

# FINANCIAL TIMES

THURSDAY 2 FEBRUARY 2023

INTERNATIONAL NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

ASIA



Can Europe match Washington's green deal?

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Why insurers struggle to price cyber risks

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## Adani calls off \$2.4bn share sale after price slumps further

- Investors' cash returned after rout
- Fraud claims hurt billionaire's empire

ADAM SAMSON AND OLIVER RALPH — LONDON  
ORFENCA ALIAJ — NEW YORK

Adani Enterprises has called off its \$2.4bn equity fundraising and returned the cash to investors in the latest blow to Indian billionaire Gautam Adani, who has seen shares in his industrial empire tumble after allegations of fraud and stock manipulation.

The decision to pull the equity sale marks an abrupt turn after Adani Enterprises' share price fell a further 27 per cent yesterday, taking it well below the deal price range.

The sell-off in Adani's listed companies has wiped more than \$90bn off their value since short seller Hindenburg Research alleged last week that Adani Group used offshore entities in tax havens to inflate the share prices of its listed companies, allowing them to take on more debt and "entirely group on a precarious financial footing". In a regulatory filing last night, Adani said that "given the unprecedented situation and the current market volatility", it was "returning the ... proceeds and withdrawing the completed transaction".

Adani had sought to enlist some of India's leading tycoons to help salvage the share sale, according to people with knowledge of the fundraising. Entities connected to Sajjan Jindal, the billionaire chair of conglomerate JSW, and Sunil Mittal, the chief of Bharti Enterprises, had agreed to invest in Adani Enterprises' share offering.

People involved in the fundraising said it was fully backed by investors including Abu Dhabi's International Holding Company and London-listed Jupiter Asset Management.

The Indian group, whose businesses range from ports to data centres, said it was working with its bankers to issue refunds. "Our balance sheet is very healthy with strong cash flows and secure assets, and we have an impeccable track record of servicing our debt. This decision will not have any impact on our existing operations and future plans," it said.

Adani's efforts to ease concerns among investors, including a \$15-page response rejecting the US short seller's allegations, have failed to stem declines in its stock price.

On Monday, IHC, a conglomerate with businesses spanning healthcare, energy and food, said it would commit \$400m to the share sale. On Tuesday, Adani said it had secured bids for more than 92 per cent of the shares, deeming the sale a success. But by yesterday, Adani's regular filing said that given the "extraordinary" fluctuations in its share price, its board "felt that going ahead with the issue will not be morally correct".

Adani will return about \$1.25bn, the cash transferred by backers so far, according to a person with knowledge of the terms of the deal. "He has to keep a clean record," the person said, explaining the billionaire's decision.

India's financial regulator is examining the crash in Adani shares since the short seller's allegations and any potential irregularities in the share sale. Reuters reported yesterday.

The Securities and Exchange Board of India declined to comment. The Adani Group did not respond to a request for comment on the report.

**Debt-driven expansion** page 6  
**Lex** page 16

## Walkout UK trains and schools shut down as hundreds of thousands strike for better pay



Strike union members and their supporters march along Whitehall in London yesterday as Britain faced its biggest day of industrial action in more than a decade.

Hundreds of thousands of civil servants, teachers, border staff and railway workers walked out, closing down the majority of trains services and most schools in England and Wales, with even the British Museum shutting its

doors for the day. More walkouts are planned in the coming weeks by nurses and ambulance workers.

Months of strikes have disrupted the daily lives of those across the UK as a dispute rumbles between unions and the government over pay and working conditions. But the simultaneous strikes across many industries yesterday marked an escalation of the unions' protests.

Union chiefs argue that despite some pay increases, such as a 5 per cent offer to teachers, public sector workers are struggling to cope with soaring living expenses amid double-digit inflation.

The Trades Union Congress said yesterday that the average public sector worker was £203 a month worse off in real terms compared with 2010, once inflation was taken into account.

FT View page 16

### Briefing

**Archegos losers to recoup as little as 5 cents on dollar**  
Banks that lost billions from the meltdown of the investment firm are expecting to get back between 5 and 20 per cent of their losses from its restructuring. — PAGE 5

**FBI searches Biden home**  
The US president's holiday home in Rehoboth, Delaware, has been searched as part of a Department of Justice probe into his handling of classified documents. — PAGE 4

**Berlin wins US chip plant**  
Wolfpack has announced plans to build a €3bn factory in western Germany. Officials said it showed Europe can compete against US subsidies. — PAGE 2; BIG READ, PAGE 13

**Russian denial on treaty**  
Moscow has rejected accusations from the US that it is violating the New Start treaty, the nuclear arms accord between the powers that expires in 2026. — PAGE 3

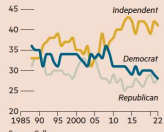
**Hong Kong contraction**  
The city's economy has shrunk 3.5 per cent in a blow to its bid to keep its status as Asia's financial hub. Economists are forecasting a rebound this year. — PAGE 4

**Intel cuts pay to save cash**  
The US chipmaker has cut the pay of managers and executives in a bid to weather an expected downturn. Reductions will not hit bonus and stock awards. — PAGE 5

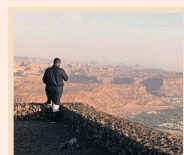
### Datawatch

#### States of independents

Share of US population (%)



Voters identifying as independents began to outnumber Republicans and Democrats in the 1990s. The advantage faded in the early 2000s but since then their share of the electorate has topped 40 per cent in all but the 2016 and 2020 election years.  
Source: Gallup



Saudi push to claim place on the global tourist map

Analysis — PAGE 4

Australia	A\$70000c GST
China	RMB30
Hong Kong	HK\$33
India	₹100
Indonesia	₹45000
Japan	¥50000c JCT
Korea	₩500
Malaysia	RM150
Pakistan	₹100
Philippines	₹100
Singapore	S\$50000c GST
Taiwan	NT\$100
Thailand	฿100
Vietnam	₹500

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## Fed announces quarter-point rate rise in return to slower pace of tightening

COLBY SMITH — WASHINGTON

The US Federal Reserve increased its benchmark rate by a quarter-point percentage yesterday, marking a return to slower, more orthodox rate rises after it ratcheted up the cost of borrowing last year.

With inflation seemingly past its peak and economic activity beginning to cool, the Federal Open Market Committee raised the federal funds rate to between 4.5 per cent and 4.75 per cent, the highest level since September 2007.

The Fed said that the FOMC expected "ongoing increases in the target range [to] be appropriate" in order to ensure the economy was being restrained enough to get inflation under control. Its statement indicated that the central bank would raise borrowing costs further this year.

The Fed added that while inflation had "eased somewhat", it still remained "elevated".

The quarter-point increase represents a break with the unusually large half and three-quarter-point rate rises the Fed relied on in 2022 as it wrestled with soaring inflation. By contrast, the European Central Bank and the Bank of England are both expected to increase rates by 0.5 points today.

"The Fed is further into the tightening cycle and other central banks have more work to do [to defeat high inflation]," said Neil Shearing, chief economist of Capital Economics.

Despite a larger than expected fall in eurozone inflation in January, core inflation in the bloc remained high.

Fed officials have said slower tightening would give them more time to assess the impact of last year's cumulative

increase of 4.25 points in the benchmark federal funds rate, as well as greater flexibility to adjust course.

With wage growth remaining high and the number of US job vacancies jumping again in December, Fed officials do not yet think the labour market has cooled sufficiently to bring inflation down to the bank's 2 per cent target.

Demand for workers was unexpectedly high last month, with employers posting an additional 572,000 job openings on the last day of 2022. That brought the total number of vacancies to 11m, according to the labour department's Job Openings and Labor Turnover Survey released yesterday.

In December, most officials projected the fed funds rate would peak at 5.25 per cent this year and for that level to be maintained throughout 2023.

ECB set to raise rates page 2

### World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS			
	Feb 1	Prev	%Chg		Feb 1	Prev	%Chg		Feb 1	Prev	%Chg
S&P 500	4058.40	4076.80	-0.45	£/€	1.082	1.086	-0.37	US 2 yr	4.20	4.21	-0.01
Nasdaq Composite	11951.29	11984.58	-0.28	£/¥	1.233	1.231	0.16	US 10 yr	3.49	3.52	-0.03
Dow Jones Ind	33777.67	34098.04	-0.90	€/¥	0.886	0.882	0.45	US 30 yr	3.61	3.64	-0.04
FTSE100	7186.59	7188.18	-0.14	HK\$	152.25	153.04	-0.52	UK 2 yr	3.50	3.54	-0.03
Hong Kong	4168.69	4152.45	0.15	₩	153.13	160.09	-4.31	UK 10 yr	3.51	3.53	-0.02
FTSE 100	7761.11	7771.70	-0.14	SFr/€	0.988	0.988	0.00	UK 30 yr	3.71	3.71	0.00
FTSE All-Share	4252.95	4255.72	-0.07	CRYPTO				JPN 2 yr	-0.02	-0.02	0.00
CAC 40	7071.11	7062.42	0.07	Bitcoin (\$)	23015.50	23134.90	-0.52	JPN 10 yr	0.48	0.49	-0.02
Nikkei	27346.88	27327.11	0.07	Ethereum	1579.07	1586.00	-0.44	JPN 30 yr	1.56	1.60	-0.04
Hong Kong	22072.18	21942.31	0.56	COMMODITIES				GER 2 yr	2.88	2.85	0.03
MSCI World \$	2795.00	2799.92	0.18	Oil Brent \$				GER 10 yr	2.28	2.29	-0.01
MSCI EM \$	1031.50	1044.00	-1.20	Gold \$				GER 30 yr	2.22	2.23	-0.01
MSCI ACWI \$	848.57	843.95	0.55	Oil WTI \$							
FT Mibex 200	5317.70	5258.60	1.17	Oil Brent \$							
FT Mibex 5000	41548.93	40900.98	1.58	Gold \$							

Forum Auctions



BANKSY (B.1974)  
Girl with Balloon  
Screenprint in red and black, 2004,  
numbered from the edition of 600 in pencil.  
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INTERNATIONAL

Saarland site

# US chipmaker to build German plant

### Scholz hails plan for €3bn factory as sign Europe can entice green investment

LAURA PITEL — BERLIN

A US chipmaker has announced plans to build a €3bn factory in western Germany in a move hailed by Chancellor Olaf Scholz as a sign that Europe can compete against powerful US green subsidies.

