produced from oil and gas operations could be "retained and brought to market using tried and tested policies and technologies" — a volume greater than EU natural gas imports from Russia before the war on Ukraine. More than 150 countries have endorsed a pledge to cut methane emissions by 30 per cent by 2030, including the US and the United Arab Emirates. However, China and Russia, among the biggest emitters, are not signatories to the agreement struck at the UN COP26 climate summit.

Each day oil and gas operations around the world released the same amount of methane as last September's Nord Stream explosion, referring to the damaged pipeline taking gas from Russia to Europe, the IEA said. The report also found emissions from very large leaks detected by satellite fell almost 10 per cent in 2022 compared with 2021.

See Lex

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Contango: not a dance new move




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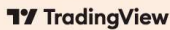
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BlackRock bonanza Money manager's fixed-income ETFs draw more investor cash than all competitors combined ■ MARKETS

Companies & Markets

HSBC raises dividend to resist Ping An break-up calls

- Bank's payout soars to four-year high
- Shares decline after cautious outlook

STEPHEN MORRIS — LONDON
KATE WIGGINS AND
HUDSON LOCKETT — HONG KONG

HSBC raised its dividend to the highest level in four years and said that it might make a special payout next year, as it seeks to fend off break-up calls from its largest shareholder Ping An.

The UK and Hong Kong-listed bank also said that it would consider share buybacks sooner than expected. The move came as it reported yesterday that fourth-quarter pre-tax profits almost doubled to \$5.2bn, surpassing expectations, as higher global interest rates boosted revenues.

However, investors were disappointed.

“Customers are demanding more international banking services, not less”

Noel Quinn, HSBC chief executive

pointed by conservative forecasts for earnings and profitability, taken as an indication rates may have peaked.

The bank's shares initially fell 1.4 per cent in London before recovering to tradeslightly up.

For the past 10 months, HSBC has been contending with pressure from Chinese insurer Ping An, which owns just over 8 per cent of the stock and is lobbying for a split of its Asian and western units. Its push was motivated by UK regulators banning HSBC from paying a dividend in the early days of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020, which infuriated its Asia-based investors.

It has since been restored, but at a much lower level.

Ping An also argues that HSBC's global structure is not tenable in an era of heightened US-China tensions, which worsened this month when the US shot down a suspected Chinese spy balloon.

The lender's management has said

that a break-up would be complicated, costly and counterproductive.

“My primary focus is improving the performance of the bank,” chief executive Noel Quinn said, adding that he would meet Ping An in the next few weeks. “Alternative structural options... would have a material negative impact.”

Quinn pointed to a “radical shift” in the distribution of the bank's profits since 2019, with the Middle East, Europe and the US contributing a greater proportion of earnings to complement its twin home markets of Hong Kong and the UK.

Nevertheless, Asia still made up 78 per cent of HSBC's reported pre-tax profits in 2022. When adjusted to remove a loss taken for the sale of its French consumer unit, Asia's contribution dropped to 60 per cent last year.

“The world is re-globalising... customers are demanding more international banking services, not less,” Quinn added.

Keeping HSBC's network together provides a “stronger capacity for growth and distribution to shareholders via dividends and buybacks, that is our key message.”

The bank set its dividend at 32 cents per share for 2023, up from 25 cents in 2021 and the highest level since 2018, and said that it planned a 21 cent special dividend, worth \$496m, next year would be a “priority use of the proceeds” from the sale of its Canadian business.

In November, it agreed to sell the unit to Royal Bank of Canada for \$10bn. It said that it expected to complete the sale of its Russian business — taking a \$300m loss — as well as its consumer units in Greece and France, this year, further trimming its sprawling network.

Blotting the earnings were \$1.4bn in credit losses and impairment charges for the final three months of the year, up from \$500m a year earlier.

Wrong impression Estate of late US artist tells Louis Vuitton to pull campaign for £5,000 bag



Joan Mitchell died in 1992. Her work may be reproduced only for educational purposes — Joan Mitchell Foundation

ADRIENNE KLASA — PARIS
JOE MILLER — NEW YORK

The estate of Joan Mitchell has demanded Louis Vuitton pull an ad campaign after the luxury brand allegedly used images from the US artist's work without permission.

The Mitchell Foundation said yesterday it had sent a cease and desist notice to the flagship brand of LVMH, the conglomerate controlled by Bernard Arnault, the French billionaire.

Mitchell, best known for large-format abstract impressionist paintings and who spent the final part of her life in France, is the subject of an exhibition alongside the works of Claude Monet at the Louis Vuitton Foundation. The museum in Paris is the brainchild of Arnault, an art collector, and is supported by LVMH.

In accordance with its policy that Mitchell's work can be reproduced only for educational purposes, the

estate said that late last year it had repeatedly denied Louis Vuitton permission to use her work in its promotional campaigns. The ads in question have appeared in print and online in France and the US in recent months.

“It is a grave disappointment... that Louis Vuitton has such disregard for the rights of an artist and would exploit her work for financial gain,” the estate said, adding that it would pursue legal action if the campaign was not halted.

It had “never licensed the artist's works for use in commercial campaigns or for the promotion of other goods or services. Louis Vuitton subsequently reiterated the request which was denied several times.”

The estate alleges the works were cropped and used in an ad campaign that features Lea Seydoux, the French actress, holding a Louis Vuitton Capucines bag that retails from about £5,000 and above.

The estate alleges the Louis Vuitton Foundation violated the terms of their agreement in allowing “La Grande Vallée XIV” (1983); “Quatuor II for Betsy Jolas” (1976); and “Edrita Fried” (1981) to be photographed and reproduced.

Born in Chicago in 1925, Mitchell studied in France before returning to the US to burnish her career. She eventually settled in Vetheuil, north of Paris, and died in 1992. Her work is owned by establishments including the Centre Pompidou and New York's Museum of Modern Art.

LVMH, whose brands also include Dior, Tiffany & Co and Givenchy, last month revealed that sales at Louis Vuitton last year surpassed the €20bn mark for the first time.

A cease and desist letter is usually a warning of legal action and can be drawn to the attention of a court in any ensuing litigation.

LVMH declined to comment.

Credit Suisse falls to record low on news of outflow probe

OWEN WALKER
EUROPEAN BANKING CORRESPONDENT

Credit Suisse shares dropped to a record low yesterday after a report that Switzerland's financial regulator was examining comments made by the bank's chair over how much clients had withdrawn from the bank.

Shares in the lender fell as much as 8.4 per cent to SFr2.54, breaking below a low of SFr2.70 set three months ago.

The renewed weakness in the stock followed a report by Reuters that Finma was investigating the accuracy of comments made by Axel Lehmann to the Financial Times on December 1, and to Bloomberg a day later, in which he claimed outflows had stalled and in some cases reversed.

The comments by Lehmann came at a critical time for the bank as it sought to raise SFr4bn (\$4.3bn) of fresh capital from shareholders.

Lehmann told the FT on December 1 that outflows had “completely flattened out and... partially reversed” following a wave of customer redemptions in October. A day later, in an interview on Bloomberg TV, Lehmann said outflows had “basically stopped”.

The bank revealed in its full-year results this month that outflows continued throughout December and into January across the group, though there were areas of the business that had net inflows, such as Switzerland and the Asia-Pacific region.

At the time of its results, Credit Suisse said parts of the business had experienced inflows in January but did not say whether the group as a whole was seeing outflows reverse.

Customers withdrew SFr111bn from the group in the final three months of 2022, with two-thirds of the outflows coming in October when the bank was the subject of rumours on social media about its financial health. The wealth management business accounted for SFr32.7bn of the outflows in the quarter, surpassing the SFr61.9bn expected by analysts.

Credit Suisse declined to comment. Finma also declined to comment.

The bank is embarking on a restructuring, axing 9,000 of its 52,000-strong workforce, in an effort to return to profit and restore investors' confidence.

However, its forecast earlier this month that it would make a “substantial loss” this year as it absorbed the cost of the revamped investors.

Contracts & Tenders

INVITATION FOR BIDS
600MWp SOLAR PV PROJECT IN PAKISTAN

Alternative Energy Development Board (AEDB) of the Government of Pakistan (GOP) hereby invites bids from private sector for development of 600MWp capacity solar PV project to be located at District Kot Addu/Muzaffargarh, Punjab, Pakistan, on Build, Own, Operate and Transfer (BOOT) basis for a term of 25 years. The Project details and Framework Guidelines are available at AEDB's website www.aedb.org.

The Request for Proposal (RFP) can be obtained either from AEDB office or through online upon payment of US\$ 200 as registration fee and US\$ 2500 for RFP document, on or before 10th March 2023. Payments can be made in US\$ or equivalent Pak Rupees directly in AEDB Bank accounts (Details at AEDB's website) or by way of a demand draft/pay order in the name of Alternative Energy Fund. Only the Bidders who have been issued RFP by AEDB shall be entitled to submit bid/proposal. AEDB reserves the right to reject any or all the bids/proposals at any time without assigning any reason.

Last date for receiving of bids/proposals at AEDB's office is 17th April 2023, 12:00 hrs PST.

Chief Executive Officer
Alternative Energy Development Board (AEDB)
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Carmakers seeking shift to hydrogen fuel face green challenges



INSIDE BUSINESS
ASIA
June Yoon

The battle over cars running on alternative fuel will shift up a gear this year. A record number of new models powered by electric batteries is due to be released as manufacturers place their bets on greener solutions to petrol engines.

But two of the biggest carmakers, Toyota and Hyundai, are still driven by the belief that hydrogen will become the key source of clean energy for the future. That obsession with hydrogen fuel-cell vehicles looks more justified now than it has sometimes appeared in the past.

Extreme volatility in natural gas prices in recent months and the need to find alternatives for Russian resources have renewed interest in the potential for hydrogen fuel.

Large vehicles, such as trucks, need an alternative to battery electric power. The distances they travel mean electric alternatives require heavy batteries.

On the hydrogen-powered passenger-car side, which is led by Toyota's Mirai and Hyundai's Nexo models, sales numbers are small, making up less than 0.1 per cent of global passenger-car sales last year. Vehicles running on electric batteries accounted for 10 per cent.

But for hydrogen-powered commercial vehicles — buses and trucks — growth has been much stronger than

expected. Hyundai's Xcient trucks have expanded market share rapidly since last year, on the roads in Germany, Switzerland, New Zealand and South Korea.

Deliveries arrive in the US and Israel this year. In China, hydrogen fuel-cell vehicle sales, led by buses, nearly tripled last year.

The increase in sales in China draws parallels with trends in early electric-car sales in the late 2000s. As China's share of global electric-car sales soared — from 26 per cent of global market share in 2015 to 57 per cent last year — costs of charging infrastructure, batteries and car prices have fallen steadily.

There is good reason for the take-up in hydrogen-powered vehicles. The latest Xcient trucks and the Mirai, for example, can travel more than 800km on a single charge. They can be charged in minutes. Prices are going down.

The biggest change is that the cars can now be mass produced. Early models were hand-assembled and the higher production is cutting costs. Like the batteries in electric cars, the hydrogen-fuel stack, the heart of a fuel-cell power system that generates electricity, is the most expensive component of the vehicles that use them — costing more than \$11,000 per car in earlier models. That expense has since been slashed with higher volumes.

But while the vehicles appear to be an environmental dream come true, emitting just water vapour as a byproduct, there is still much work to be done to make the production of hydrogen fuel greener and less costly.

About 95 per cent of hydrogen fuel is generated from fossil fuels, mostly

natural gas. In the production process, this produces carbon monoxide and carbon dioxide, which offsets the reduction in exhaust-pipe emissions from hydrogen cars.

In Asia, the proportion of fossil fuels in total energy consumption is high — 83 per cent in China, and 85 per cent in Japan and South Korea. That means even battery electric cars in these countries are not as green as planned.

That creates an incentive for governments to invest in hydrogen production from cleaner sources. Government subsidies that foot the bill for developing new technologies would help clear current hurdles to wider adoption. That could also speed up the shift to hydrogen in other industries such as shipping, air travel and gas networks.

Meanwhile, subsidies for hydrogen-car purchases and infrastructure will help grow the market. Beijing, for example, has launched an aggressive drive for hydrogen-powered rental cars and public buses. Locally made hydrogen-powered buses and commercial vehicles are already on the road. The country has a sales target of 1mn units by 2030.