The factory, on the site of a decommissioned coal plant in the region of Saarland, will be built by the US semiconductor producer Wolfspeed and will produce silicon carbide chips for electric vehicles and industrial use.

Speaking at the site of the planned production facility, which is still subject

to EU approval, Scholz said the move proved companies looking to make sustainable investments should not "look any further" than Europe.

Anke Rehlinger, minister president of Saarland, said US president Joe Biden's Inflation Reduction Act — a huge programme of subsidies announced last year that has triggered fears in Europe about losing out on green investment — served as "strong competition" for Germany and other EU states.

But she added: "We can say today, we can win this competition."

The Saarland announcement is relatively small compared with other recent investments in semiconductors, such as the decision last year by US company Intel to spend €17bn on a giant new chip manufacturing plant in the German city of Magdeburg. But it comes as the EU

seeks to encourage a big increase in European manufacturing of the chips, used in computers, smartphones, vehicles and a range of other products and devices, in order to reduce the vulnerability of its supply chains and limit its dependence on Asia and the US.

Wolfspeed hoped 20 to 25 per cent of the total cost of the investment would come from subsidies, said the company's chief executive, Gregg Lowe.

The German auto producer ZF Friedrichshafen is expected to contribute about 10 per cent of the construction costs, according to a person familiar with the matter. The car parts maker also announced plans to create a German research and development facility.

The announcement offers a boost to Saarland, an area whose economic vitality has been thrown into peril by the

### It comes as the EU seeks to encourage a big rise in European chipmaking

move away from conventional vehicles. The area is deeply dependent on the auto industry, which employs some 44,000 staff in a region with a population of 1mn, but has been hit by closures.

Ford announced last month it was considering selling its plant in the state. Holger Klein, chief executive of ZF, said the new factory, which is expected to employ about 600 workers when fully operational, offered a chance to stabilise supply chains and accelerate change towards new forms of transport. Wolfspeed, based in North Carolina, specialises in the production of silicon carbide semiconductors that aim to help electric vehicles charge faster and reduce the size of their batteries. They are also used in the production of wind and solar power.

See FT Big Read

GLOBAL INSIGHT

EUROPE

Leila Abboud



## Super-rich in spotlight as French rail against Macron's pension plan

Emmanuel Macron's unpopular plan to raise the retirement age two years to 64 has ignited a debate in egalitarian-minded France: are the billionaires to blame?

As labour unions held a second strike on Tuesday, which drew hundreds of thousands of people on to the streets, leftwing politicians have gone on the attack to argue that taxing the super-rich would be a better way to plug deficits in the pension system.

In particular, Bernard Arnault, the world's richest man and owner of French luxury group LVMH, has become a lightning rod with protesters at recent marches carrying signs with his face on a wanted poster and exhorting him to do more for the common good.

François Rufin, a member of parliament for the Somme region and prominent figure in the leftwing Nupes alliance, has been particularly vocal in linking the debate over pensions reform and the way wealth is shared (or not) in French society.

"The billionaires have only gotten richer since the Covid-19 pandemic, Macron refuses to tax windfall profits made by our biggest companies, and somehow all the effort to fix the pensions problem must fall on the shoulders of workers?" he said. "This is a moment to fight for the kind of society we want — not one where capital crushes labour and people are just consumers."

It is easy to dismiss this as typical socialist rhetoric that often surfaces in France where wealth is viewed with suspicion. But there is more to it. Soon after his 2017 election, Macron was nicknamed "president of the rich" by opponents for his pro-business agenda. His government has cut taxes paid by companies, lowered unemployment benefits and scrapped a wealth tax.

Opponents of Macron's pension reform — which would lift the transition from 41 to 43 years of contributions for a full pension — see it as part of a series of policies that favour the wealthy and businesses over workers.

Government officials rebut that by pointing to declining unemployment and strong foreign direct investment figures as proof that the Macron economic agenda has paid off. Plus the government has been generous with aid to blunt the pain first of the pandemic and then inflation kicked off in part by the energy crisis, they argue.

Nevertheless, the "president of the rich" critique has been ably exploited by far-right leader Marine Le Pen to rack up votes among blue-collar workers, helping her party win 88 seats in the National Assembly in June. Meanwhile, the far-left standard bearer Jean-Luc Mélenchon has used Macron as a foil to argue that capitalism and globalisation are discredited models that must take a back seat to social justice and fighting climate change.

Given this political backdrop, the choices Macron made in his retirement proposal may prove risky. To fill the deficits caused by there being fewer workers for every retiree in coming decades, he wants everyone to work longer. It is a burden that weighs more heavily on people who start work younger and those with physically challenging jobs. He also set out red lines: companies would not be asked to pay higher taxes, nor would current retirees, even the wealthier ones, be asked to contribute.

The left objected and promptly identified supposed alternatives, while also calling for the retirement age to be brought back down to 60. Oxford said all it would take was a 2 per cent tax on France's billionaires to plug the €12bn annual pension deficit expected by 2027. One leftist lawmaker tweeted that French start-ups had raised €13.5bn in 2022 so why not look there, while Mélenchon's party demanded the pensions deficit to the €80bn in dividends paid by companies in France be cut.

These ideas make little economic sense, but they make good politics. Polls show almost three-quarters of French oppose raising the retirement age.

leila.abboud@ft.com

## Africa tour Pontiff calls for peace in Congo

Pope Francis has called on warring sides in the Democratic Republic of Congo to "lay down" their weapons, as he addressed more than 1mn at a mass in the capital Kinshasa.

"For all of you in this country who call yourselves Christians but engage in violence... the Lord is telling you: lay down your arms, embrace mercy," the pontiff said on the first official stop of a five-day African tour that also includes South Sudan.

The Pope, 86, also used his fifth visit there since becoming pontiff nearly 10 years ago to condemn exploitation of the continent from colonial times. "It's not a mine to be stripped or terrain to be plundered," Andres Schipani in Nairobi



Russian war

## Italy to join France with missile defence system for Ukraine

AMY KAZMIN AND GIULIANA RICCOZZI  
ROME  
LEILA ABBOUD — PARIS

Italy is poised to join with France and provide a state of the art missile defence system to Ukraine, as Rome's rightwing prime minister Giorgia Meloni seeks to affirm support for Kyiv.

In a Financial Times interview, defence minister Guido Crosetto said Rome was committed to fulfilling Ukraine's requests for weapons to shore up its defences.

Kyiv has asked Italy and France to provide their Samp-T missile defence system to help protect key infrastructure and cities from frequent barrages of Russian missiles hitting Ukraine.

Crosetto said a forthcoming package of Italian military aid, now being prepared, was "probably" going to include "weapons of defence against Russian missile attack". He declined to offer specifics, citing Italy's policy of keeping military aid details to Kyiv secret. But he added that any decision on the defences

would be taken in tandem with Paris. Speaking in Paris on Tuesday, Ukraine's defence minister Oleksii Reznikov said he welcomed "the progress on the Samp-T system". A French defence official confirmed "technical discussions have advanced considerably".

Although the details have not been confirmed, Italy is expected to provide the missile launchers, while France would supply the rockets. France's defence ministry said the two countries ordered 700 Aster missiles that are used by this system late last year.

Germany and the US have agreed to each supply one Patriot system to Ukraine, while the Netherlands said it would send part of a system: two launchers and missiles.

"Italy will meet requests that have been made by Ukraine within the limits of its possibilities," Crosetto said. "We will give everything we can give without jeopardising Italian defence. Ukraine and our allies will be happy about it." The premature collapse of the Mario

Draghi government last year, and the subsequent election of a rightwing coalition, raised concerns among allies that Italy's support for Kyiv could falter, given the country's traditional pacifism and the past pro-Russia sympathies of Meloni's coalition partners.

Such concerns were fuelled just before the government's installation in October when Silvio Berlusconi, leader of Forza Italia, recounted a recent birthday exchange of "sweet letters" and gifts with Russian president Vladimir Putin. But Meloni's Brothers of Italy party, of which Crosetto is a key co-founder, has repeatedly expressed its determination to support the Ukrainians in their fight against Russian invaders.

"If we stop helping Ukraine, probably in I don't know how long, Russia would conquer all of Ukraine," Crosetto said. "We have Russian tanks on the border with European countries".

Crosetto said he and Brothers of Italy saw little scope for peace talks given Russia's continued aggression. "Instead of seeking... peace, Russia has increased its troops and its tanks," he said.



Guido Crosetto: Italy's defence minister says Rome will fulfil Kyiv's weapons requests

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Price pressures

## ECB set to raise rates as core inflation remains at record high

VALENTINA ROSSI — LONDON

Eurozone rate-setters are poised to raise borrowing costs by another half percentage point today, after figures published yesterday showed underlying inflationary pressures in the region remain uncomfortably high.

The regional rate for core inflation — which excludes changes in food and energy prices — remained unchanged at an all-time high of 5.2 per cent in the year to January.

The figure, coupled with the resilience of eurozone output during the final quarter of 2022, all but confirms the European Central Bank will raise its deposit rate by another half a percentage point to 2.5 per cent today.

The bank raised rates by 2.5 percentage points over the second half of 2022 in response to inflation, which hit a record high of 10.6 per cent in October. The headline rate fell from 9.2 per cent in the year to December to 8.5 per cent last month — still more than four times the ECB's 2 per cent goal.

Anna Titareva, economist at Swiss lender UBS, said the ECB would want to see improvement in the "broader inflation environment" before changing course on its monetary policy.

"The jump in core inflation in some key countries [such as Spain] will be enough for the central bank to confirm its current hawkish stance," said Bert Collin, economist at ING Bank. Ken Wättré, head of European analysis at S&P Global Market Intelligence, a data firm, said rate-setters remained "on track" to raise rates by half a point in February and by a further half-point at their next meeting in March.

The headline figure was lower than the 9 per cent forecast by economists polled by Reuters. It came after data published on Tuesday showed eurozone GDP unexpectedly expanded between the third and fourth quarter of last year.

The region now looks set to avoid a winter recession despite the surge in energy prices and rising borrowing costs.

Separate data, also published by Eurostat yesterday, showed the eurozone's labour market remained resilient. The unemployment rate was unchanged at 6.6 per cent in December, the lowest since records began in 1995.

Fabio Balboni, economist at lender HSBC, said the better data would mean the ECB might be "more determined" to press on with rate rises, with stronger than expected growth likely to boost core inflation.

Headline inflation is slowing in most advanced countries, including the US and the UK, reflecting the easing of global energy costs. However, measures of underlying inflation are a concern for policymakers. The Bank of England is likely to increase its benchmark rate by 50bp today.

The decline in the eurozone headline rate was driven by falls in energy inflation, which slowed to 17.2 per cent in January from 25.5 per cent in the previous month. It is now less than half of the peak of 41.5 per cent in October.

But food inflation hit a record high of 14 per cent in January, up from 13.8 per cent in December.

Inflation in the cost of goods also accelerated to a fresh record high of 6.9 per cent. That rate is declining in the US and UK thanks to the easing of global supply chain disruptions and the fall in shipping costs.

Services inflation, a bellwether of domestic price pressures, marginally declined to 4.2 per cent in January from 4.4 per cent in the previous month.

January's inflation rates varied from 21.6 per cent for Latvia to 5.8 per cent for Spain. Germany has not yet published its figures for January. Eurostat said eurozone inflation had been calculated using its own estimates for the region's largest economy.

Jack Allen-Reynolds, economist at Capital Economics, said the lack of accurate information available on German inflation meant the sharp fall in the eurozone headline rate "should be taken with a big pinch of salt".

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Inflation battle: headquarters of the ECB in Frankfurt, Germany



INTERNATIONAL

# Czech election winner tells EU to face reality about China

## President-elect Pavel angers Beijing by talking to Taiwan's head of state

RAPHAEL MINDER — PRAGUE

The Czech president-elect has called on EU states to drop any illusions about China, saying his country would no longer "behave like an ostrich" over divergent interests with Beijing.

Petr Pavel's warning comes days after the retired Nato commander swept to victory in Czech elections, comfortably beating his populist opponent with an Atlanticist, pro-European platform.

One of Pavel's first moves has been to confront what he sees as dangerous misconceptions about China, which he argues were exposed by Beijing's unwillingness to condemn Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

"This is what we have to be very clear about: China and its regime is not a friendly country at this moment, it is not compatible with western democracies in their strategic principles," Pavel said in an interview with the Financial Times. "This is simply a fact that we have to recognise."

Defying warnings over potential retaliation, Pavel on Monday became the first elected European head of state to speak to Taiwanese president Tsai Ing-wen. Pavel said the Czech Republic stands to benefit more from Taiwan than China economically and "we will not behave as an ostrich to hide this reality."

After Pavel's call with Tsai, China issued a scathing response on Tuesday and called for Prague to change tack to avoid "irreparable damage" in relations. The foreign ministry's Mao Ning said

Pavel "ignored China's repeated attempts to dissuade him" and "persisted in stepping on China's red line".

Beijing, which demands other countries also treat Taiwan as if it were part of China, punished Lithuania for its pro-Taipei stance with targeted curbs on its exports. In December, the EU took China to the World Trade Organization over the spat with Lithuania.

But such hazards have not deterred Pavel from speaking his mind. "I'm aware of some... potential threats but at the same time I don't really see any breach of principles for the relations between the Czech Republic and China."

The phone call was initiated by Taiwan, according to Pavel. But he stands ready to meet Tsai at some stage and wants stronger ties with Taiwan. "Taiwan is without any doubt a microchip superpower today," he said.

The speaker of the lower house of the Czech parliament is set to visit Taipei next month and Pavel said this trip should bring "some new ideas on how to expand our co-operation".

Pavel argued there was "definitely a lesson to be learned" from Beijing's failure to rein in Moscow over its invasion of Ukraine. "Undoubtedly, China had a chance to have a strong voice in influencing Russian decisions [but] didn't take that chance," he said. "They stayed away."

When Pavel takes office next month, it will represent a change of approach from his predecessor, Miloš Zeman, a political veteran who embraced Russia and lauded how China had "stabilised"



Centre stage: Petr Pavel and his wife, Eva Pavlová, at the weekend runoff vote in the presidential election in Prague at the weekend. Martin Chuska/EPFL

its society. Zeman turned his back on President Vladimir Putin only after Russia's all-out attack on Ukraine in February last year.

During his two terms in office, Zeman pushed for Prague to become "China's gateway to Europe", but most of the Chinese investments that Zeman promised failed to materialise.

Pavel also stands out as a political novice who made his career in the military, rising to the rank of general before serving as chair of Nato's military committee between 2015 and 2018. In what was his first electoral campaign, he defeated billionaire Andrej Babiš, a former prime minister supported by Zeman, in a runoff vote at the weekend.

Within the EU, Pavel said he saw room to develop the Visegrad Four alliance between his country, Slovakia, Poland and Hungary, even as he voiced concerns over Viktor Orban's grip on Budapest. He noted Orban's recent ousting of military officers, who were allegedly more aligned with Nato than the Hun-

'China had a chance to have a strong voice in influencing Russian decisions [but] didn't take that chance'

garian leader's own Russophile outlook.

"What I saw in Hungary in recent years was a step-by-step concentration of power around Viktor Orban and restrictions on all those who had a different view," said Pavel. Removing officers "is a continuation", he added.

Pavel forecast that the first German-made Leopard tanks could be delivered to Ukraine "in the weeks to come", saying they would primarily come from Poland and other countries nearby.

He sees the tussle over tanks among Nato allies demonstrating how the politics of arming Ukraine could also shift when it comes to fighter jets.

"Months ago, no one [expected] that there would be broad agreement on sending tanks and now we have a commitment of more than 300," he noted. "So I wouldn't be very strict in saying which areas will be forbidden and which will be open. It will depend on the situation on the battlefield."

*Additional reporting by Kathrin Hille in Taipei*

### Deal renewal

## Russia denies US allegations of breaking nuclear treaty

MAX SEDDON AND ANASTASIA STOGNEI RIGA

Russia has denied US accusations that it is violating the New Start treaty, the only remaining nuclear arms control accord between the powers, and blamed the west's backing of Ukraine for casting doubt on the deal's renewal.

Dmitry Peskov, President Vladimir Putin's spokesperson, said yesterday that the US had "destroyed the legal framework for arms control and security" and said its "hostile" backing of Kyiv after Russia's invasion of Ukraine was a strategic threat for Moscow.

The US state department said in a letter to Congress on Tuesday that Russia had violated the treaty, which caps the number of strategic nuclear weapons both countries can have at 1,550, by refusing to renew inspections of its arsenal and pulling out of compliance talks.

Russia's refusal to negotiate comes amid growing concerns in the west that Putin may be prepared to use a nuclear weapon in Ukraine as its full-scale invasion sputters on the battlefield.

The state department's report and Peskov's comments cast further doubt on prospects for the treaty's renewal. Failure to extend the accord before it expires in 2026 would leave Russia and the US with no restrictions on their nuclear arsenals and risk sparking a new global arms race. Though the treaty is not directly linked to the war in Ukraine, the Kremlin said rising tensions between Russia and the west were making further talks all but impossible.

"We see that all of Nato's military infrastructure is working against Russia," Peskov told reporters. "We see that all of Nato's intelligence infrastructure, including reconnaissance aircraft and satellites, is working 24/7 in the interests of Ukraine and the Ukrainian regime. This all creates extremely specific conditions which are hostile for us and must take into account."

*Additional reporting by Kathrin Hille in Taipei*

## Morgan Stanley

# Introducing Our New Managing Directors

Congratulations to our new Managing Directors. This group has demonstrated a commitment to integrity, visionary thinking and a standard of excellence that inspires us all. Thank you for your leadership.

Jacques C. Adrien, Jr.  
Ashish Agarwal  
Kelly L. Anderson  
Maryam Arakelian  
Grant Badura  
Jason Barrett  
Michael Baruffi  
Brian Beck  
George Bezerianos  
Nishit Bhagani  
Douglas Bloom  
Megan Brewer  
Martin Brodka  
Breno Nascimento Brown-Leão  
Ed Buecker  
Brian Burkhard  
Juneisha Burrows  
James Campbell  
Michael Carroll  
Marilia Carvalho Quinlivan  
Charlie Chan  
Michael Chao  
Melanie Chaplin  
Ran Chen  
Vineet Chhangani  
Judy Choi  
Viorica Chokshi  
Elena Ciampichetti  
Jack Cimara  
Karen Cohen  
Bryan T. Cosgrove  
Nicola Courtney

Beata Czinke  
Andrew Daly  
Derek Davidson  
Cezar de Faria  
Marco De Santis  
Thomas Denizzeau  
Ashley DeWolfe  
Guneet Dhirra  
Lynn Dong  
Kira Dubas  
Sujit Eapen  
Jim Egan  
Michael F. Esposito  
Paul Flanagan  
Claire Forster-Lee  
Regina Foster  
Kara Fricke  
Tomohisa Fujita  
Matt Gahr  
Lance Garrison  
Mike Gathy  
Alban Gerard  
Suzzanna Gill  
Anika Goel  
Sarah Gore  
Sean Gormley  
Jared Gray  
Martin Grebner  
David Gross  
Julie Gunawan  
Jonas Gustafsson  
Thomas Hadley

Shannon Haney  
Vikram Hemrajani  
Mary Ann Hernon  
Alessandro Hillman  
Joy Hoffmann  
Qin Hong  
Barry Hunt  
Anna Hynes  
Tarek Iliya  
Chris Johnston  
Rich Jordan  
Ian Jordan  
Justin Kahn  
Ronald Kamdem  
Alexei Kaminski  
Sudha Sukumaran Kamonjoh  
Kaveh Kamayab  
Vidya Kanagala  
Julie V. Kourie  
Jason Kritzer  
Murilo Arcaro Kuhl  
Joy Kwek  
Melissa A. LaChance  
Patricia Landry  
Romain Laprade  
Robert Larivière  
Valerie Lau  
Reiss Lea