Toyota and Hyundai have been developing fuel-cell vehicles since the 1990s and have decades' worth of investment that must be recouped. The duo's operating margins and net profit per car sold lag behind that of electric-only peers.

The rare coincidence of corporate needs and government policy this year means the opportunity to turbocharge investments in hydrogen-fuel vehicles.

Creating a market for hydrogen-fuel cars will be a good start. But in order to make it viable — and sustainable — alternative to gasoline vehicles, the focus must now shift to finding greener ways to produce hydrogen fueling.

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COMPANIES & MARKETS

Mining

Teck poised for \$11.5bn coal spin-off

Canadian group plans to shift out of fossil fuel and focus on metals operation

MYLES MCCORMICK AND JAMES FONTANELLA — NEW YORK
HARRY DEMPSEY — LONDON
Canadian mining group Teck Resources is set to spin off its coal business to focus on metals that are vital for lower-carbon energy, completing a shift out of fossil fuels amid criticism of the sector.

Teck said yesterday it planned to hive off its metallurgical coal operations, used in steelmaking, into a new company, Elk Valley Resources, which would have an enterprise value of \$11.5bn. By splitting the company in two, Teck said both entities could attract fresh capital in an era when investors with distinctive mandates were more particular about where they put their money.

The intent here is twofold: one to enhance the strategic and financial focus of the two companies," said Jonathan Price, Teck chief executive. "[And two,] it's about providing investors choice, in terms of how they build their own portfolio."

Teck, which has a market capitalisation of about \$22bn, has been moving to strip out fossil fuels from its portfolio and focus on copper, a metal vital for the shift to more renewable forms of power. Last year, it sold its 21.3 per cent stake in a Canadian oil sands project to Suncor Energy for about \$31bn (US\$194mm) in cash.

The coal spin-off will be carried out through a distribution of stock in Elk Valley to existing shareholders of Teck Resources, which will be renamed Teck Metals. The company's four metallurgical coal mines produced 24.6m tonnes in 2021, making it the biggest North American producer.

Mining

BHP looks to China and India growth after \$1bn hit from inflation

LESLIE HOOK — LONDON
NIC FILEDES — SYDNEY
BHP has forecast that "strengthening activity" in China will bolster demand for raw materials after weaker commodity prices and a \$1bn hit from soaring inflation dented half-year profits at the biggest mining group.

The Australian business said that revenue had fallen 16 per cent to \$25.7bn while pre-tax profit had slid 50 per cent to \$10.2bn in the second half of 2022 compared with the same period a year earlier. The company cut its dividend to 90 cents a share from a record \$1.50 in the comparable period, when commodity prices were driving record profits. The \$4.6bn payout was nonetheless the fifth-highest half-yearly dividend in its 138-year history.

Inflation and higher labour costs have started to bite in the mining industry, forcing groups to consider consolidation and shedding underperforming assets. "Commodity prices are down. This is a cyclical industry, after all," said Mike Henry, chief executive. But "the underlying performance of the business is really strong". He pointed to increased copper production.

Demand from China and India has increased BHP's confidence in its outlook.

The markets were dubbed by the CEO 'stabilising counterweights' to the US and European slowdown

look, and the company maintained its forecasts for the full year. Henry described the markets as "stabilising counterweights" to the slowdown in the US and Europe, and he had greater conviction that demand for commodities in China would improve. "This will be another year of a billion tonnes plus, for Chinese steel production, possibly an increase on last year." Inflation has hit the mining sector hard, particularly in countries such as Australia where it has combined with a labour shortage to drive up costs. BHP said inflation had added about \$1bn to its costs through factors such as higher prices for diesel and materials including explosives, though it pointed to signs that those effects were easing.

Technology. Innovation

China plays chatbot catch-up as AI hype builds

Baidu and Alibaba tout their progress but struggle with chip curbs and lack of data

RYAN MCCORROW AND NIAN LIU — BEIJING
ELEANOR GLOTT — HONG KONG
MADHUMITA MURGIA — LONDON

China's tech giants including Baidu, Alibaba and NetEase are racing to match the west's recent developments in artificial intelligence, touting projects that they hope will achieve the same buzz created by the release of ChatGPT. After months of cost and headcount cuts, big groups are now optimistically presenting investment plans to rival OpenAI's chatbot, while trademark trolls are lining up to claim words related to ChatGPT's achievements.



Tech race: Baidu is taking the most concrete early steps in building its own models to match ChatGPT, with plans to launch a chatbot named Ernie in its search engine in the next few months, similar to Microsoft and OpenAI's Bing Chat. The AI model underlying the bot has been in development since 2019 with its newest generation trained on 260bn parameters — comparable to GPT3, the technology underpinning ChatGPT, in terms of size, although trained on a much smaller dataset.

Baidu plans to reveal new details this week on how the chatbot will be integrated into its products, including search, electric vehicles and smart assistants, according to a person close to the company. "Baidu has focused talent and money on this, so they are the most likely to build one of China's leading GPT platforms," said Boris Van, an analyst at Bernstein tracking China's AI efforts. "They have a lot riding on the launch."

News of the Ernie's potential rollout from March sent Baidu's share price down by 15 per cent higher, while Alibaba and NetEase were boosted by developments in their generative AI research. The stocks of smaller AI groups such as Hanwang Technology and CloudWalk Technology have roughly doubled so far this year. State media this month issued a warning about the speculative frenzy.

Since December, more than a dozen companies have rushed to trademark "ChatGPT" or other words containing "GPT" for use in anything from scientific instruments to clothing and advertising sales, according to Tianyancha, the data provider. The Beijing city government said this month that it would support companies building their own models to match ChatGPT, while Shanghai's top university Fudan brought together more than a dozen AI company executives and academics to analyse ChatGPT's development, security risks and potential use cases.

Retail & consumer

Walmart cautious as Fed's rate rises sink in

ALEXANDRA WHITE — NEW YORK
STEF CHAVEZ — CHICAGO

Walmart said yesterday that it expected sales growth to moderate in the second half of 2023, prompting the world's largest retailer to issue a cautious outlook for 2024 as it observes the impact of the Federal Reserve's aggressive campaign to raise interest rates.

Walmart executives said the strong December sales in the US were led by food, but that was partially offset by declines for general merchandise sales. John Rainey, chief financial officer, said that Walmart expected sales growth to be "strongest" in the first six months of this year, and then moderate in the back half. "We've not been in a position where we've seen the Fed tighten this shortly. We see issues where delinquencies are up and things like auto loans, you've got savings rates that are coming down, and there's a lot of unknowns in the back half of the year."

Walmart's soft outlook was echoed by Home Depot, which warned that its full-year earnings could decline for the first time since the financial crisis, against a backdrop of elevated inflation and mortgage rates that is blunting consumer demand for home improvement.

Retail & consumer

Zalando cuts jobs as 'pandemic tailwinds' fade

OLAF STORBECK — BERLIN

Zalando will axe up to 5 per cent of its workforce as the economic slowdown forces Europe's largest online fashion retailer to abandon a promise to avoid significant job cuts.

Yesterday, the Berlin-based company told staff that it would "remove several hundred overhead roles" over the coming months, saying that "the pandemic tailwinds have faded since 2022 and the macroeconomic environment has become more challenging". In a note to staff seen by the Financial Times, Zalando did not disclose how many of its 17,000-strong workforce would leave, and said that discussions with the workers' council had only just begun. The cuts will extend to the "senior leadership level", but exclude the retailer's logistics centres, customer care and its handful of physical stores.

Zalando thrived when pandemic lockdowns forced more consumers online, but the end of that boom has damaged its sales growth and hampered its share price. The planned job cuts come just two weeks before the release of the group's full-year results, which analysts expect to show that sales were flat at €10.4bn and operating profit more than halved to just €187m.



The Berlin-based online fashion group thrived during lockdowns

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Blast-hit US gas site reopens but doubts persist

Operational questions and public anger dog Freeport plant that supplied 10% of Europe's LNG intake before June explosion

JUSTIN JACOBS — HOUSTON

Before dawn on June 8 last year, workers at the sprawling Freeport liquefied natural gas export plant on the Texas coast heard "strange" noises emanating from some of its pipes. They notified their bosses but a follow-up inspection found nothing amiss. Then came a fireball.

The explosion at Freeport LNG knocked out a centrepiece of the US gas-export industry just as the world was looking for more fuel as the war in Ukraine squeezed supplies from Russia.

The terminal supplied about 10 per cent of European LNG imports at the time of the explosion. Eight months on, there are signs that the plant is stirring back to life, taking in gas to condense and load on to oceangoing tankers. Yet doubts persist about the operations of the nation's second-largest such facility.

"There are a lot of things that Freeport LNG weren't doing that similar facilities do," Bryan Lechaco, director of the south-west region at the Pipeline and Hazardous Materials Safety Administration, a federal regulator, said at a public hearing held this month at a local high school. "Up to now they've had some systemic issues. Part of what we're working on with them . . . is to try to stamp out some of those systemic issues to make them a better operator."

Consultants retained by Freeport LNG revealed slipshod controls before the accident. They put primary blame on a pressure-safety valve improperly left closed for several weeks after routine testing.

The oversight led to a pressure build-up and excessive heat that ultimately burst the line and ignited, investigators concluded in a report released in highly redacted form by the PHMSA.

The problem went unnoticed because the company lacked formal procedures and training to ensure the valves were returned to normal service after testing, the report concluded. The plant's control room systems did not "alarm audibly or visibly" when temperatures reached dangerous levels.

In another missed opportunity, a staff member told bosses that a section of pipe had "noticeably" become hot days before the blast, according to the investigation. But "none of these more experienced personnel went out to the tank farm to evaluate the issue for themselves", consultants wrote.

Elsewhere some plant staff reported "alarm fatigue", with "alarms constantly indicating on equipment that had been



Smoke billows from the key Freeport LNG facility. The blast in June knocked out a centrepiece of the US gas export industry

placed out of service years ago", the consultants reported. Investigators also cited "clear patterns of concern" in the company's staffing policy, saying employees were regularly called on to work 12-plus hour shifts and on scheduled days off, concluding "operator fatigue" was probably a contributing factor to the accident.

"The problems were serious," said Clark Williams-Derry, an LNG specialist at the Institute for Energy Economics and Financial Analysis. "It was overworked operators, it was poor training and maintenance and a whole slew of problems that were only uncovered when the thing blew up."

President Joe Biden has urged exporters such as Freeport LNG to help European countries offset the loss of Russian gas supplies as part of his strategy to defend against Moscow's aggression. When running fully, the plant takes in about 2 per cent of total US natural gas production and accounts for roughly 20 per cent of LNG export capacity as the second-largest plant in the country. But some of its neighbours on the

Texas coast worry that not enough has been done by the company and federal and local regulators to safeguard the facility. "We don't feel like they're ready to reopen at all. You know, there's still so many unanswered questions," said Melanie Oldham, a resident of the city of Freeport.

Oldham said that the company has not done any outreach to local residents since the blast, which did not result in any deaths but shocked the small nearby community.

No company officials attended the public hearing where regulators showed

photos of gnarled pipes and support beams and a piece of kit buried hundreds of feet from the blast site.

"They didn't even show up for the meeting where we could ask them some questions and make comments directly. How can we trust this company when they're not open and transparent and they don't even bother to talk with the community?" Oldham asked.

Freeport LNG is majority owned by Michael Smith, a billionaire who first made a fortune selling oil and gas producer Basin Exploration for \$410m in 2001. Japan-based Osaka Gas owns about 10 per cent of the company, while

Jera, a joint venture of Japan's Chubu Electric Power and Tokyo Electric Power, has 26 per cent.

Smith, a native of Bronx, New York, moved into seaborne gas markets when he snapped up land on Quintana Island in Texas in 2002 to eventually build Freeport LNG.

The facility was first constructed to handle LNG imports in 2008, a wrong-way bet just as the shale revolution received US output. But by 2019 the plant had been revamped and started exporting the supercooled fuel.

Freeport LNG initially said it would take only a few weeks to restart the plant after the June fire. It has offered only sporadic updates in the months since, and its latest in December said that it planned to start up by the end of January, leaving locals, traders and others guessing about its status.

In recent regulatory filings, the group has said that it has "completed repairs" to the plant and "performed safety reviews, revised various procedures, implemented new safety systems and performed necessary training in order to safely begin operations."

Asked for an update on operations for this story, the company said that it had no comment and referred the Financial Times to its regulatory filings.

Three tankers over the past week have loaded fuel that had been sitting in storage tanks since the blast, one of which is steaming towards Germany.

Large amounts of gas are once again starting to flow into the plant, according to pipeline data from Refinitiv. And Freeport LNG is now asking regulators to allow it to resume processing and exporting gas again, a crucial step back to normalisation.

However, Ruth Liao, an LNG specialist at ICIS, said that even if it restarts soon, it could take until May to complete repairs and get back to full capacity.

"Michael was a pioneer in the industry, but Freeport has had some real growing pains," said an executive at another American LNG group.

'There are a lot of things that Freeport LNG weren't doing that similar facilities do'

IN MEMORIAM David Wells

1972-2023



Our firms would like to honor our dear friend and colleague, David Wells, who passed away Saturday, February 11, 2023.

He was a talented communicator, gifted writer and storyteller, confidant, counselor and most of all a mentor to many of us.

His legacy will live on through the countless number of people he impacted and through his lovely family. He was always willing to help anyone who asked for advice on their career and life.

He had a big heart, easy smile and a brilliant mind - it was a beautiful combination.

We extend our thoughts and condolences to his family and community of colleagues and friends.

David, we will miss you.

BlackRock prosek

US LNG export surge to Europe

US liquefied natural gas monthly exports by region (bn cubic feet per month)



Technology

Sci-fi magazine zaps army of robot writers

MADHUMITA MURGIA — LONDON

A well-known science-fiction magazine has stopped accepting submissions for new stories, after being overwhelmed by a technology its authors often base their futuristic narratives on: artificial intelligence.

US-based Clarkesworld, which has published several award-winning sci-fi writers over the past 17 years, has been inundated by hundreds of submissions written or improved by generative AI since December, when OpenAI's chatbot ChatGPT was first released to the public.

On Monday, Neil Clarke, founder and editor of Clarkesworld, tweeted that it had decided to suspend submissions following the surge in AI-enhanced entries.

Clarke said the magazine had received more than 500 AI-enhanced submissions so far in February, more than four times the total for January, and that it was impossible to filter the volume of content manually in real time.

"Five days ago, the chart we shared showed nearly 350 of these submissions. Today, it crossed 500. Fifty of them just today, before we closed submissions so we can focus on the legit stories," he said on Monday.

In a blog posted this month, Clarke pointed out: "To make matters worse,

the technology is only going to get better, so detection will become more challenging."

Companies such as OpenAI, which owns ChatGPT, and others building similar technologies, have already become embroiled in controversy with news organisations, artists and software engineers who claim that AI reproduces and builds on their original work without recognition or compensation.

This is not the first time AI-facilitated spam has caused services to buckle: in December, coding Q&A website Stack Overflow was forced to ban ChatGPT-generated responses, claiming they were flooding its forum with misinformation.

Clarke said he had contacted other editors publishing original content, and that his situation was "by no means

unique." He did not disclose how he had identified the stories generated by AI, adding that there are "some very obvious patterns and I have no intention of helping those people become less likely to be caught."

The motivations behind the AI-enhanced submissions are unclear. Some suggest it is a way for people to make money quickly, since Clarkesworld pays writers around 10 cents per word, for entries as long as 2,000 words.

It would be easy for a single person to fake their location and submit multiple stories, said Eran Shimony, a researcher at cyber security lab CyberArk.

Others suggest it could be a way for novice writers to increase their chances of being published in the prestigious magazine. But some writers warn that AI spam will choke creativity, forcing publishers to limit submission windows, take more time to respond, and potentially reduce their payment rates.

"The only people getting work out will be the already established and known . . . it'll be deathly for new writers," said Shiv Ramdas, a speculative-fiction writer, on Twitter.

Earlier this month, OpenAI released an experimental tool to detect AI-generated content. However, its researchers said the tool only identified such content 26 per cent of the time.



Clarkesworld is flooded with submissions written using tools such as ChatGPT

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Fixed income. Revenue driver

Billions pouring into bond ETFs are bright spot for BlackRock

World's largest asset manager dominates flows into products that lure professional investors

BOOKENDERS — NEW YORK

Enthusiasm for bonds is proving to be a bonanza for BlackRock's fixed income exchange traded funds, which have attracted more investor cash since US interest rates started rising than all their competitors combined.

BlackRock, the world's largest money manager, is capitalising on growing interest among wealth managers and other asset managers in using ETFs instead of — or in addition to — buying bonds directly.

From March last year to the end of January, there were \$146bn net flows into BlackRock's fixed income ETFs while competitors took in \$134bn.

Bond ETFs have been a bright spot for BlackRock after a year when its overall assets under management shrank by nearly 15 per cent to \$8.6tn.

Chief executive Larry Fink considers them a main driver of revenue growth. BlackRock predicts that bond ETF assets industry-wide will more than double from \$1.8tn now to \$5tn in 2030.

The increases are being driven by regulatory changes, investors' growing comfort with the way they perform in volatile markets and creative uses of them by wealth managers and even other bond funds.

"There have been significant changes about the way people think about fixed income ETFs in the past year," said Deborah Fuhr, founder of the ETFGI consultancy. "We have seen large funds and asset managers put their portfolios in ETFs... rather than buying bonds and trying to manage them themselves. It's a continuing trend. One [people] have used an ETF, then they use them more and in different ways."

BlackRock got into fixed income ETFs early and has long been the largest player — it has more than 40 per cent of global assets under management for the category. But as competition for broad-based and retail-focused ETFs grew, it expanded into new areas.

The number of fixed income ETFs that it offers nearly doubled from 243 to 462 in the past five years.

"We're finding and expanding into all parts of the bond market in multiple different slices... Any part of the bond market that can be accessed through an ETF, we're capturing that," said Salim Kamji, BlackRock's global head of ETF and index investments.

The narrow slices include ETFs such as IBTG, which only holds US Treasury bonds maturing in 2026, or LQDB, which purely contains BBB-rated corporate bonds.

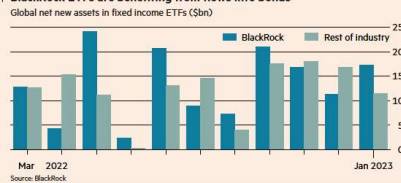
That allows active fund managers to use them in a variety of ways. Some use a specific slice to tilt their portfolio either to longer or shorter duration bonds, depending on their view of the economy.

Others use BlackRock's AGC broad index fund as a holding tank when they receive large inflows so they can put money to work immediately while also



Pointed: chief executive Larry Fink considers fixed income ETFs to be a key area of growth for BlackRock, which predicts such assets will more than double industry-wide by 2030 — Hele Adams/ Bloomberg

BlackRock ETFs are benefiting from flows into bonds



Fixed income ETF assets have more than doubled in 5 years



giving their active managers time to pick up the right bonds.

"We use ETFs because it is operationally quick and easy to do," said Wylie Tolleite, chief investment officer of Franklin Templeton Solutions. "It's a quick way to gain exposure to a whole series of bonds. [If] you are out buying and selling the bonds directly, you are paying an embedded commission. If you added up the round-trip commission on the bonds, the ETF fee is very reasonable."

Professional investor interest in bond ETFs really started to rise after major oil and gas companies failed in 2015.

At that time, short selling BlackRock's high-yield bond ETF turned out to be a better hedge against junk bond defaults than buying an index of credit default swaps because the ETF tracked the high-yield bond market more closely.

"We started to get a lot of inquiries from actual bond traders," said Samara Cohen, chief investment officer for

BlackRock's ETFs. "Until that point, ETFs were probably more utilised by bond market tourists." Regulatory change has also driven take-up. In December 2021, New York state regulators started letting insurers treat passive fixed income ETFs just like

'Until that point, ETFs were probably more utilised by bond market tourists'

bonds for the purpose of calculating capital requirements. That made the products more attractive to a swath of the industry and other states have been following suit.

Ramji said that BlackRock ETF users include nine of the 10 biggest active managers and eight of the 10 biggest US insurance companies.

Some money managers are sceptical

of the trend, arguing that, as active investors, they find it difficult to justify putting money in another company's passive funds.

"The layering of fees on fees is a real concern internally," said one portfolio manager at a large fund house who did not want to criticise peers publicly. "At this point, we've decided the 'costs' don't outweigh the benefits."

BlackRock's nearest competitor, Vanguard, has opted for an entirely different strategy. It has 48 fixed income ETFs with \$389bn in assets, up from \$8 with \$150bn in 2017.

The Pennsylvania-based group caters mostly to retail clients and said it had opted to tailor its selection to reflect "investor preference for low-cost, broadly diversified fixed income ETFs".

But many fixed income investors said the growth of bond ETFs had fundamentally changed the market for the better because of their structure. ETF shares trade throughout the day

on exchanges and more than 80 per cent of bond ETF trades take place without requiring the purchase or sale of the underlying securities, which adds liquidity.

In addition, the market makers who buy and sell the actual bonds that back ETFs have grown more comfortable with pricing large chunks of securities.

"Five years ago, when we would want to sell \$20m, \$25m of corporate exposure, we would have to do it line by line," said John Gentry, head of the corporate fixed income group at Federated Hermes. "Now dealers are able to price it as a block. This has helped us find bonds that we could not find before."

Manuel Hayes, senior credit portfolio manager at Insight Investment, said using ETFs can help shrink the cost of buying high-yield corporate bonds from roughly 60-80 basis points to 15bp or 20bp. "ETFs are here to stay and they are evolving. If you overlook it you are missing half the market."

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Commodities

EU carbon price tops €100 a tonne for first time

BY CAMILLA HODGSON AND DAVID SHEPPARD

The EU's carbon price has climbed above €100 a tonne for the first time in a landmark moment for one of the bloc's key tools to fight pollution.

Allowances traded under the EU's flagship emissions trading system (EU ETS) rose 2 per cent yesterday to hit an all-time high of €101 a tonne.

The threshold has been seen as psychologically important and a price at which companies may start looking more seriously at investing in expensive emerging technologies such as carbon capture and storage.

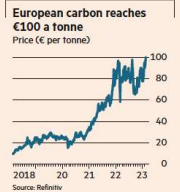
The price of carbon credits in the system — a core part of the bloc's net zero strategy which aims to put a price on pollution — has risen fivefold in the past three years, and gains have accelerated in recent weeks as the EU has tightened rules to make the system more onerous for polluters.

"The fundamental point about this market is the EU has cleared the way for higher prices as that is what is ultimately needed to meet their aims of cutting emissions," said Mark Lewis, head of climate research at hedge fund Andriand Capital Management.

New rules agreed in December and in the process of being ratified that will effectively see emissions allowed under the scheme falling to zero by 2039 are the "long-term structural bullish driver of this market", Lewis added.

Companies operating in the EU in certain sectors — including gas, coal power generation or industrial manufacturing — are obliged to buy carbon credits. Each one allows the emission of one tonne of carbon.

After languishing for much of the past decade, when a surplus of allowances built up following the financial crisis,



the EU's carbon price has marched higher in the wake of the bloc's newly agreed carbon pricing rules as well as rising societal pressure for governments and businesses to curb pollution and limit warming.

Increased coal use during the energy crisis has also spurred buying as coal emits roughly twice as much carbon as gas when burnt.

EU lawmakers gave initial approval this year to new rules that would make the system tougher. The total number of allowances in the system will fall over time, and the number given out to polluters for free will also fall.

Vertis Environmental Finance said the recent rise in prices had been driven in part by utilities hedging their exposure and that demand for credits from industrial polluters had been "relatively muted".

Hedging activity could tick up since temperatures in northern Europe were forecast to drop below the average for this time of year next week, it said.

Reckshaw Advisors also said last week that recent gains had come "despite" a slowdown in buying from polluters regulated under the system.

Some analysts said the €100 threshold would incentivise invest-

ments in emerging clean technologies such as carbon capture and hydrogen but major polluters warned of the impact that higher carbon prices might have on their businesses and on their ability to make investments.