Kyle Lee  
Sabrina Lee  
William Leicht  
David A. Levinson  
Sophie Li  
Hilary Liebenstein  
Francesco Ligato  
Jan Lindenau  
Michael Little  
Ruben Lusinyants  
Michael MacCarthy  
Minalini MacDonough  
Devon R. Maggio  
Pawan Maharshi  
Ian Mahoney  
Adrian Mak  
Andrew Malek  
Gabriel Manceau  
Andrew Mascarenhas  
Devin McDermott  
Michael McGinnis  
Prabhav Mehta  
Tarak Mehta  
Cecilia Mendez  
Sandy Milano

Jeffrey A. Miller  
Orit Mizrahi  
Brian J. Mulley  
Shawn Marie Murphy  
Christopher Murray  
Natsue Nagato  
Jim Napolitano  
Motoko Naya  
Sarah Newnam  
Hoi Ng  
Jay Nigro  
Bryan O'Riordan  
Noritsugu Odaira  
Samantha Owades  
Alastair Pang  
Alshah Patel  
Nina Paun  
Joyce Pereira  
Evelyn Phan  
Aga Polcyn  
Mahak Puri  
Nihal Ragaie  
Kerri Reilly  
Angela Shen Ross  
Ankur Saboo

Patrick St. John  
Hichem Ben Salah  
Angie Salam  
Daria Sainikova  
Mark Saunders  
Lauren Schenk  
Pratik Shah  
Shubham Singal  
Nishant Singh  
Niti Singh  
Jaisundar Siva  
Amit Srivastav  
James Starr  
James Stewart  
Qiao Sun  
Christian Svensson  
Paul V. Tagliareni  
Clint Talmo  
Tipsy Talwar  
Jason Terrana  
Kumaresh Thiru  
Mark J. Thompson  
Jeffrey Tiffer  
Sebastian Tiger  
Attila Tiszai

Rovic Tomás  
Rita Tourna  
Alla Train  
Sean Travis  
Andrey Tsitsinsky  
Sridhar Vasudevan  
Laura Ying Wang  
Mark Whitting  
Sam Whittle  
Thomas Wilson  
LaToya Wong  
Melissa K. Wobbe  
Terrence Chiu Wong  
H. David Wu  
Damon Wu  
Celia (Yimin) Xu  
Julia Yue



INTERNATIONAL

Classified records

# FBI combs Biden holiday home in files hunt

### Agents target president's property in Rehoboth as part of documents search

LAUREN FEDOR — WASHINGTON

FBI agents searched Joe Biden's holiday home in Rehoboth, Delaware, yesterday in the latest development in the federal investigation into the US president's handling of classified documents.

Bauer said the justice department had sought to do the search "without advance public notice".

"The search today is a further step in a thorough and timely DOJ process we will continue to fully support and facilitate," Bauer added.

The search was the latest development in a legal and political morass that has cast a long shadow on the White House as Biden gets ready to announce his bid for re-election in 2024.

US attorney general Merrick Garland last month appointed a special counsel to examine Biden's handling of classified material after the White House revealed that sensitive government

records had been found at Biden's private office and residence in Wilmington, Delaware, starting last November.

A subsequent search of the Wilmington house last month by the FBI turned up another batch of potentially classified documents, including material from Biden's tenure as a US senator and his time as vice-president in the Obama administration.

White House special counsel Richard Sauber said last month that after the president's lawyers initially found government documents at the Penn Biden Center, Biden's former Washington think-tank, they searched his homes in Wilmington and Rehoboth, and had not

found documents at the holiday home.

The White House has faced mounting criticism for its response to the investigation, with critics saying Biden's team has failed to be forthcoming about their cooperation with federal investigators and the National Archives, which is tasked with maintaining presidential records.

The probe has also raised questions about the handling of sensitive government documents more broadly, particularly among former presidents and vice-presidents.

It was revealed last week that Mike Pence, the former vice-president under Donald Trump, turned over a "small number" of documents with classified

markings to the DOJ after asking his own lawyers to search his home following the Biden disclosures.

Garland had already appointed a separate special counsel to probe Trump's handling of classified material after the FBI raided his Mar-a-Lago resort last year. Trump has said that he will seek the Republican party's nomination to run for president in 2024.

Pence is widely expected to launch his own presidential bid, in a direct challenge to his former boss.

Representatives from the White House and the justice department did not immediately respond to requests for comment yesterday.

Asia

# Hong Kong economy expected to rebound after long decline

CHAN HO-HIM — HONG KONG

Hong Kong's economy contracted by 5.5 per cent last year as the city struggled to preserve its status as Asia's financial hub, but economists forecast a rebound to growth in 2023.

The Chinese territory's economy shrank 4.2 per cent year on year in the fourth quarter of 2022, according to official government data released yesterday, marking a fourth consecutive quarter of contraction.

The full-year figure for 2022 was worse than government forecasts of a 3.2 per cent decline, while a contraction in the third quarter was revised to 4.6 per cent, from 4.5 per cent.

Economists forecast Hong Kong's economy would recover to a 4 per cent growth in 2023, which would exceed regional rival Singapore, but warned it would take months to reach pre-pandemic output.

The city, which was effectively cut off from mainland China and the rest of the world under travel restrictions that lasted nearly three years, only dropped most of its Covid-19 curbs and resumed quarantine-free travel late last year.

A government spokesperson blamed the figures on a plunge in exports and weakened domestic demand under the pandemic crisis. Total exports fell 8.6 per cent last year from 2021, to HK\$4.5tn (US\$579bn).

"An expected strong rebound of inbound tourism following the removal of quarantine arrangements for visitors and resumption of normal travel between Hong Kong and the mainland should underpin a recovery," the spokesperson said.

Hong Kong also faced financial pressure after property prices declined about 15 per cent last year. As home prices slid and interest rates rose, the number of negative equity mortgages in the city hit an 18-year high, jumping to 12,164 by the end of December from 533 in September.

Moody's Analytics forecast Hong Kong's 2023 GDP growth at 4 per cent, which would surpass Singapore's 2.1 per cent. The city-state, which reopened to the world months earlier, recorded growth of 3.8 per cent for 2022.

Heron Lim, a Moody's Analytics economist, said the "economic damage" from Hong Kong would take time to heal. "We currently project that Hong Kong will only exceed pre-pandemic output peaks in 2024," he said.

Natix senior economist Gary Ng said Hong Kong could gain up to \$22bn in annual tourism revenue, equivalent to 5.9 per cent of its economy, if travel was normalised with mainland China.

Hong Kong had 445,000 visitors in the first 11 months of 2022, less than 11 per cent of the same period in 2019. The recovery has also been gradual: 163,000 travellers visited during the lunar new year holiday last week, traditionally a peak for mainland tourists, far behind neighbouring Macau with 451,000.

Jonathan Choi, chair of Hong Kong's Chinese General Chamber of Commerce, said: "The return of mainland Chinese tourists has brought a glimpse of hope to the tourism and retail sectors, which play a vital role in Hong Kong's recovery."

China's economy expanded 5 per cent last year but the IMF this week raised its 2023 growth forecast to 5.2 per cent as the economy reopened.

## Middle East. Economic diversification

# Saudi tourism ambitions face big hurdles

### Drive to draw 100m visitors a year must overcome reputation for rights abuses and strict rules

SAMER AL-ATRUSH — RIYADH

For centuries, Muslims believed the rock-cut tombs of Hegra were the ruins of an ancient civilisation cursed by God for its hubris. Unless they bowed their heads and wept, tradition said, visitors might meet the same fate.

The UNESCO site, and nearby AlUla, where visitors can stay in luxury chalets nestled between the cliffs, are among the crown jewels of an ambitious project to turn the kingdom better known for oil and its strict adherence to conservative Islam into a tourist and entertainment hub.

Saudi Arabia wants to lure 100m visitors annually by the end of the decade. It already welcomes millions to the Muslim pilgrim sites of Mecca and Medina, and saw a surge in domestic tourism during the pandemic.

But the country has never been on the list of traditional tourism destinations. And despite its ambitions, it is questionable whether the deeply conservative kingdom, where alcohol is forbidden and unmarried couples theoretically face prosecution, can compete with the party vibe of Dubai or the mix of beaches and history found in Egypt.

"Saudi Arabia's tourism ambitions have a lot to work with, but there's still a lot of work to do," said Robert Mogielnicki, a political economist and senior non-resident fellow with the Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington.

The tourism drive is part of Saudi Arabia's efforts to diversify its economy away from oil revenues. It has coincided with social reforms that have allowed women to drive, the introduction of mixed-gender events such as concerts and curbs on the religious police's role.

Planned projects include a luxury complex spanning more than 20 Red Sea islands, with a soft launch later this year. Saudi Arabia also describes its Neom development as "the world's most ambitious tourism project".

In Riyadh, the Al-Diryah Gate project has been built on the site where the ruling al-Saud family conquered and united the country. The project, which the government claims will become "one of the world's great gathering places", includes a UNESCO heritage site, hotels and fine dining restaurants. Much of the work is being financed by the kingdom's \$600bn Public Investment Fund. "The tourism ambitions are



Landmark. UNESCO-listed Hegra is among the country's top attractions. Below, most visitors come from nearby countries rather than the west.

Tourism minister Ahmed al-Khateeb said the aim was to lift the sector's contribution to GDP from 5 per cent to 10 per cent by 2030, and for tourism to provide one in 10 jobs in the country. "We need to create new jobs in 10 years," he told the Financial Times.

Incentives are being offered to airlines attached to these big projects," Mogielnicki said, adding that turning them into reality was "one of the most difficult hills to climb". Of the challenges the Saudis faced, he added: "Not only is the goal to bring in lots of people, but then you have the feasibility of the projects themselves and the infrastructure."

Yet attracting visitors will be far from straightforward. Saudi Arabia's image has been tarnished, particularly in the west, by its reputation for human rights abuses, with convicted prisoners executed and long sentences handed down to Saudis who criticise the authorities. At least 147 people were executed last year, according to Reprieve, a human rights group. Some visiting Instagrammers have been criticised for ignoring the problems.

Privately, Saudi officials are under no illusion that they can compete with Dubai or Egypt any time soon. The country had 67m visitors, including domestic and religious tourists, in 2021, according to official figures, Kuwait, India, Egypt, Pakistan, Qatar and Bahrain were the main sources, and one tourism official acknowledged it would be a while before western or East Asian tourists visited in significant numbers. One problem is the absence of alcohol. Rumours have been rife for years that

while visas, previously difficult to obtain, are electronically available for nationals from almost 50 countries, including the US and UK, Al-Khateeb's ministry is training 100,000 Saudis a year to serve in the sector.

Advertisements for the projects flood social media, and the country has invited influencers to promote them. Yet attracting visitors will be far from straightforward.

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'The country's tourism ambitions have a lot to work with, but there's still a lot of work to do'

resorts and special economic zones would one day permit alcohol but the topic remains hugely controversial.

Officials privately concede it will eventually happen, quietly and discreetly, just as the authorities have turned a blind eye to alcohol use in gated compounds populated by westerners.

A "don't ask, don't tell" approach has been adopted for tourist couples who legally should be married to share a room. The government has also moved to criminalise "damaging the reputation of the tourism industry" in an effort to discourage critics from posting pictures of bikini-clad sunbathers that would probably enrage conservatives.

While Saudi Arabia has high-end hotels, the wider tourism infrastructure is lacking. Moving around Riyadh, where there is no metro system and taxis are few and notoriously fickle, can be frustrating. The government has vowed to develop the infrastructure and labour market to service tourists.

For now, the small numbers of western tourists who do make their way to Saudi Arabia are usually the more adventurous types. Filippo Amone, an Italian economist visiting the ruins of AlUla with his girlfriend, said they had found the site on the internet.

"We prefer to visit places where we find new things and learn," he said.

Central bank

# Crisis-hit Lebanon devalues currency by 90%

RAYA JALABI — BEIRUT

Lebanon has devalued its currency by 90 per cent as it seeks to address a deep economic crisis, in a move that still leaves the pound far above its parallel black market rate.

The Banque du Liban said yesterday it was setting the Lebanese pound, pegged at a fixed rate of L1,507 to the dollar since 1997, at a new rate of L15,000. This is still well below the L60,000 to the dollar where the parallel currency was trading at the time of the central bank announcement.

The devaluation could stoke fears of further price rises in a country where the annual inflation rate for 2022 topped 170 per cent, according to official figures. Analysts said it was a costly stopgap in the absence of wider structural reforms to the struggling economy.

"These measures don't meaningfully address the causes of the crisis, which are the large financial sector losses," said Mike Azar, a Lebanese economist. "What's been needed for the past three

years is a broader recovery plan with a restructuring of the financial system, not another piecemeal measure."

The BdL said the change was a step towards unifying Lebanon's various exchange rates in an effort to meet the demands set out in a draft deal reached with the IMF last year. But experts cautioned it was unclear how that would be the case. Lebanon has multiple exchange rates that govern withdrawals from frozen bank accounts, customs duties, public sector salaries, fuel prices and telecommunications.

Nassef Saïd, a former economy minister and ex-deputy central bank governor, called it a continuation of the "failed exchange rate pegging/fixing policy that has generated the biggest financial crisis in history".

The Lebanese pound has slumped since the country went into financial meltdown in 2019, losing more than 97 per cent of its value against the dollar on the parallel market.

The finance ministry last September announced it would devalue the pound,

but reversed the decision amid criticism it did not have the necessary authority.

Instead, the ministry applied new rates to areas within its purview, including customs and tax collection rates. Saïd said that the new L15,000 rate was "75 per cent below the effective market rate of L60,000 as well as below the so-called Sayrafa rate of L638,000", the latter referring to the central bank's exchange platform. "This just adds to the multiple exchange rates that lead to severe market distortions."

Although the government reached a draft IMF deal in April, it was contingent upon implementing divisive economic and political reforms, which have yet to be agreed. This has fuelled speculation that the deal may never be finalised.

Unifying the exchange rates is one of the IMF's key prerequisites to unlock a \$5bn loan facility, widely seen as the only way for the country to begin recovering from the crisis and restore confidence in its financial system.

"But the move doesn't actually unify the exchange rate," Azar pointed out.

Economy

# India vows to lift capital spending and cut taxes

JOHN REED, BENJAMIN PARKIN AND JYOTSNA SINGH — NEW DELHI

India's government yesterday vowed to increase capital spending by a third to Rs30tn (\$122.5bn) over the coming fiscal year, as it revealed a business-friendly budget meant to spur growth and please key constituencies ahead of a forthcoming general election.

Nirmala Sitharaman, the finance minister, told parliament India would cut taxes for the "hard-working middle class" and would also reduce the top income-tax rate of 42.7 per cent to 39 per cent in the last full-year budget before prime minister Narendra Modi faces voters in April and May of 2024.

"Investment in infrastructure and productivity have a large multiplier impact on growth and employment," Sitharaman said in a speech interrupted by chants of "Modi, Modi" from ruling Bharatiya Janata party MPs and heckling by the opposition.

"After the subdued period of the pandemic, private investments are growing

again," she said. "The budget takes the lead once again to ramp up the virtuous circle of investment and job creation."

Modi later described the middle class as "a huge force in fulfilling the dreams of a prosperous and developed India". India has been one of the world's fastest-growing large economies over

'It's actually a dream budget of sorts. [It] will lead to better consumption demand'

the past year, in part because of resilient demand from its big domestic market. The government this week forecast economic growth of 6 per cent to 6.8 per cent in the fiscal year starting in April, down slightly from 7 per cent projected for 2022-23.

"It's actually a dream budget of sorts in that both capex sizes have been increased and taxes have been reduced," said Vasudev Jagannath, head

of sales at IIFL Capital. "That will lead to better consumption demand."

Sitharaman said India was targeting a lower fiscal deficit for the coming year of 5.9 per cent of gross domestic product, down from 6.4 per cent in the current one. The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry said the budget was "not only significant for the domestic audience, but it truly makes a move towards placing India as the world's growth engine."

"Spending on physical infrastructure raises the productive capacity of the economy, has higher multiplier and crowds in private investment," said Dharmakirti Joshi, chief economist at Citisil, a local subsidiary of rating agency S&P Global. "Construction activity is still quite labour-intensive in India, so it also creates jobs."

India, which was hit hard by Covid-19, emerged from the pandemic in better financial shape than some other leading economies. Its government is now trying to capitalise on global manufacturers' diversification away from China.







COMPANIES & MARKETS

Healthcare

# Scandal-hit Orpea wins cash injection

CDC takes control of homes operator in deal to restructure heavy debts

LEILA ABOUD — PARIS

Scandal-hit care home group Orpea has reached a deal to restructure its heavy debts by bringing in new investors led by French state-linked financial group Caisse des Dépôts & Consignations.

The deal, which gives the CDC consortium a majority stake and control of the board, is a key part of Orpea's efforts to recover from the financial and reputational fallout from the pension fund short, and a new strategy built around hiring more

staff to improve conditions in care homes and exiting overseas markets. But it has taken months to negotiate the specifics with creditors because of the complexity and size of the deal, lawyers said, and also because Orpea is one of the first cases to go through France's bankruptcy regime that took effect last year. The new rules bring France more in line with US and UK standards by removing the requirement to win shareholder approval.

A consortium led by the CDC, along with two French co-operative insurers, including one that represents nurses, will inject €1.5bn in cash into Orpea via a €9bn increase. This will give them 50.2 per cent of the share capital and

seven of 13 seats on the board. Separately, €3.8bn of unsecured debt at Orpea will be swapped into equity, which will give those creditors roughly 49.4 per cent of the group's shares. Current shareholders will in effect be diluted to hold only 0.4 per cent.

A group of six banks has also agreed a new loan that could total about €600m once finalised. Orpea said the restructuring would help reduce debt by about 60 per cent to a net debt-to-ebitda ratio of 6.5 times in 2025.

Guillot said it was a key part of his strategy to overhaul Orpea. The investment in extra staff will lead to a fall in profit margins from about 25 to 20 per cent, the company said in November.

"The plan aims to set up an ethical, virtuous and quality business model that meets the major challenges of supporting the fragile people" who depend on Orpea, the chief executive said in a statement.

The CDC-led group of investors also supports these aims and has backed the reduction in margins. "The goal of our investment is that the elderly in Orpea's homes are well treated and the company behaves ethically," said Olivier Sichel, CDC's deputy chief executive.

Castanet said in a tweet that the involvement of the CDC could be a "turning point" for the group and the sector. See Lex

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Industrials

# Indonesian islanders seek climate change compensation from Holcim

CAMILLA HOLLGSON

Residents of an Indonesian island threatened by climate change have pressed ahead with their legal action against Swiss cement group Holcim, as litigation over the effects of climate change gathers momentum in 2023.

The compensation case mirrors a landmark lawsuit brought by a Peruvian farmer and mountain guide against RWE over the German energy supplier's contribution to climate change through greenhouse gas emissions.

The four residents of Pulau Pari filed the case on Monday in the Swiss canton of Zug, where Holcim is headquartered, following a "conciliation meeting" last year where they failed to reach a resolution.

The island residents aim to hold Holcim liable for its pollution and are seeking compensation for "climate damages". They argue that the 1,500 living on Pari are at significant risk of losing their livelihoods due to rising sea levels and flooding, even though they had contributed little to global emissions.

They are demanding that Holcim pay 0.42 per cent of the cost of damages already incurred and impending, and for new flood protection measures, since they argue the company contributed 0.42 per cent of the global fossil fuel

The four residents of Pulau Pari with Swiss cement group contributed 0.42% of emissions since 1751

and cement emissions put into the atmosphere since 1751, citing a study by research group the Climate Accountability Institute.