Jori Ringman, director-general of the Confederation of European Paper Industries, said the price jump "came as a surprise to many and will affect the competitiveness of the EU's manufacturing sector", while the European Steel Association said high prices were "worrying in the current EU context of economic uncertainty and fragility".

EU lawmakers have designed the system to ensure that a portion of the money raised from credits goes towards the development of clean technologies and the decarbonisation of industry.

An academic study in the journal *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* in 2020 found that the EU ETS drove a 4 per cent reduction in European emissions between 2008 and 2016.

But progress has mainly been made in the power sector as generators have switched from fossil fuels to renewables.

Solutions for "hard to abate" sectors, such as cement and steel, are more expensive and remain in their infancy. See Lex

Financials

UK regulator calls for change of culture among e-money groups

LAURA NOONAN — LONDON

UK regulators have criticised e-money businesses for "poor" financial crime and fraud controls that can leave customers unable to access accounts.

The Financial Conduct Authority said a "significant shift in culture and behaviour" was needed ahead of new consumer protection rules this year.

The UK hosts more than 250 non-bank e-money businesses, including well-known names like Revolut and Wise that offer payments services, and smaller groups that serve more niche markets, such as New York's Payscale, which was granted an operating licence last week.

They are not covered by the UK's Financial Services Compensation Scheme, which offers some protection to customers if they lose their money, and are not as tightly regulated as banks.

But from June, e-money groups will have to comply with a new "consumer duty" that puts the onus on them, and about 60,000 other financial services companies, to prove that good customer outcomes are central to their business.

"For many (e-money) firms, meeting the duty will require a significant shift in culture and behaviour," Matthew Long, the financial regulator's director of payment and digital assets, wrote in a letter to chief executives of e-money companies yesterday.

The sector has had recorded break-neck growth in recent years, winning millions of customers and challenging the dominance of high street banks, particularly in foreign exchange. But it has also faced criticism for treating customers badly and for weak controls.

"We continue to see poor financial crime controls in some payments and e-money firms," Long said in the letter, adding that some businesses "freeze a disproportionate number of accounts, for too long, and without adequate explanation" in response to potential fraud.

He urged companies to take better care of their customers by freezing accounts less frequently, investigating suspected fraud faster, communicating better with affected customers and supporting those "put in acute financial difficulty" by having their accounts frozen.

Additional reporting by Siddharth Venkatarathnam in London

COMPANIES & MARKETS

The day in the markets

What you need to know

- Wall Street stocks tumble as investors fret over interest rate rises
- US Treasury yields jump after robust private sector activity surveys
- China equities consolidate strong start to trading week

Stocks fell and government bond yields rose in the US and Europe yesterday after further evidence that some of the biggest economies were more robust than expected, raising concerns that central banks would further increase interest rates to tame inflation.

In New York, the blue-chip S&P 500 fell 1.7 per cent while the Nasdaq Composite slid 2 per cent after a closely watched survey of US business activity surpassed market forecasts.

The Vix index, a measure of expected swings in US stocks, rose 8 percentage points to 23, its highest point of the year. The US S&P Global composite purchasing managers' index reading of 50.2 was an eight-month high and ahead of market expectations of 47.5.

That was mirrored by other bullish readings in the eurozone earlier in the day. A level above 50 indicates industry growth.

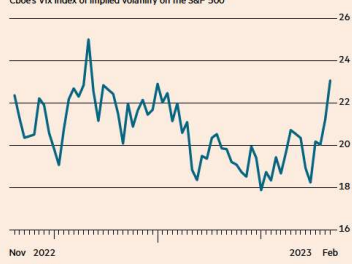
The US survey provided further indications of the health of the economy following bumper payrolls and retail sales data in recent weeks.

Investors have been repricing global stocks lower and bond yields higher in expectations that central banks will keep rates higher for longer to curb inflation.

"Expectations of rate cuts later in the year were never realistic," said Michael Meltsac, head of macro strategy

US stock market volatility rises on interest rate fears

Cboe's Vix index of implied volatility on the S&P 500



at State Street Global Markets. "There was an assumption that tightening would start to limit growth and now people seem to have flipped from expecting a recession to a boom in a short period of time, based on a few releases which, granted, all say the same thing."

The yield on the two-year Treasury note, which is most sensitive to interest rate changes, rose 9 basis points to 4.7 per cent, its highest level of the year and at levels last seen in 2007.

Across the Atlantic, the pan-regional Stoxx Europe 600 fell 0.2 per cent and Frankfurt's Xetra Dash shed 0.5 per cent after the S&P surveys for the eurozone also indicated private sector activity in the bloc was better than expected.

Brent crude oil fell 1.4 per cent to \$82.89 a barrel while US equivalent WTI lost 0.1 per cent to \$76.25 a barrel.

In Asia, the Hong Kong's Hang Seng fell 1.7 per cent but China's CSI 300 index of Shanghai and Shenzhen stocks gained 0.3 per cent after rising 2.5 per cent on Monday. Its best one-day performance since late November. *Martha Muir*

Neglected tool of central banks shows its worth

John Plender

Markets Insight

Money supply numbers have long been an orphan in the tool kit of the big central banks. This is unfortunate because the numbers have been sending important signals before and during the pandemic. Economists at the Bank for International Settlements have found a statistically and economically significant correlation across a range of countries between excess money growth in 2020 and average inflation in 2021 and 2020.

There is a reason for this central banker neglect of money. In the heyday of monetary targeting in the 1980s central bankers – most notably, Paul Volcker at the US Federal Reserve – were remarkably successful in bringing down inflation from record postwar levels after successive oil price shocks but this came at the cost of savage recessions. Subsequently the link between money supply and inflation weakened.

As trying to fathom the numbers became more complicated, monetarism went out of fashion

At the same time, there was a clear relationship between inflation and excess money growth – the difference between money growth and growth in real gross domestic product. But as inflation came down in the 1980s and 1990s velocity became highly unstable, in part because of financial innovation and changes in regulation. So the link between money supply and nominal GDP broke down and the information content of money supply



numbers became a less helpful guide for policy. As trying to fathom the numbers became more complicated, monetarism went out of fashion. The exception was when central bankers confronted financial crises – where they reserved the right to turn on the monetary hosepipe. Interpreting money numbers was once again conspicuously difficult after the financial crisis of 2007-09.

Monetarists warned that the stimulus from the Fed's asset buying would lead to rapid inflation. Yet velocity dropped sharply and the outcome was a strange combination of asset price inflation and the threat of deflation in prices of goods

added, money growth data can still have useful information content for inflation. There are many other reasons why central banks failed to foresee the inflation flare-up. Their economic models often relied heavily on extrapolations of the recent past and assumptions about the economic cycle.

Clearly the pandemic and the war in Ukraine were exceptional events that had nothing to do with any cycle. At the same time, the central banks' asset purchasing programmes have distorted market expectations. Otar Issing, former chief economist and board member of the European Central Bank, now at Goethe University in Frankfurt, argued that investors with higher inflation expectations have tended to sell their bonds to central banks at prices they regarded as high.

As a result, these inflation pessimists have been absent from financial markets, causing the thermometer of inflation expectations to read lower than the actual temperature. A more obvious point is that central bankers badly underestimated the second-round effects of oil and food price rises in labour and other markets.

The risk of looking at money now lies in the other direction. The Fed has been tightening, as have others. Steve Hanke and Caleb Hofmann of Johns Hopkins University said that, by December last year, the three-month annualised growth rate of broad money (M2) in the US had sunk to a stunning minus 5.4 per cent, pushing the year-on-year growth rate into negative territory.

One conclusion: the equity market is too sanguine about avoiding recession. Another: time for a rethink about money.

john.plender@ft.com

Markets update

	US	Eurozone	Japan	UK	China	Brazil
Stocks	S&P 500	Eurofirst 300	Nikkei 225	FTSE100	Shanghai Comp	Bovespa
Level	4011.78	1831.43	27473.10	7977.75	3306.52	109776.92
% change on day	-1.65	-0.20	-0.21	-0.46	0.47	0.70
Currency	\$ index (DXY)	\$ pair €	Yen per \$	£ per €	Rmb per \$	Real per \$
Level	103.994	1.068	134.715	1.214	6.873	5.162
% change on day	0.127	-0.094	0.049	0.914	0.256	0.000
Govt. bonds	10-year Treasury	10-year Bund	10-year JGB	10-year Gilt	10-year bond	10-year bond
Yield	3.979	2.527	0.498	3.610	2.979	12.817
50bps point change on day	0.080	7.000	-0.180	14.200	0.330	0.000
World Index, Comods	FTSE All-World	Oil - Brent	Oil - WTI	Gold	Silver	Metals CLMEX
Level	420.83	82.81	76.34	1845.80	21.71	471.40
% change on day	-1.31	-1.50	-1.47	0.65	2.33	2.48

Main equity markets



Biggest movers

	US	Eurozone	UK
Up			
General Mills	5.03	Rwe	2.30
Molson Coors Beverage	3.09	Thales	2.21
Freeport-mcmoran	2.90	Edp	1.89
Organon & Co	2.73	Commerzbank	1.68
Campbell Soup	2.38	Novo Nordisk	1.68
Down			
Nordson	-12.26	Raffisen Bank Internat	-3.67
Generac Holdings	-7.94	Jeronimo Martins	-3.23
Lumen	-7.47	Aegon	-2.44
Carmax	-6.56	Galp Energia	-2.39
Dish Network	-6.22	Casino Galchard	-2.39
		Anglo American	-2.50
		Perstimon	-3.54
		Glencore	-3.16
		Prudential	-3.12
		Rightmove	-2.98

Wall Street

Heading the S&P 500 index was consumer foods group General Mills, which raised its fiscal 2023 guidance, forecasting growth in net sales of about 10 per cent, up from the 8 to 9 per cent range stated in December.

The company said the upgrade reflected "continued strong in-market performance" for its portfolio that includes brands such as Cheerios cereal and Haagen-Dazs ice cream.

Do-it-yourself chain Home Depot sank despite its chief executive announcing "another record year" in 2022 and raising its quarterly dividend by 10 per cent. But Home Depot's 2023 outlook disappointed analysts, with the retailer forecasting a decline in earnings per share in the "mid-single digits" – well short of the 6 to 8 per cent rise Wall Street had expected.

The US-listed shares of Sigma Lithium surged following a report that Tesla was considering making a takeover offer for the Canadian miner.

Bloomberg said Elon Musk's electric vehicle group had been in talks with potential advisers about a bid for the battery metals company.

Another major climber was movie theatre chain AMC Entertainment.

The so-called "meme stock" was among the top trending tickers on retail trading platform StockTwits. *Ray Douglas*

Europe

Lender Credit Suisse touched an all-time low following a report that the Swiss financial regulator was looking into comments made by the bank's chair. Reuters said watchdog Finma was reviewing the accuracy of remarks made in December by Axel Lehmann, who said outflows at the lender had steadied.

Citi last week downgraded Credit Suisse to "neutral", citing "even heavier wealth management outflows than expected" in fourth-quarter results.

Spanish pharma group Laboratorios Farmaceuticos Rovii rose sharply after full-year results that were ahead of consensus estimates, driven by a 9 per cent beat in revenues from its contract manufacturing business, noted Jefferies.

Vague rumours of a potential takeover bid helped lift Sweden's Electrolux.

Italian newspaper *Il Foglio* ran an article about trade unionists seeking clarification on whether the home appliances group was about to be bought by Midea, a Chinese electrical appliance manufacturer.

The speculation, which was thought to have originated in another Italian outlet *Filofutura*, was reportedly labelled "unfounded" by Electrolux.

French utility Engie rallied after proposing a dividend of €140 per share for 2022, topping the €136 that Citi had forecast. *Ray Douglas*

London

Rallying to the top of the FTSE 100 index was Asia-focused lender HSBC, which reported a 61 per cent year-on-year jump in net interest income to \$9.6bn in the fourth quarter – 6 per cent ahead of the consensus estimate, said Jefferies.

Providing a further fillip was a dividend of 32 cents per share for 2022 – up from 25 cents a year earlier – and a planned 21 cents special dividend for next year.

Joining HSBC at the top of the blue-chip benchmark was Smith & Nephew, buoyed by a forecast of 5 to 6 per cent revenue growth for this year, higher than the company-compled consensus of 4.7 per cent.