They are also asking the company, which had its net zero emissions plans approved by the Science Based Targets initiative oversight group, to commit to more rapidly reducing its carbon emissions. Cement making requires high temperatures traditionally generated by fossil fuels that contribute the greenhouse gases behind climate change.

"Our existence is under threat," said Asmania, one of the plaintiffs. "We want those responsible to now finally take action."

Holcim said climate action was "a top priority" and did not believe that "court cases focused on single companies are an effective mechanism to tackle the global complexity of climate action".

Climate litigation has ballooned in recent years as individuals and activists have sought to hold polluters to account, or force governments and companies to make greater efforts at emissions reduction. In the legal fight involving RWE, the plaintiff farmer is seeking to hold the company responsible for its historical carbon and methane emissions, and payment for flood defences to protect his Andean town.

The Indonesians are using a similar argument, seeking to prove a causal link between the company's pollution and the climate-related flooding nearby. Climate-related litigation is increasingly centred on questions of human rights. A group of Swiss women are suing the government via the European Court of Human Rights on grounds it has not cut national emissions fast enough, putting their health at risk from more frequent and intense heatwaves due to climate change.

The civil complaint filed by the Indonesian islanders is based on the alleged infringement of certain "personality rights" protected by Swiss law, including a right to economic advancement.

Industrials. Leveraging

# Adani's debt-driven expansion draws scrutiny

Indian group targeted by short seller allegations has doubled burden to \$30bn in four years

BENJAMIN PARKIN — NEW DELHI

A decade ago Gautam Adani outlined the strategy behind the rapid rise of his business empire: leverage one company to fund another's expansion. "Either you sit on the pile of cash or you continue to grow," he told the Financial Times. "There is no other way."

It has served the Indian entrepreneur well as his Adani Group scaled up and diversified in industries from ports to power. He has become one of the world's richest people, with a fortune of more than \$100bn by the start of this year.

The pace of borrowing has only increased as Adani laid out ever more ambitious pushes into areas such as 5G and green hydrogen, with debt doubling to about \$30bn in the past four years.

But the 60-year-old is under unprecedented scrutiny following share price plunges in his listed businesses after US short seller Hindenburg Research last week accused the group of years of stock manipulation and accounting fraud — while criticising what it said was "extreme leverage".

Adani Group fiercely denies Hindenburg's allegations and the characterisation of its debt, and says it is deleveraging, reducing debt ratios even as total liabilities rise.

Yesterday, however, it called off a \$2.4bn equity fundraising citing "unprecedented" market volatility.

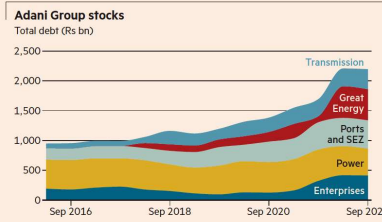
Yet analysts and investors say the group's billions of dollars in planned spending may mean it will have to borrow even more. "By traditional metrics they are definitely overleveraged," said Brian Freitas, founder of Auckland-based Periscope Analytics. "The question is whether their underlying businesses can grow fast enough to service the debt."

A sprawling conglomerate with seven listed companies and more unlisted ones, many of Adani's most ambitious plans are concentrated in Adani Enterprises. The division serves as an incubator for young Adani businesses such as airports, in which the group had no experience before buying six in 2019, or creating what it says will be "the world's largest green hydrogen ecosystem".

Adani Enterprises had a net debt-to-ebitda ratio of 10 times as of the financial year ended March 2022, according to Fitch company CreditSights, one of the highest in the conglomerate. It requires further spending to meet its targets, with plans to more than double annual capital expenditure to Rs400bn (\$4.88bn) both this year and next. How-



Gautam Adani, pictured on Tuesday after the Adani Group completed the purchase of Haifa Port, has said his strategy is to leverage to fund expansion



Sources: Bloomberg; Hindenburg; Adani; Fitch

"The question is whether their underlying businesses can grow fast enough to service the debt"

ever, no company captures the scale of the group's ambition more than Adani Green Energy, founded in 2015 with the aim of becoming one of the world's largest providers of renewable energy.

After early losses, Adani Green broke even and turned a profit of Rs4.9bn in the 2022 financial year. But its net debt has risen fivefold over a steady equity base, rising from Rs108bn in 2019 to Rs153bn last year, with net debt at 14.9 times ebitda, according to CreditSights.

To ally concerns about its debt, the Adani group has turned to global investors to pump equity into its companies, including with this week's aborted share sale.

France's TotalEnergies has since 2019 invested more than \$7bn into Adani's gas, renewables and green hydrogen businesses, while the United Arab Emirates' International Holding Company last year invested \$2bn across Adani Enterprises, Adani Green and Adani

Transmission. Yet Adani will need more money than it can source through equity alone if it is to finance its ambitious plans, leaving limited scope for deleveraging, according to CreditSights.

While Adani traditionally borrowed from state-owned banks and other lenders in India, CreditSights said it had increasingly tapped global banks and bondholders attracted by its growth and the reliable cash flows generated by its established infrastructure businesses.

Adani Green raised \$750m in green bonds last year and in December announced a \$200m yen-denominated refinancing facility with MUFG Bank and Sumitomo Mitsui Banking Corporation acting as principal lenders.

Adani Enterprises also borrowed about \$1bn from international lenders including Apollo and Standard Chartered to expand its airport business.

Brokerage CLSA said debt at Adani's five largest companies had doubled to



Rs2.1tn since 2019. Adani Group's chief financial officer Jughesinder Singh said on Monday that total debt across the conglomerate was \$30bn.

Some analysts say the pace of growth has little parallel in India. Rival conglomerate Reliance Industries, for example, launched a deleveraging drive in 2020 to eliminate all its net debt of more than \$20bn by raising equity from global investors including Facebook.

"It's a concern to shareholders when a conglomerate leverages itself into other areas where the expertise is not there," said Sharmila Gopinath, specialist adviser to the Asian Corporate Governance Association.

Adani disputes that it is overleveraged, saying in a response to Hindenburg that "leverage ratios of Adani Portfolio companies continue to be healthy and are in line with the industry benchmarks of the respective sectors". See Lex

Technology

# Instagram founders launch app to rival Twitter and tackle misinformation

CRISTINA CRIDDLE — LONDON

The creators of Instagram have launched a "text-based" news app, believing they can challenge Elon Musk's Twitter and tackle the spread of misinformation online.

Kevin Systrom and Mike Krieger, who founded and then sold the photo-sharing app to Facebook for \$1bn in 2012, launched Artifact this week.

The app uses artificial intelligence to aggregate news and lifestyle articles in which users are likely to be interested while avoiding so-called "filter bubbles" by also promoting content that may challenge previously held views.

"It is a particularly timely moment both in the technology industry, with Twitter's takeover by Elon and Facebook's focus on the Metaverse," said Systrom, chief executive. "And it is particularly a timely moment to focus on text when we need it most because of people's attention to misinformation and how we consume news today."

The pair left Facebook in 2018 amid tensions over the growing control over Instagram being exerted by the company led by Mark Zuckerberg, and as regulators challenged the tech giant over fake news and data privacy after the Cambridge Analytica scandal.

Musk's \$4.4bn acquisition of Twitter last year was followed swiftly by cuts to half of its workforce, many in the trust and safety teams that monitor and police misinformation.

Systrom said Artifact is a potential competitor to Twitter for reading news

and lifestyle articles, but otherwise he admired Musk's efforts to turn round a flagging business.

"There is certainly some overlap [but] only in a particular area," he said. "Twitter is one of the most important social media properties in the world and it deserves to have a leader who believes in it and wants to make it great. And that is all I have seen from Elon."

Still, the recent travails at Twitter show the difficulties faced by all social media businesses, which have struggled as spending on advertising declines. Meta, the parent company of Facebook and Instagram, Snap and YouTube owner Alphabet have laid off thousands of staff in recent months, citing a depressed economic environment. Systrom is undaunted. He and

Krieger have so far declined to take outside investment and have self-funded Artifact by spending "single-digit millions" to build the platform over the past two years. The group is based in San Francisco and has just seven employees.

"You hire your investors as much as you hire your employees, and you should choose very wisely"

This has meant Artifact has avoided the funding crunch that has hit Silicon Valley, as venture capital investors hold back from taking risks on cash-burning start-ups. "Instagram obviously was a hit from

day one, and we were able to raise money fairly quickly," said Systrom. "The lesson I learned through that is that you hire your investors as much as you hire your employees, and you should choose very wisely. . . Right now, we have plenty of money in the bank and our focus is mostly on building a great product that retains [users]."

Artifact uses machine learning to scan a curated list of publishers' websites, ranging from news organisations including The New York Times, Vogue and the Financial Times, as well as smaller blogs about specialist interests.

The more you use the product, the more the algorithm becomes personalised. Users will eventually be able to follow other users and message friends privately as part of new features being

tested. A waiting list to use the app opened on Tuesday.

"The platform may display personalised advertising in future to those users who wish to access content for free, but it is also exploring paid-for options, such as subscriptions and deals with established publishers," Systrom said.

Artifact will remain a curated collection of approved sources rather than a fully social platform, as the co-founders want to ensure high-quality news and information. The algorithm will occasionally deliver content that a user may not agree with, however.

"It is really important to us to dedicate some portion of the feed which we do to exploring tangential interests, other sides of issues, publishers you would not normally see," he added.



COMPANIES & MARKETS

# UAE lender puts StanChart on bidders' radar

First Abu Dhabi Bank is considering a revival of plans for a takeover, while other suitors look set to scrutinise the target

STEPHEN MORRIS AND ARASH MASSOUDI  
LONDON  
SIMON KERR — DUBAI

In November, the world's tallest tower, Dubai's Burj Khalifa, was lit up with the colours and logo of Standard Chartered. As the bank's chief executive Bill Winters and chair José Viñals looked on, messages such as "Together we're here for good" and "aligned ambitions" sparked into life.

While in Dubai, the two directors held a full board meeting and met senior figures in the region. But two months later they were blindsided when news broke that First Abu Dhabi Bank, the United Arab Emirates' biggest lender, wanted to buy StanChart.