Citi said S&N was among the best stocks to buy the post-pandemic "recovery in surgical procedure volumes in the US and in China".

GB Group, a digital identity specialist, retreated after forecasting revenue of about £279m for its financial year, missing the £272m estimate that Numis had anticipated.

Chris Clark, chief executive, blamed this on the difficult macroeconomic environment, highlighting the challenging conditions for GB's cryptocurrency and internet economy customers.

GB added that it had seen some "incremental lengthening of sales cycles" in North America. *Ray Douglas*

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MARKET DATA

WORLD MARKETS AT A GLANCE

Table showing market performance for various indices including S&P 500, Nasdaq Composite, Dow Jones Ind, FTSE 100, FTSE Eurofirst 300, Nikkei, Hang Seng, FIVE All World, S per €, S per £, Y per \$, E per €, ON Brent \$/b, and Gold \$.

Stock market movements over last 30 days, with the FTSE All-World in the same currency as a comparison. Includes line charts for AMERICAS, EUROPE, and ASIA.

Table of stock market movements over the last 30 days for various indices and regions, including Americas, Europe, and Asia.

Table of stock market movements over the last 30 days for various indices and regions, including Americas, Europe, and Asia.

STOCK MARKET: BIGGEST MOVERS

Table of stock market biggest movers, categorized by Active Stocks, Active Bonds, and Active Commodities.

CURRENCIES

Table of currency exchange rates for various currencies including Dollar, Euro, Pound, and others.

FTSE ACTUARY SHARE INDICES

Table of FTSE Actuary Share Indices for various countries and regions.

FTSE 100 INDEX

Table of FTSE 100 Index components and their performance.

FTSE 100 SUMMARY

Table of FTSE 100 Summary components and their performance.

UK STOCK MARKET TRADING DATA

Table of UK Stock Market Trading Data, including company names, prices, and volumes.

UK COMPANY RESULTS

Table of UK Company Results, including company names, earnings, and dividends.

UK RECENT EQUITY ISSUES

Table of UK Recent Equity Issues, including company names, issue sizes, and dates.

Disclaimer and data source information for the market data provided.

MARKET DATA

FT500: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table with columns: Stock, Price, %Chg, Div, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists major global companies like Apple, Microsoft, Amazon, Google, etc.

Stocks: Price, %Chg, Div, P/E, Mkt Cap.

Table with columns: Stock, Price, %Chg, Div, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists various international stocks from Europe, Asia, and other regions.

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FT500: TOP 20

Table with columns: Stock, Price, %Chg, Div, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists the top 20 companies in the FT500 index.

FT500: BOTTOM 20

Table with columns: Stock, Price, %Chg, Div, P/E, Mkt Cap. Lists the bottom 20 companies in the FT500 index.

BONDS: HIGH YIELD & EMERGING MARKET

Table with columns: Bond, Coupon, Maturity, Yield, Spread. Lists high yield and emerging market bonds.

BONDS: GLOBAL INVESTMENT GRADE

Table with columns: Bond, Coupon, Maturity, Yield, Spread. Lists global investment grade bonds.

GLTS: UK CASH MARKET

Table with columns: GLT, Price, %Chg, Yield, Spread. Lists UK cash market instruments.

INTEREST RATES: OFFICIAL

Table with columns: Country, Rate, %Chg. Lists official interest rates for various countries.

BOND YIELDS

Table with columns: Bond, Yield, %Chg. Lists yields for various bonds.

INTEREST RATES: MARKET

Table with columns: Instrument, Rate, %Chg. Lists market interest rates for various instruments.

BONDS: UK FTSE ACTUARIES INDEX

Table with columns: Bond, Yield, %Chg. Lists UK FTSE Actuaries Index bonds.

BONDS: UK FTSE ACTUARIES INDEX

Table with columns: Bond, Yield, %Chg. Lists UK FTSE Actuaries Index bonds.

COMMODITIES

Table with columns: Commodity, Price, %Chg. Lists prices for various commodities.

BONDS: EURO-AREA

Table with columns: Bond, Yield, %Chg. Lists Euro-area bonds.

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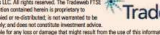
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ARTS

India's goddesses without power

Bengaluru's new Museum of Art and Photography opens with a show about the paradoxical status of women. By Rahul Jacob

It is rare for a museum director to cite economic development data while discussing their inaugural exhibition. But that is how Kamini Sawhney, head of the new Museum of Art and Photography in Bengaluru, decided on *Visible/Invisible: Representation of Women in Art Through the MAP Collection*. "In 2021, women dropped to 20 per cent of the workforce in India. That is lower than Bangladesh. There was a report from Statista that said that India was the most dangerous country for women across a range of parameters," Sawhney says. "I felt this is a narrative we need to pick up."

The resulting exhibition, curated by Sawhney, combines art, sculpture, quilts, movie posters and photography to tackle a monumental paradox in a land of paradoxes. Goddesses are ubiquitous and worshipped widely in the country's mythology; Indira Gandhi was one of the world's first women prime ministers in 1966, and many leading politicians are women. Yet most women have a de facto second-class status. MAP's debut exhibition tackles a heavy subject in both exhilarating and depressing fashion.

It begins with three magnificent sculptures of women deified as goddesses, one from 10th-century Karnataka, the province of which Bengaluru is the capital. The most recent work, meanwhile, such as a 1980s bronze by Meera Makherjee entitled "Mother Earth", manages to project strength and compassion simultaneously.

In other work, the everyday undermining of the status of women is laid bare. Bollywood posters illustrate the sexual objectification of women in popular culture while the early 20th-century work of Bengali artist Jnani

Roy exemplifies work that depicts women as Madonna-like mothers, always with a boy child, as in one piece featuring the god Krishna with his foster mother Yashoda. Ingeniously, these works are displayed near a photorealist charcoal work by Rajan Krishnan showing women in protest, holding up placards saying: "Why this overwhelming preference for a male child?"

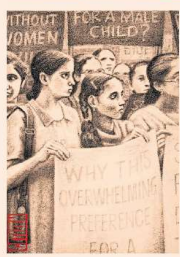
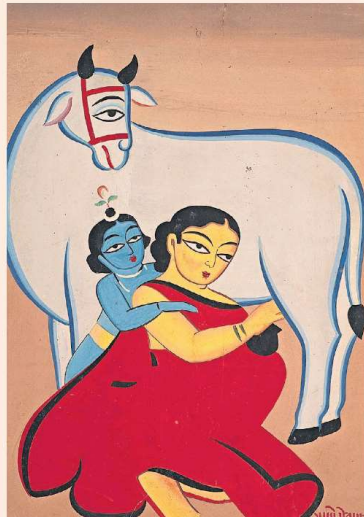
Nearby are two photographs capturing another form of deification of women. The first, by Raghu Rai, shows Indira Gandhi surrounded by men seeking to photograph or garland her after she was elected prime minister again in

Bengaluru, despite its wealth, is especially poorly served by galleries and museums

1980. The other, by Jyoti Bhatt, depicts a gigantic wall mural of Jayalithaa, former chief minister of Tamil Nadu, whose male ministers were known to prostrate themselves before her.

These juxtapositions help provide validation for a new contemporary art museum that roams widely across tribal art and photography in a wide-angled thematic exhibition, typically not a strength of Indian museums. Bengaluru, despite its wealth and prominence as a back office to the world and home to start-ups, is especially poorly served by galleries and museums. Unlike MAP, the National Gallery of Modern Art is government-managed but haphazardly curated.

Yet the initial efforts by businessman and art collector Abhishek Poddar to



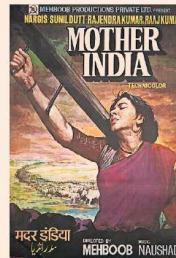
Clockwise from below left: Rajan Krishnan's 'Citizens' (2005); Jnani Roy's 'Krishna Yashoda' (early 20th century); computer rendering of the Museum of Art and Photography; 'Mother India' film poster (1957)

open MAP in partnership with the local government sparked furious protests by local artists six years ago. This opposition centred around Poddar's background — his family business is in explosives used for mining — and the commerce-heavy board of MAP.

Poddar has one of the largest private collections of art in India. He has donated 7,000 works to MAP's total of 60,000 pieces, which range from poster art to textiles to tribal and folk masterpieces as well as contemporary art and photography. Poddar has a reputation for being a relentless fundraiser. "He just keeps at it. In India, you need that," says one keen observer of the art scene.

Poddar's family foundation paid for the land the museum stands on and its building was funded by private philanthropists and the foundations of Bengaluru's famous information technology companies. The five-storey museum is akin to a giant gift box, strikingly dressed in stainless steel panels with a cross pattern that helps reduce the weight of the panels while evoking a modern take on India's water tanks. Still, the site area for the museum is just 104,50 sq ft, the built area 33,900 sq ft. As a former art administrator says of MAP, "You could never have an Anish Kapoor exhibition here. The museum needed more space and height."

Yet architects Soumitro Ghosh and Nisha Mathew have succeeded in finding room for galleries, a conservation centre, library and auditorium — as well as a rooftop café with wonderful views of the surrounding greenery and, ironically, the government-run galleries. And Ghosh says MAP will



Yet for all that, the experience of art in a physical space is unparalleled, which is what makes the opening of MAP so exciting. Wandering through *Visible/Invisible*, it is possible to contemplate the female perception through a series of photographs of men taken by a woman photographer, Indu Antony, with their *mundas* (sarongs) folded above the knee in a manner few Indian women could imagine doing; the clustering of these bared male knees and calves makes them threatening and lewd and harks back to a childhood trauma.

Another major exhibition features the photography of Jyoti Bhatt, better known as a painter. His black and white pictures of village women painting the walls of their huts with elaborate murals have some of the vibrancy of Satyajit Ray's early films, which found beauty amid the poverty of rural Bengal. In one photograph, a woman in Rajasthan, not content with a spectacular mural on the walls of her hut, is seen painting polka dots on the family cow.

One exits and enters MAP through a courtyard that currently features beautiful work by British sculptor Stephen Cox. The striking 1,200kg black statues made of Indian basalt, which have a life-like glow achieved by having oil poured over them, seem to meld Cox's love of Egypt with the temple icons of southern India (the artist has a studio in a temple town in Tamil Nadu). Intoxicated by the sight of these Indian-Egyptian yoginis, as regal as Isis, one steps back out on to the relentless honking of Bengaluru's streets, which leaves one doubly grateful for this elegant new space in which to appreciate art.

map-india.org



'A woman from the Meena community decorating a bullock for the Govardhan festival' (Rajasthan) (1969) by Jyoti Bhatt



PUTIN'S WAR ON UKRAINE: ONE YEAR ON

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POP

Dylan
Shepherds Bush Empire, London

Ludovic Hunter-Tilney

Any muddled Bobcats present at the Shepherd's Bush Empire to see Dylan were in for a surprise. The preponderance of teenage girls was the first sign that something might be amiss. Then there was the large lit-up heart sign at the back of the stage, glowing white, red and, when things got sad, blue.

Finally there was the identity of Dylan herself: aka Natasha Woods, a 23-year-old from Suffolk, currently making a name for herself in the sharp-elbowed hustle of UK pop. "I really hope no one came here expecting a Bob Dylan gig," she announced from the stage. Cue quizzical looks from the teenagers. Who?

The new Dylan has a growing fan base with the kind of devotees who queue outside a venue for hours in order to get to the front. Last year she signed a major label deal, supported fellow Suffollian Ed Sheeran at Wembley Stadium and released a debut mixtape that charted in the UK top 20. She gave a double fist pump as she told us about a BBC Radio 1 DJ's support for her latest single. For all the novelty of TikTok and so on, the music is a treasure trove of constant giggling, broadcast patronage and new releases isn't so different from the 1960s. The screaming sounds the same too.

Dylan takes her stage name from what she would have been called had

she been a boy. Her father — present in the audience and serenaded with a "Happy Birthday" — plied his offspring's impressionable ears with AC/DC and Aerosmith when she was small. This dadrock gift was catalysed into songcraft by her discovery of Taylor Swift when she was 15. The result, on the first of two nights at the Empire, was a singer in hard-rock garb with an electric guitar performing Swift-style songs about love's entanglements. She was accompanied by two other musicians, Rosie Botterill on lead guitar and drummer Connor Hopkins. The live music was supplemented by pre-recorded backingtracks.

"Nineteen" was preceded by Dylan hushing the venue so a couple at the foot of the stage could conduct a successful marriage proposal. ("Oh my God!" a voice cried in high excitement behind

me, "I've never seen a proposal before!") None of the songs' scenarios ended that way. Instead, they dramatised earlier stages of romance, a youthful procession of infatuations and heartbreak.

The heart-shaped light went blue for "Home Is Where the Heart Is", a lament about the loneliness of life on the pop treadmill. But mostly it flashed red or white as Dylan sang surging pop-rock anthems with confiding verses and sing-along choruses. She was an engaging performer, one moment projecting the un-Dylanesque but very Swiftilian quality of likeability, the next throwing flamboyant guitar-heroinic poses.

A brief settler of barely an hour dashed by, a stepping stone towards the next and no doubt bigger stage of a burgeoning career.

iamdylanofficial.com



Dylan — aka Natasha Woods — on stage at the Shepherd's Bush Empire, Westpage

FT BIG READ. GLOBAL ECONOMY

Shareholders say the resignation of president David Malpass will push the multilateral development bank to put climate change at the centre of its operations. The scale of the task is formidable.

By Aime Williams and Camilla Hodgson

A t a small rural farm about an hour's drive from the Zambian capital city of Lusaka in late January, US Treasury secretary Janet Yellen stood before a gathering of farmers and told them she understood the destruction that global warming was causing.

"We know that over the past decade, storms, floods and droughts in Africa have increased in severity and frequency," Yellen told her audience in Chongwe. "Climate change is not just a future threat; it's already here."

Her remarks stood in stark contrast with those made last year by another of America's most senior economists: David Malpass, president of the World Bank. The multilateral lender, created with the twin goals of alleviating poverty and pursuing shared global prosperity, was increasingly being asked to help tackle the impact of climate change too.

Yet, when asked at a September event if he believes in human-made global warming, the Trump appointee repeatedly dodged the question. "I'm not a scientist," he said.

The comment sparked a furore and sharpened criticism of the World Bank for not taking the scale of the climate crisis seriously. Although Malpass later walked back the remark, Al Gore, former vice-president of the US, the bank's largest shareholder, was among those calling on the Biden administration to fire him.

The pressure on the World Bank chief only grew more intense from there. In mid-October, 10 countries – the G7 plus Australia, the Netherlands and Switzerland – submitted a paper to the World Bank urging it to "refresh its vision" and align itself with the goals of the Paris Agreement to reduce global greenhouse gas emissions.

A plan outlined by the bank early in January for how it would incorporate climate change and other global issues such as pandemic preparedness, into its work was dismissed by major shareholders as being not ambitious enough.

Then on Tuesday, a few weeks after Yellen's return from Zambia, Malpass made a call to the US Treasury to say he would end his term in June, almost a year early.

Officials were caught on the back foot. Although frustrated with the slow pace of change at the bank, in closed-door meetings in Washington, Yellen had argued that removing an official appointed by Biden's predecessor would set a bad political precedent.

Yellen and many others view alleviating poverty and tackling climate change as a unified ambition, rather than distinct goals. Now, many of the World Bank's member countries want climate to be at the centre of its mission, and not at the periphery.

Less wealthy nations have been pushing for better lending terms and other support to help them adapt to rising sea levels and more extreme weather events, and pay for the transition to clean energy systems.

"For us, climate is development, climate is poverty – so the distinction is not that obvious," says Ali Mohamed, climate adviser to Kenyan president William Ruto. "Climate change has affected every sphere of human development and livelihoods."

Wealthier countries, meanwhile, are increasingly looking to the World Bank as a source of international climate finance on a scale they cannot provide, as they confront difficult questions about who should pay for the catastrophic impacts of hurricanes, floods and wildfires.

The scale of the task is formidable: \$125tn of climate investment will be needed by 2050 if the world is to slash emissions and meet the Paris Agreement goals of limiting warming to well below 2C, according to research commissioned by the UN high-level climate action champions.

"If we really want this [climate] agenda to move, there is no other way other than to have the multilateral development banks [MDBs] expand considerably," says Homi Kharas, a senior fellow in the Center for Sustainable Development, housed in the global economy and development programme at Brookings. Given its size and influence, he adds, "it all starts with the World Bank."

The US traditionally appoints the World Bank president, and is now racing to draw up a shortlist of candidates with climate credentials who could reshape the bank while balancing the interests of its almost 200 member states.

Among many shareholders and climate-minded bank officials, a period of turbulence is receding in favour of optimism that Malpass's successor might mean the start of a new era.

"There's a great hope" that whoever comes next can meet the moment on



A greener mission for the World Bank

Above: David Malpass, whose resignation raised hopes among critics that more will be done to address climate change. Below: Mia Mottley, prime minister of Barbados, is seeking a new economic compact that enables smaller nations to tackle the climate crisis without falling into unsustainable debt. FT coverage: <https://ft.com>

climate change," says one development official. Yet for others, there are fears that a new climate-oriented mission might distract from the bank's traditional development mandate.

The Bridgetown agenda The seeds of the World Bank and its sister organisation the IMF were sown at the Bretton Woods conference in 1944, to help the world recover from the economic ravages of war and create a new monetary system.

Almost 80 years on, some say it's time for a new global economic compact designed to tackle the existential threat of climate change. One of the leading voices is Mia Mottley, the prime minister of Barbados, who has called for "a new internationalism," and argued that the Bretton Woods institutions "no longer serve the purpose in the 21st century that they served in the 20th century."

Mottley, whose campaign has been called "the Bridgetown agenda", has pushed for a greater use of concessional finance such as low-interest, long-term debt instruments to finance clean energy development across the world, as well as climate-resilient infrastructure. Smaller nations must be able to tackle climate change without falling into unsustainable debt, she argues.

Other countries have called on MDBs to fund investments that benefit countries worldwide – and, in particular, to help rapidly growing middle-income

countries shift their economies away from coal, the most polluting fossil fuel.

In response to these and other calls, the World Bank produced an "evolution road map" that explored what more it could do to tackle climate change and other globally important catastrophes.

The bank suggested that in order for it to continue financing the world's poorest countries, while also lending more to middle-income nations, it would need an injection of cash from shareholders.

But the plea for more cash was universally criticised by the bank's big donor shareholders, including the US, which have had budgets squeezed by the pandemic, inflation and an energy crisis.

Joe Thwaites, an international climate finance advocate at non-profit the Natural Resources Defense Council, said the road map was a "combination of navel gazing and finger pointing... Fundamentally, it doesn't strike me as grasping the scale of the problem."

A senior government official at the German ministry for economic co-operation and development agrees, saying: "I would not say that the bank hasn't progressed. But the bank is not where the bank should be."

The World Bank says discussions around the road map were "a shareholder-led process" and added that the bank would not comment on the views of its shareholders.

According to the bank, it increased its climate finance from \$10.5bn to \$31.7bn over the past seven years. Although the bank's climate finance measured as a proportion of its overall lending has steadily increased, according to independent analysis by climate group NRD, it still lags behind three other large MDBs, including the European Investment Bank and the African Development Bank.

Spending better Rather than give it more money, G7 countries are pushing for the World Bank to look at how it could free up more cash from its balance sheets to supercharge climate spending.

One person close to discussions about how to reform the bank says G7 representatives are "concentrating on the

idea that the World Bank needs to spend better before it gets more money".

Historically, the World Bank has turned relatively modest sums into bigger numbers, according to an independent review of MDBs commissioned by the G20 and published last year.

Between 1944 and June 2021, shareholder countries contributed \$19.2bn capital in total to its main lending facility, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. With that capital, IBRD has issued more than \$750bn in loans and \$23bn in grants to the world's poorest countries, as well as covering the costs of its global development data and research.

But the G20 report said that the MDBs could do more still if they took certain steps. With "very manageable changes to risk tolerance" they could boost their lending capacity by "several hundreds of billions of dollars over the medium term" while still maintaining their credit ratings.

The World Bank has for decades maintained that holding a triple A rating from all three major credit rating agencies is essential for its operations. Shareholders, too, benefit from the bank being able to access low-cost funding from bond markets, which is where the bulk of the bank's funding comes from, and developing countries have warned against losing the rating.

But the report said the MDBs were possibly being more conservative than they needed to be to maintain a top-triple A credit rating. Shareholders ought to reconsider how much risk they wanted the institutions to take, it said, and consider allowing the banks to make changes such as adjusting the amount of capital they held against loans and how they treated their "callable capital", or money they could summon from shareholders in the event of a financial emergency.

Avinash Persaud, climate adviser to Barbados leader Mottley, says the report highlighted that "if you need to get to a totally different type of scale of lending, you can't do it using the old fashioned approach of paid-in capital".

If the World Bank takes up the G20 reforms and can convince countries to

'For very modest sums, you could double the [World Bank's] lending. It could have an enormous effect'

Looking ahead Malpass's departure has cleared the way for the US to propose a president with the financial markets literacy to study how far the bank can comfortably adjust its business model and formalise its commitment to tackling climate change.

The US Treasury is drawing up a shortlist of potential successors that is expected to include Samantha Power, head of the US Agency for International Development, Rockefeller Foundation president Rajiv Shah and World Trade Organization director-general Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala.

The next flashpoint is the bank's spring meetings, to be held in Washington DC in April, where it will be under intense pressure from the US and others to outline more concrete plans for improving its response to climate change.

"There are crunch discussions and decisions coming in the spring meetings," says Stern. The US has suggested that "easy wins" could be implementing some of the smaller points in the G20-commissioned report, such as slightly lowering the bank's equity-to-loan ratio and using hybrid capital instruments. Malpass said last week that the bank's shareholders were already considering proposals to lower the lender's equity-to-loan ratio by 1 percentage point, in a move that could free up about \$4bn.

Yellen has also urged the World Bank to engage in "stronger" mobilisation of private finance, and some shareholders want reforms to include new targets for the institution linked to how much private capital the bank leverages.

Another G7 shareholder says more difficult conversations – around how the bank assessed risk, for example – could now be accelerated. "Shareholders feel a sense of resolve," says Persaud, Mottley's climate adviser. "We want to raise back the ambition that somehow went into retreat."

increase capital, then even a modest injection would have a huge impact," says Lord Nicholas Stern, one of the institution's former chief economists.

"What people don't understand is how much value for money is in a capital increase," says Stern, who is chair of the Grantham Research Institute at LSE. "For very modest sums, you could double the [World Bank's] lending. It could have an enormous effect."

Although the bank has publicly welcomed the G20's recommendations, multiple shareholders told the Financial Times that the institution had not yet started exploring its most ambitious proposals. Two shareholders say there were concerns that the bank was "slow walking" the recommendations.

The cost of change

Not all countries, particularly those that primarily borrow from the World Bank, are comfortable with the institution taking on a greener hue.

Some large fossil fuel-reliant shareholders – including the petrostate Saudi Arabia plus Russia and India, along with major African and Latin American countries – are pushing back against the bank morphing into a "green bank".

Others are worried that a focus on climate may come at the expense of money for development, or result in more money for middle-income nations and less for the very poorest.

Amar Bhattacharya, a senior fellow in the Center for Sustainable Development, says some developing countries feel that "the climate agenda is being imposed on them".

"They see an element of luxury in the climate agenda that we are trying to push," he says. "As one executive director said to me, 'I don't want the World Bank to stop doing what it's doing in health and education'."

A recent note by the G11 group of developing nations about potential World Bank reforms, seen by the FT, said that "promoting development is at the very reason for each World Bank Group institution's existence". It was important that they remained "focused on the purpose for which they were established".

The note was signed by countries including Brazil, Pakistan, India, Indonesia, China, Saudi Arabia, Russia and more than two dozen African nations.

Faten Aggad, an adviser at the African Climate Foundation, says there were also concerns among some developing nations that rich countries were looking to "shift" their responsibilities for providing climate finance "to the multilateral development banks".

Supporters of reform insist this is not an either/or proposition. "There's no horse race between climate on the one hand and development and poverty on the other," says Stern. "Sometimes it's set up that way... I think that's a very serious mistake. If we fall on one we fall on the other."