"It was a complete surprise to the board," said one person familiar with the matter.

However, it was no secret that the oil-rich Emirates was in an acquisitive mood. First Abu Dhabi Bank (FAB) was born in 2017 when the UAE merged its first- and third-largest lenders to create a national champion.

But the scale of its international ambitions was only revealed alongside news it had been working for almost a year to buy StanChart and create a lender with more than \$1tn in assets operating in more than 60 markets — a first for the Middle East.

"The region is saying 'here we are, the centre of the world has moved,'" said one senior figure who advises FAB. "They see themselves as a major centre of activity and not just oil economies."

"The banking sector is absolutely ripe for the next step up," said Gary Dugan, chief investment officer at Dubai-based Dalma Capital and a former executive of FAB's predecessor, the National Bank of Abu Dhabi.

After the news leaked, FAB quickly said it was no longer evaluating an offer, kicking off a six-month period where it is restricted from acting again, unless another bidder emerges.

But several people close to the lender say the deal could be revived after the cooling-off period ends in July. FAB and StanChart declined to comment.

"The region certainly has the firepower to make a statement in this regard. We deserve to be taken more seriously," said a government minister from another country in the Gulf.

Companies and funds in the UAE, Saudi Arabia and Qatar have more than \$5tn in assets and cash under management, boosted by a boom in energy prices amid the war in Ukraine. Saudi Arabia's \$620bn Public Investment Fund has bought companies from electric vehicle start-up Lucid to Newcastle United football club as Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman looks to diversify the economy away from oil.

But cross-border banking takeovers are very rare because of the cost, complexity and risk involved. Previously, Middle Eastern investors have preferred to take stakes in troubled foreign lenders. Qatari funds led an £11.8bn emergency fundraising for Barclays in 2008 and Middle Eastern investors now own a fifth of Credit Suisse.

Demonstrating the scale of capital that can be brought to bear, the Saudi National Bank's chair dismissed its recent \$1.5bn investment in Credit Suisse as "just another cheque" worth more than 2 per cent of its \$68.7bn investment portfolio.

"It's a 166-year-old brand, so how far below 30 cents on the dollar is it going to go?" he added.

StanChart, 169 years old, trades barely higher at 42 pence on the pound. FAB is also deep-pocketed and internationally linked to the state. Its chair is the UAE's national security adviser and businessman Sheikh Tahnoon bin Zayed al-Nahyan, whose brother is the president and ruler of Abu Dhabi, Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed al-Nahyan.

Abu Dhabi's \$284bn sovereign investment fund Mubadala owns 28 per cent of FAB and was a driving force behind the attempt for StanChart, according to people familiar with the process. Mubadala said it would not comment on marketplace rumours about publicly listed institutions.

FAB's stock has surged 72 per cent since the pandemic struck in March 2020, giving it a market value of \$45bn, almost double that of StanChart at \$25bn.

While dominant domestically, FAB's international network is modest. More than three-quarters of its revenue is made in the UAE and to grow it must diversify.

In 2021, FAB bought the Egyptian operations of Lebanese bank Audi. Then last February, it grew bold, making an offer for Egypt-based regional broker and adviser EPC in terms to bolster its weak investment banking arm.

Advisers say the bid was withdrawn a couple of months later amid Egyptian resistance. But disappointment was brushed aside as FAB turned its attention towards StanChart, several people



The scale of First Abu Dhabi Bank's international ambitions was only revealed alongside news it had been working for almost a year to buy StanChart and create a lender with more than \$1tn in assets

involved in the process told the Financial Times.

Early last year chief executive Hana Al Rostamani hired New York boutique investment bank Moelis & Co to help identify and analyse transformational targets, said the people. StanChart was top of the list.

Its founder Ken Moelis — once dubbed "Ken of Arabia" for his connections in the region — helped pitch and explain the rationale to the government officials and technocrats who would have to sanction any offer.

StanChart offered an immediate expansion outside its saturated home market into Africa, India, south-east Asia and China, as well as exposure to Europe and the US. With FAB trading at two times book value to StanChart's 0.4 times, it was also seen as affordable, the people added.

Performance at StanChart has lagged behind peers. Winters, who took over in 2015, had overseen an operating income decline while competitors in key markets, such as DBS in Singapore, had grown. Despite announcing several cost-cutting programmes, expenses remain roughly the same as in 2015.

Various other targets were discussed, such as Barclays and BNP Paribas, the people added. Acquiring a series of smaller lenders was considered, but that was discarded because it would have been "a long arduous process with no certainty of success and huge integration challenges", another person involved said.

In the early summer, the board gave the green light to an all-cash bid of \$30bn to \$32bn aimed at minimising opposition from StanChart.

FAB's deal team was pushing but some government entities demanded further due diligence on the transaction in the early autumn, one adviser said. FAB would have had to rely on financing from funds such as state-owned ADQ, which is also chaired by Sheikh Tahnoon, and crucially Mubadala, the adviser added. ADQ and Mubadala declined to comment.

Backing could also come from \$240bn Abu Dhabi-listed conglomerate International Holding Company — another business that Tahnoon chairs, one of the people said.

IHC said it would not "comment on market rumours or speculation". Citigroup, Bain, Deloitte and Linklaters were brought in to enhance operational capacity and conduct studies around synergies, audit and legal issues.

Neither FAB nor its advisers approached any shareholders or the board, or StanChart's corporate brokers JPMorgan or Goldman Sachs. In the end, it did not matter. Due diligence on the deal had not been completed before the news leaked — something the phalanx of advisers had made

"The region is saying here we are, the centre of the world has moved. They see themselves as a major centre"

inevitable. "Too many cooks spoiled the already broiled," one of the advisers added.

FAB is considering several options when the cooling-off period ends, two of the people involved told the FT.

It could choose to approach existing large StanChart shareholders and ask them to retain substantial stakes in the expanded group, making the \$30bn to \$40bn cost easier to digest.

One top-10 shareholder told the FT that a cash offer of a third above the trading price would mean "an argument" internally about whether to accept it. "We think the bank is trading

at a massive discount," the person said. "It would be tempting to take it, but we would feel we would be giving away a lot of value."

By far the most important shareholder would be Singapore's state-owned investment fund Temasek, which owns 16.4 per cent of the stock. A cash offer would allow the fund to exit after having built its stake at a higher valuation, but any deal would also face political ramifications given the expected exodus of thousands of StanChart roles from Singapore to the UAE's capital.

Temasek said it did not comment on

market speculation but people briefed on the fund's thinking said it could consider selling part or all of its stake if another, higher, bid came in. They added that it would be a purely commercial decision.

FAB could also try for a friendly transaction; however, there is a risk that this would lead to a bidding war because the board would be duty-bound to seek rival offers.

The main hurdle to any transaction remains the need to gain approval from scores of regulators. The trickiest might be the US, which would have to allow the fifth-largest dollar-clearing bank to be regulated by the central bank of the UAE, itself under enhanced scrutiny by the world's anti-money laundering watchdog.

Another question is whether FAB's executive team would be deemed experienced enough to lead a global systemically important financial institution, leading to the prospect of the existing StanChart management being asked to remain in place, said a senior figure at StanChart.

Winters and Viñals both said at the recent World Economic Forum in Davos that they had not spoken to FAB since the news broke.

"This is not something we've either engaged with, or been interested in," Winters said.

The top 10 shareholder suggested Winters still wanted to turn the bank round himself, something that has become easier to accomplish as rates rise and China's zero-Covid policy ends. "Winters doesn't want his reputation to be tarnished," the person said.

Afraid of being taken unaware again, StanChart executives are scouring the UAE for intelligence on Abu Dhabi's intentions. But they also realise that FAB's approach could flush out other suitors.

"Now the interest is public, it has opened Pandora's box," said a senior Middle Eastern banker at a rival. "If it isn't FAB, it will be someone else."

Additional reporting by Mercedes Ruchel



## Annual General Meeting 2023 of Stora Enso Oyj

Stora Enso Oyj's Annual General Meeting will be held on Thursday 16 March 2023 at 4 p.m. Finnish time at Marina Congress Center, Katajanokanlaituri 6, Helsinki, Finland. The reception of persons who have registered for the meeting will commence at 3 p.m. Finnish time.

Notice to the Annual General Meeting was published on Stora Enso Oyj's website on 31 January 2023. Proposals to the meeting are available on Stora Enso Oyj's website at [storaenso.com/agn](https://storaenso.com/agn) and other meeting documents at the latest during week 7.

Each shareholder, who on 6 March 2023 is registered in the shareholders' register of the company maintained by Euroclear Finland Oy, has the right to participate in the AGM. A shareholder, whose shares are registered on his/her personal Finnish book-entry account, is registered in the shareholders' register of the company.

A shareholder, who is registered in the company's shareholders' register and who wants to participate in the AGM, must register for the AGM no later than 10 March 2023 at 4 p.m. Finnish time by giving a prior notice of participation.

Such notice can be given:  
a) on the company's website: [storaenso.com/agn](https://storaenso.com/agn)  
b) by telephone: +358 204 6111 (Monday-Friday, 9 a.m. – 3 p.m.)  
c) by regular mail: Stora Enso Oyj, Legal Department, P.O. Box 309, FI-00101 Helsinki

When registering, a shareholder shall notify his/her name, personal identification number, address, telephone number and the name of any assistant or proxy representative and the personal identification number of any proxy representative.

The shareholder or his/her authorised representative or proxy representative shall at the meeting venue, if required, be able to prove his/her identity and/or right of representation.

The registration instructions for nominee-registered shareholders can be found in the AGM Notice at the company's website.