Looking ahead Malpass's departure has cleared the way for the US to propose a president with the financial markets literacy to study how far the bank can comfortably adjust its business model and formalise its commitment to tackling climate change.

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The FT View



FINANCIAL TIMES

"Without fear and without favour"

ft.com/opinion

Generative AI should make haste slowly

With care, latest tech frenzy can be used for creative and productive ends

Tech companies are adopting three different approaches to releasing generative AI models...

Bard model. Last November, Meta pulled its Galactica AI service three days after launch...

reduce the chances it would generate toxic content. The millions of users who have since experimented with ChatGPT...

One sensible provision contained in the EU's AI directive is to outlaw companies that try to pass off bots as humans

AI models can be used for many creative end purposes. But they can also pump out industrial quantities of disinformation...

Opinion Science

A cosmic death spiral may reveal the age of the universe

Andy Carter



Anjana Ahuja

explosion additionally hints at as-yet-unknown physics in the heart of the collision, which he describes as featuring "the highest densities in the universe..."

Kilonovas can be thought of as the visually dimmer but more violent cousins of supernovas

environments. The geometry of the blast may also offer a promising new method of measuring the age of the universe...

Letters

'Over-hiking' today is insurance against a nightmare tomorrow

As interest rates continue to rise, the debate in financial markets has unsurprisingly moved on from whether central banks are perceived to have done too little...

make. That doesn't feel quite right. When people talk about "over-hiking" they have in mind that central banks will raise rates too far and slow the economy down too much...

on what they think is most likely to happen. But they may set rates today based on what they fear could happen.

inflation will turn out too low. Once the danger has passed, then central banks can switch back to setting policy based on what is most likely to happen...

B Corp scores must include supply chain mapping data

I read with interest The Big Read ("The struggle for the soul of B Corp", February 20) on the continuing challenges facing the B Corp movement...



Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland: the business case

In the run-up to the 2014 Scottish referendum, I drew attention to the damage that the push for independence in Catalonia...

How not to treat San Francisco's drug problem

I am puzzled by Michael Moritz's apparent call for a San Francisco autonomy or, at least, a rollback of San Francisco's voting rights...

Here's my manifesto for a true democratic capitalism

Martin Wolf's essay (Life & Arts, January 21) fails to address the simple truth that capitalism isn't democratic, it's feudal...

Blame the UN charter, not Guterres, for Syria stance

In response to Ronan L. Tynan's letter ("Guterres has no excuse for delays helping Syrian quake victims", February 20) I would recommend the author look at Article 2 (7) of the Charter of the UN...

Consultants and twitches, the comparison is obvious

I read with great interest the interview with Mariana Mazzucato ("The McKineys and the Deloittes have no expertise in the areas that they're advising in", The Henry Mance Interview, February 13)...

The FT's data ruling makes sense to me

I think I agree with the FT ruling in favour of "data is" rather than "data are". After all, we don't say "the pile of books are" but "the pile of books is"...

The writer is a science commentator

Opinion

Starmer should reject advice to be more daring

UK POLITICS

Janan Ganesh



Eighteen months ago, this profession of mine had Sir Keir Starmer down as a loser. Now that his UK Labour party is 20 points ahead in the polls, we are doing the gracious thing. We are telling him why he isn't further in front. He "must be brave". He "must be more radical". His party must "expand its political imagination". He has to "tell us who he is" and "spell out his real plans". It is only fair to warn you that the "What is Starmerism?" pieces are imminent.

What is worse here, the presumption, after such hopeless underestimation of

the man? Or the fact that all the advice is of a piece? Almost never is Starmer told to remain cautious and inscrutable. Almost never are half-measures urged on him. His pragmatism is described. His success is acknowledged. But the causal link between the one and the other goes largely undrawn.

Contrast Starmer with Nicola Sturgeon. Scotland's departing first minister was boldness incarnate. The mission of her career was nothing less than secession from the UK. The bill she proposed on gender stretched public opinion to snapping point. In style, not just in substance, she took risks, likening a minister in London to a colonial "governor general" and reframing a mere election as a plebiscite on independence.

For all this audacity and imagination, she has to show, what? A career that is spent at 52. An independence cause that is no further along than it was a decade ago. She isn't a failure. She won a land-

slide in 2015. But even her resignation speech seemed to rue her own forthrightness. How many voters might she have won to the nationalist cause had she measured her tone? Or focused on the technical grind of fixing healthcare and education? Or judged her vision of what a sovereign Scotland would look like? By defining it so sharply as a pro-governor general, she put a cap on potential support in a nation that has lots of conservatives, if not Conservatives.

Starmer should look north, then at his critics, and carry on as he is. To say that his cautious approach is going to make

him prime minister by default, not by acclamation, is to say almost nothing at all. Every leader who is elected to government is elected by default. They win because swing voters fear them slightly less than the alternative. The closest thing to an exception in Britain during my lifetime was Tony Blair's landslide of 1997. And even that has been glossed in retrospect. Turnout fell to a then postwar low. John Major had won more votes five years earlier. The national rupture cooled with a speed that exposed how frail it was to begin with.

None of this is criticism of Blair. The task of a politician is not to inspire. It is to get a plurality of voters to say "Oh, go on then."

And that is in normal times. In turbulent support in a nation that has lots of conservatives, if not Conservatives, it is even surer to flop. This, I think, is the tragedy of Sturgeon. She governed during an era when the public appetite for

risk was exhausted by outside events. Brexit, Donald Trump, Covid-19: the upheaval made secession, and provocative leadership, a disruption too far.

And it makes No-Drama Starmer more viable than his critics can believe. Political commentary suffers from a version of the principal-agent problem. The agent (the commentator) is invariably obsessed with politics. The principal (the reader and voting audience) has a lay interest in it. And so the commentator will over-index certain qualities in a leader: charisma, boldness, clarity. It is what we like because we turn to politics for drama and meaning. The audience gets those things from entertainment, or private life.

The result is chronic journalistic underestimation of a particular kind of leader. It is hard to convey the near-audible sigh of exasperation in Washington during the winter of 2018, when it became clear that Joe Biden

would run for president. Bernie Sanders was a story. Elizabeth Warren and Pete Buttigieg were stories. A middle-of-the-road veteran hoping to get third time lucky was a drag. Yet here he is.

Starmer is right to lure the principals, not the agents, of politics. Voters want a leader to have definition, yes, but mostly in the negative. I won't raise the basic rate of income tax. I won't borrow to spend. I won't reopen Brexit. Beyond that, politicians should view policy detail as some football coaches view possession of the ball: a liability, a chance to make a mistake. A "positive vision" is not what clinches elections. It is the absence of a scary one. In 1997, Blair was thought vague and tentative. He had to make do with just the 179-seat majority in parliament.

Be less brave, Starmer. Narrow your political imagination.

janan.ganesh@ft.com

The task of a politician is not to inspire. It is to get a plurality of voters to say 'Oh, go on then'

Illiberal democracy comes to Israel

Martin Wolf Economics

Proposed legal reforms by Netanyahu's government look rather like a power grab



Israel politics is in crisis. A large number of people have demonstrated on the streets against the right-wing coalition's extensively criticised "judicial reforms". The president, Isaac Herzog, has even declared that "We are no longer in a political debate but on the brink of constitutional and social collapse." The programme of this government is of evident importance for the future of the country. But it is also of wider significance. This is partly because of Israel's role in the region. It is also because what is happening raises questions about how a democracy can turn into an autocracy via unbridled majoritarianism.

Larry Diamond of Stanford University argues that liberal democracy has four individually necessary and collectively sufficient elements: free and fair elections; active participation in civic life of the citizenry; protection of the civil and human rights of all citizens; and a rule of law that binds and protects all citizens, including the most powerful. Those who have won elections are not entitled to threaten any of those essential elements of liberal democracy. If they seek to create such a state, they are subverting democracy. Democracy then is a system of majority rule, constrained by institutional checks and balances. Of those constraints, none is more important than the rule of law.

This is why the EU has such difficulty with the "illiberal democracies" of Hungary and Poland. It is also why the Israeli government's proposed legal "reforms" are so controversial. To opponents, the reforms will rip up protections against arbitrary action by the government, threatening individual freedom and legal predictability in a country dependent on foreign investment and a dynamic market economy.

This is, needless to say, not how the government sees it. It believes the Supreme Court has eroded its ability to govern by assessing even the "reasonableness" of its actions. This also puts government legal advisers in an objectionably powerful position in the development of policy. In addition, the court has opened the floodgates to litigation by allowing anybody the right to sue the government, thus paralyzing necessary economic activities. In brief, the court has vastly over-reached, threatening prosperity and democracy.

This is what I learned from talking with a senior member of the government. To find out whether it makes sense to talk to Netta Barak-Corren, a professor of constitutional law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Barak-Corren agrees that the Supreme Court has indeed lowered the thresholds for filing a suit against the government. It has also overruled it, not frequently, but consequentially. This has created ripple effects on the role of the government's legal advisers, which affect the government's ability to function.

Yet, she explained, this activism was largely a response to the inadequacy of the democratic structure, which consists of just one house of parliament, in

which a simple majority is sufficient to pass any law, including one of constitutional import. Potentially, this structure would give a majority unchecked powers unmatched in other democracies. Thus far, these powers have been constrained more by political culture and circumstances than by law.

Barak-Corren's big point, however, is that the coalition's proposals – namely, to politicise judicial appointments, including to lower-level courts, and make it extremely difficult for the court

to over-ride the government, while enabling the Knesset to overturn its rulings – are neither necessary nor sufficient to rectify the problems with the structure of Israeli democracy and the behaviour of the judiciary. This account persuades me that the reforms are mainly a power grab. They would allow the executive to operate with little judicial accountability and fill the judiciary with (possibly incompetent) loyalists, even in areas that have little to do with policy.

These changes also have potentially important economic implications, including to the highly successful high-tech sector, which has been an important contributor to the growth of the Israeli economy. Remarkably, Israel's real GDP per head is now much the same as in the UK or France. (See charts.)

The great economic danger created by

illiberal democracy, one we can see in many other countries, is of "crony capitalism". It becomes too easy in such systems for the corrupt to succeed in politics, government, the judiciary and in business. That in turn discourages the entry of honest new competitors into the economy, because it is they who are always most reliant on an independent judiciary and bureaucracy. Insiders have power on their side. Outsiders depend on the rule of law.

Needless to say, the arrival of this new government has created many other concerns, not least for the future of the occupied territories. The idea of annexation of the West Bank, for example, is potentially lethal to a democratic Israel unless full citizenship is granted to Palestinians, which would turn Israel into a binational state. But in the more narrow

area of legal reform the issue is whether the government is prepared to limit what it seeks to do. The changes experts think necessary to deal with the real problems, or whether it determined to obtain political control over the legal system, thereby undermining the rule of law.

It is worth noting in this context that Israel's economic history demonstrates that the legal system about which the government now complains so bitterly did not prevent its success. That also suggests that these dramatic reforms are unneeded in themselves and targeted at objectives other than the ostensible ones. Benjamin Netanyahu must think again before he does irreparable damage.

Israel has become a high-income country comparable to France and the UK
GDP per head at purchasing power parity (2021 constant \$'000)

Israel's economy has far outperformed those of its neighbours
GDP per head at purchasing power parity (2021 constant \$'000)

The 'start-up' nation has attracted huge amounts of foreign capital
Venture capital investments in Israel (\$bn)

The changes are unneeded in themselves and are targeted at objectives other than the ostensible ones

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QE has become 'Hotel California' for central banks

MARKETS

Megan Greene



Quantitative easing has developed a certain resemblance to the Eagles' "Hotel California" – you can check out any time you like, but you can never leave. We should pay more attention to quantitative tightening, suggest former Reserve Bank of India governor Raghuram Rajan and others in a recent paper. Commercial banks change their behaviour when there are plentiful reserves, making QT far more volatile and difficult to pull off than expected.

Our grasp of how QE and QT really

work remains tenuous. In announcing a bond-buying programme, a central bank signals to the markets it is committed to accommodative policy and that rates will be low for a long time. The entire yield curve drops as a result. In purchasing long-dated bonds, the central bank pushes their yield down and in theory incentivises investors to move into higher return securities (the so-called portfolio rebalancing channel).

However, QT isn't just QE in reverse. When rates are at the zero lower bound, the signalling channel is strong. But announcements about the central bank's balance sheet are less effective when the policy rate is well above zero.

In 2017, Janet Yellen, then Federal Reserve chair, promised QT "would be more 'like watching paint dry'". The reality has been somewhat different. Rajan argues this is because commercial banks change their behaviour when the central bank expands its balance sheet,

but do not change it back again when the balance sheet shrinks.

The mechanics of QE are a bit wonky. When the central bank buys bonds from investors, the proceeds are deposited in a commercial bank account. The banks credit lines that generate fees. This shortens the average maturity of assets, undermining the portfolio rebalancing channel and increasing bank vulnerability to liquidity shortages.

According to Rajan's data, none of this unwinds when the central bank shrinks its balance sheet and reserves become less ample. Instead, banks substitute lost reserves with other assets that are eligible collateral in repo transactions, to remain confident of getting enough cash if they need it. But if every bank tries to transform their assets into cash simultaneously, there will inevitably be a shortage, as happened in the US repo market in 2019. Banks also continue to extend credit lines even as liquidity wanes, to maintain client relationships.

That means banks make greater claims on the system's liquidity during QT, which may continue until there is a market "blow-up" when banks can step in and buy bonds again to ease liquidity

crises, as they did in 2019, at the start of the pandemic and in the recent liability-driven investment freeze in the UK. But that ratchets up banks' demands for liquidity still further – and makes QT even harder to pull off down the line.

One way around this is to minimise the signalling channel of QE, as the Bank of England did last year when it sold it would buy gilts for a very limited period, after the fallout from the Liz Truss-Kwasi Kwarteng "mini" Budget. But that would only work in a small-scale market meltdown. Imagine the Fed announcing in March 2020 that it would buy bonds but only briefly, reserves would not be plentiful forever and rates would rise soon. Investors' dash for cash would have continued.

Central banks could simply forget about QT. Unlike commercial banks they can take losses and run in the red. But there are good reasons why they should not have an ever-growing bal-

ance sheet. Investors would have an incentive to take more risk. Governments may lean on the central bank to buy more bonds to finance pet projects. Central bank independence would be severely at risk, undermining credibility. A forever-distorted yield curve would make price discovery impossible.

Better bank capitalisation could help reduce vulnerability in the face of greater liquidity needs. Regulators could prevent reserve hoarding by allowing banks to meet an average of liquidity requirements over time rather than daily targets. Standing repo facilities can be extended to non-banks with good collateral, as the Bank of England recently did. Ultimately, however, the best way to get out of QE may be not to start it in the first place. You don't have to check out if you've never checked in.

Commercial lenders change behaviour when the balance sheet expands, but not when it shrinks

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US tech pay: share the pain

In the US tech sector, hiring the best employees requires more than just competitive base pay and free snacks. One of the more prized rewards is generous share-based remuneration. The tech stock rout is making these expensive for employers and investors. In theory, share-based remuneration works because it keeps immediate wage costs down and motivates staff to help their employer succeed. The pay structure should align worker and investor interests. Many companies exclude the cost of stock-based pay from adjusted profit figures on the basis that it is a non-cash expense. Tech shares slumped during last year's rotation out of growth equities. Meta is down 15 per cent over the past year. Alphabet has fallen 27 per cent. Zoom is off 42 per cent. The value of staff payouts has accordingly dropped. Companies must either hand out more equity, pay bonuses in cash or cope with some staff quitting when confronted with real-terms pay cuts. Zoom has picked the first option. It had 19mm of unvested, restricted stock units as of October 31, up from about 5mm the previous year. It was a glansour stock during lockdowns. Sales growth has since stalled. But as it ratchets up handouts, it is still registering the impact of earlier stock-based compensation expenses. Fast-growing start-ups that lure employees with offers of share awards face other pressures. Airbnb co-founder Brian Chesky was clear that employees with stock options set to expire in late 2020 pushed the company to go public in the midst of a travel sector downturn. That was costly. In 2020, Airbnb's stock-based remuneration expense was \$2.8bn. Uber beat that when it listed a year earlier, reporting an immediate \$3.6bn expense. These are not one-offs. Airbnb reported \$930m of stock-based pay expense last year. Stock-based remuneration is a drag on net income and lifts the number of shares outstanding. Expect techs to buy back shares to counteract dilution. Zoom spent about \$1bn on buybacks in the first three quarters of 2022. Last summer, Airbnb announced plans to repurchase stock worth \$2bn. So far it has spent \$1.5bn. Despite the cost, the

number of shares outstanding has barely moved. Tech companies that once airily dismissed stock bonuses as a non-cash expense will increasingly take a genuine hit via cash outflows.

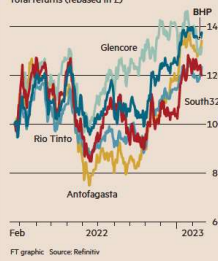
Carbon price: Gaia buyers

How much is carbon worth? The cost of a permit for a European factory or power plant to emit a tonne of CO2 has risen fivefold over the past three years. It topped €100 a tonne yesterday. That is good news for energy transition. But for an investor treating carbon as an asset class, a lot is now in the price. Climate watchers should cheer the €100 milestone. For a long time, the cost of the allowances – covered by the EU's cap and trade ETS system – was too low to influence business decisions. Finally, carbon has reached a price high enough to reflect environmental costs and to change behaviour. That should help spur investment in green tech. For instance, a glassmaker paying €50/MWh for natural gas, plus another €20/MWh equivalent in CO2 permits, may be willing to buy biometane, which can cost as little as €55/MWh. Capturing CO2 from industrial sites and storing it in depleted gasfields costs something like €90-120/tonne, so this technology is becoming commercially viable too. Indeed, a carbon price of €100/tonne is enough to abate about half of emissions, according to Goldman Sachs Carbonomics research. That is at current costs. Over time, new technologies such as green hydrogen should become cheaper as their use becomes more widespread. Investors betting on the rise of carbon permits have done very well so far, both for themselves and for the planet. This niche group includes utilities and industrial companies, which acquire more than their annual permit requirements, and financial investors that have spotted a juicy opportunity. The investment case has now weakened for carbon, which Lex valued at \$100 (€82) two years ago when permit prices were half that. They still need to rise over the next 20 years to force more CO2 out of the system. Suppose they double to €200/tonne by 2040 – a reasonable guessimate. That performance would

BHP: wriggle me this

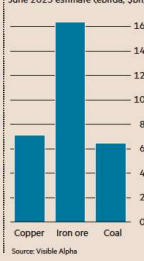
Shares of the diversified Australian miner have done well this past year, helped by a high dividend yield. After years of concentrating its portfolio, three commodities – particularly iron ore – drive BHP's profits. Using forward estimates, free cash flow only just covers expected dividends to 2025.

BHP leads the way



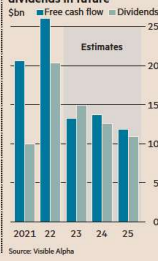
It can take a century or more to become a one-year wonder. Shares in BHP, a business founded in the 1880s, have outrun peers with a 40 per cent return over the past 12 months. Thank bosses – and activists – who refocused a vast portfolio BHP had built up over decades. The new structure should continue performing well even as the commodity boom subsides. But fat returns are set to attenuate. Since 2015, BHP has spun out minerals grab South32, deconsolidated remaining oil and gas production, and swapped a dual listing for a primary quote in Sydney. Yesterday's full-year results underscored that this is now an Australian miner of iron ore, copper

BHP profit drivers



and coal. That description is admirably simple. There is more nuance to BHP's 10 per cent dividend yield. The share price, by implication, is low. But everything is relative in mining's cyclical world. BHP's enterprise value of nearly 6 times forward ebitda beats that of diversified peers. The scale of the yield also signals that the dividend is seen as unsustainable. This, in turn, points to investor caution towards prices for iron ore, copper and metallurgical coal. Over the next few years, expect BHP's free cash flow to slide as it raises capital expenditure. Some of the money will go to Jansen, a Canadian potash fertiliser project. Chief executive Mike Henry is enthusiastic about the potash mine, scheduled to

Free cash flow barely covers dividends in future



open in 2026. BHP – at some risk to its much-vaunted focus – believes it will produce earnings uncorrelated with those of other divisions. Visible Alpha, the estimates service, forecasts group annual mean free cash flow of \$12.9bn to June 2025. Dividend payouts should average about \$12.8bn. That limits Henry's financial wriggle room. It also leaves him dependent on iron ore and copper units accounting for 80 per cent of group ebitda. As economies normalise in the wake of lockdowns and rate rises, so will demand for these commodities. Expect Henry to let the dividend drift before he slashes investment. Investors, like BHP itself, should think in multiple years, not months.

compare poorly with many other investments. For once, a market may have efficiently done its job.

Pharma: prescription for efficiency

Big Pharma's response to Covid was agile. But hopes that drug developers could sustain some of the productivity gains are subsiding. R&D returns have reversed their declining trend. A Deloitte report on drug development at the 20 biggest pharma groups found that its average cost, which dipped in 2021, rose 15 per cent to \$2.3bn last year. Meanwhile, average peak annual sales forecasts dropped a fifth to \$389m, reflecting the fading

contribution from Covid jabs and drugs. The rate of return on big pharma companies' R&D averaged 10 per cent in the six years to 2022, estimates Berenberg, not far above their cost of capital of 8 per cent. Some, such as France's Sanofi, undershot. At the other end of the scale, Denmark's Novo Nordisk matched up returns of more than 20 per cent. Such calculations are tricky. Drugs can take a long time to generate profits. The origins of Merck's Keytruda dates back 20 years; it was nearly dropped in 2009. The cancer treatment should be this year's top-selling drug with sales of \$24bn, according to Evaluate Vantage. Businesses can raise their game. AstraZeneca has moved from laggard to leader in the R&D productivity ranking with a focused approach. But

hurdles are high. Oncology accounts for 56 per cent of Big Pharma's pipeline assets. Groups compete in a crowded field. Costs are high partly because cancer clinical trials take 30-40 per cent longer than for other drugs. US drug pricing reforms could squeeze returns. Eli Lilly last year scrapped development of a drug targeting blood cancers. Bristol Myers Squibb has warned of similar moves. Investors value future drugs according to their chances of success and potential market size. But future cash flows are discounted, so the pipeline typically accounts for just 15 per cent of a group's net present value. Groups with ingenious and efficient R&D operations deserve a premium. As patents expire, pharma companies' ability to renew themselves is vital.

Home Depot/Walmart: retail politics

Capital had a great run. It is still labour's turn. That was the message from Home Depot's fourth-quarter earnings yesterday. The DIY retailer needs more workers to help customers buy washing machines or sheets of plywood. It expects to spend an incremental \$1bn in wages for frontline staff, a figure that would depress its closely watched operating margin by 60 basis points, pushing the figure below 15 per cent. Home Depot foresees flat sales in 2023. It believes earnings will be slightly lower as Americans shift consumption towards services instead of the goods that were in demand during the pandemic. The company pointed out that its annual revenues have grown by \$47bn in the past three years, a remarkable number for a company with annual sales already above \$100bn. The shares are still well above where they stood in 2019. There is enough cash flow to pay out \$15bn to shareholders for 2022 in the form of dividends and buybacks. The results still confirm the worry that corporate earnings will now be braked by higher costs and softer demand. A putative monetary easing cannot alone sustain a rally in stock prices.

According to data service FactSet, the valuation of the S&P 500 has moderated to a multiple of 18 times. That is still above the 10-year average. Home Depot is not alone in raising wages. Walmart recently announced that its minimum wage for employees will be \$14 per hour while its average worker will make \$17.50 per hour. The big general retailer and grocer provided a lacklustre outlook yesterday. Home Depot stood out for being even more pessimistic. Well-paid professionals may scoff at the wages taken home by retail workers. However, there is satisfaction for the latter in seeing pay rising at employers once decimated as tight wads. A trend first trumpeted as the pandemic abated in the US is enduring longer than some forecasters imagined. With businesses reluctant to raise prices further, investors can expect profits to take a hit.

Nikkei Asia crossword puzzle section with grid and clues for 'No 17,339 Set by CHALMIE' and 'JOTTER PAD'.

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