Part of the global bioeconomy, Stora Enso is a leading provider of renewable products in packaging, biomaterials, and wooden construction, and one of the largest private forest owners in the world. We believe that everything that is made from fossil-based materials today can be made from a tree tomorrow. Stora Enso shares are listed on Nasdaq Helsinki Oyj (STEAU, STERN) and Nasdaq Stockholm AB (STE A, STE F). [storaenso.com](https://storaenso.com)

THE RENEWABLE MATERIALS COMPANY



## Contracts & Tenders

### ASTARIS GESTIONE PATRIMONIO DESTINATO CONCESSIONI

Mr. Claudio Storza, in his capacity of Attorney of the segregated perimeter (patrimonio destinato) set up pursuant to articles 2447bis et seq. of Italian Civil Code by virtue of Astaris S.p.A. (formerly Astadi S.p.A.) Board of Directors' resolution dated 2020, May 24<sup>th</sup> by deed of notary in Rome, Salvatore Marcondia, registered in the Commercial Register on 2020, May 27<sup>th</sup>, and in his capacity of Sole Representative of Gestione Concessioni S.p.A., having the necessary powers,

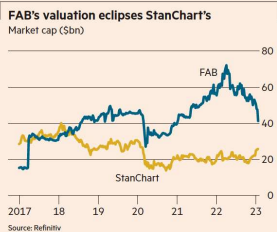
has intended to proceed to the sale of entire interest of the segregated perimeter of Astaris S.p.A. in Ankara Etilik Hastane Sağlık Hizmetleri İhtisari Yatırım A.Ş. Ankara Etilik Hospital Management and Investment Inc. ("Etilik") concessionaire of the Ankara Etilik Integrated Health Campus in Ankara (Turkey).

Those wishing to acquire more information about the project and the access to this procedure for the selection of a potential buyer are invited to make a request to the following email address no later than the compulsory deadline of 6:00 p.m. (CET time) on February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2023; upon receipt of such request the project dossier will be sent to the applicant, along with the confidentiality agreement and the appropriate format to be used for any expression of interest. Upon receipt of the above, the confidentiality agreement and the expression of interest, duly signed, no later than the compulsory deadline of 6:00 p.m. (CET time) on February 14<sup>th</sup>, 2023, an information memorandum will be provided. Anyone who intends to access the virtual data room and initiate due diligence is invited to submit a non-binding offer no later than the compulsory deadline of 6:00 p.m. (CET time) on March 9<sup>th</sup>, 2023. Bidders who will be selected to participate in this further phase will be provided with an appropriate process letter. The end of this procedure by receipt of a binding offer is expected approximately at the end of April 2023.

Each of the aforementioned documents should be sent by the relevant deadline to the following email address: [etl@projekte@italdi.com](mailto:etl@projekte@italdi.com)

ITALDI

Mr. Claudio Storza





COMPANIES & MARKETS

Fixed income. Distressed bonds

# Rate rises worsen debt woes for US healthcare industry



The sector is under pressure from increasing wages after loading up on leveraged loans

HARRIET CLARFELT

US healthcare companies are sinking into debt distress as they struggle to contend with rising interest rates and labour costs after the sector borrowed heavily to fund a dealmaking boom. A fifth of America's distressed bonds were issued by healthcare companies — spanning services, facilities, managed care and pharmaceuticals — according to an IceData Services index. The industry's heavy representation among the riskiest US corporate borrowers has sparked warnings from ratings companies that some firms' debts are becoming "unsustainable". The indications of financial trouble highlight how the sprawling US healthcare industry is sustaining pressure from broad headwinds affecting the entire economy and specific factors that are combining to make business models less tenable. The industry has also binged on so-called leveraged loans to fund a frenzy of dealmaking as private equity firms rolled up disparate companies into larger groups. Such loans are typically sold by lower-rated companies with high levels of debt and have floating borrowing costs, meaning their payouts to investors have

soared in the past year as the US Federal Reserve jacked up interest rates from near zero to more than 4 per cent in a bid to curb inflation. Healthcare is the second most represented sector on Morningstar's "leveraged loan" gauge, lagging behind only software businesses. Healthcare is one of the industries showing up with a fair amount of distress in the loan market and also in the high-yield bond market, said Steve Caprio, head of US and European credit strategy at Deutsche Bank. He said the sector has been "operating with very high leverage built upon very high profit margins. At a time where interest rates are now much higher, those capital structures don't make as much sense as they used to." Moody's Investors Services concurred in a report last month that "capital structures will become unsustainable" for many healthcare companies rated "B3 negative or lower" — the weaker end of the credit rating spectrum — which have "high financial leverage, high levels of floating-rate debt and weak operating performance". Predictions of deteriorating creditworthiness are at odds with the healthcare industry's historical reputation as a defensive sector that typically weathers economic downturns. Caprio said the sector should no longer be seen as "recession resistant" in the current environment. Market participants have highlighted the one-two punch of soaring workforce

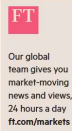
costs, along with pressure on the reimbursement rates provided to companies by the US government under schemes such as Medicare. "What we're hearing about now in the US healthcare space is labour pressure, wage pressure from employees demanding higher wages, at the same time that government reimbursement rates for some of the names in the healthcare space are lagging," said Caprio. Together with the weight of rising interest rates, such pressures could make it more difficult for companies to access fresh funding just as a darkening economic backdrop threatens to hamper revenue growth — paving the way for a flurry of downgrades and defaults in 2023. "Finding lenders willing to refinance will become increasingly difficult in the year ahead as the market retrenches," Moody's said. Even so, much of America's healthcare sector is in reasonable shape, according to the rating agency. "Probably 80 per cent of the companies [in the sector] we think are fine," said Peter Abdill, managing director in the corporate finance group at Moody's. "[But] there's a growing number that are not and that we're worried about." S&P Global Ratings said in a report last week that it expects ratings downgrades to outpace upgrades again in 2023, with "speculative grade and healthcare service providers leading the way downward".

Wider malaises: the sprawling US healthcare industry is experiencing headwinds affecting the entire economy

By Lucy Karp

The healthcare services subsector is "most vulnerable" because it has "the lowest margins and is most exposed to high labour costs", S&P added. Elevated debt levels for healthcare companies are in part a legacy of extensive dealmaking activity with buyout firms capitalising on fragmentation in the industry. According to Moody's, 95 per cent of healthcare debt issues on its B3N roster — essentially a distressed debt watch list — are now controlled by private equity. Outstanding debt held by the constituents of Moody's B3N list stood at almost \$65bn in December, up from \$35bn as recently as January 2019. The sharp escalation in total borrowings stemmed from two recent additions — Bausch Health Companies and hospital staffing group Envision Healthcare, owned by buyout firm KKR. Today, Envision's senior unsecured notes maturing in 2026 are trading at less than 30 cents on the dollar, a level widely associated with extreme distress. Some companies in areas such as skilled nursing facilities and rural hospitals are making just enough money to continue operating but could ultimately be crushed by higher interest rates, according to John McClain, portfolio manager at Brandywine Global Investment Management. "There are a number of zombie companies in the space" that need to be addressed either through recapitalisation or elimination, he said.

There are a number of zombie companies in the space



Fixed income

## Bond buyers demand double-digit yield for \$2bn Pemex issue

CHRISTINE MURRAY — MEXICO CITY  
HARRIET CLARFELT — NEW YORK

Pemex, Mexico's state-owned oil company, completed a \$2bn bond sale on Tuesday, according to people familiar with the deal, with investors demanding a double-digit yield to lend to the heavily indebted group. The issuance comes as emerging market governments have raised more than \$40bn in international bond markets this year after a global sell-off last year triggered by rising interest rates. Andrés Manuel López Obrador, Mexico's nationalist president, has in the past vowed to "rescue" Pemex after what he sees as years of damaging privatisation. His administration has tried to boost the company with billions of dollars of support and tax breaks to help it manage a debt load of more than \$100bn. Some investors had hoped the government would provide more support before the company was compelled to tap the market again. But Pemex on Tuesday priced the sale of bonds maturing in 10 years' time, according to people with knowledge of the matter. It last issued new debt in 2022. Emerging market fund managers who have invested in Pemex bonds in the past say they are attractive because they

It's not a permanent solution. It'll be this piecemeal approach for the foreseeable future

pay a high premium, or spread, over Mexican sovereign bonds while enjoying strong government backing. The bond priced with a yield of 10.575 per cent, a person with knowledge of the deal said. The money would be used for general corporate purposes and refinancing, the person added. Mexico's 10-year government bonds traded on Tuesday with a yield of 8.7 per cent, implying a premium for investors in the new Pemex bonds of more than 1.6 percentage points. "It's a pragmatic arrangement where the government tries to keep the pressure on the company to be self-sufficient," one Pemex bondholder said of the decision to issue rather than inject capital via the government. "It's not a permanent solution and indeed we don't really expect a permanent solution. It'll be this piecemeal approach for the foreseeable future." The yield on the new bonds reflected expectations that the government would continue to support Pemex, the analyst said. But, for a "quasi-sovereign", the spread was large, the analyst added. In the first quarter of this year Pemex has to make more than \$1.5bn worth of debt payments, chief executive Octavio Romero said this month. Despite generous financial help from the government, Pemex's production has been falling for years and hit lows of 1.5mn barrels a day in 2022, down from more than 2.1mn b/d in 2016.

Asset management

## Volatility moves to top slot on trader worry list after liquidity's six-year run

NIKHU ASGARI — LONDON

Liquidity is no longer the biggest worry for traders in financial markets, following a year in which markets avoided a series of shocks without the ability to buy and sell becoming too severely impaired. Instead, volatility has climbed to the top of the list of traders' concerns in 2023, as rising global interest rates and geopolitical tensions spark big moves in markets, according to a survey of traders by JPMorgan. Traders and investors had for the previous six years listed liquidity as their biggest concern with many worrying about the risk of a financial accident caused by a breakdown in the functioning of important markets, including in US Treasuries that form the bedrock of global finance. But Scott Wacker, head of fixed income, currency and commodity commerce sales at JPMorgan, said that, in 2022, "we didn't see many breaks in the system in terms of liquidity", despite market shocks including the fallout from Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the crisis that hit UK pension funds and

the gilt market. "The underlying availability of liquidity was there and the markets functioned really well," he said. Nearly half of the 855 traders surveyed named volatile markets as their key daily challenge with 22 per cent citing liquidity availability — down 15 percentage points. That marks a departure from the acute fears of a market breakdown that came to the fore during the coronavirus crisis in 2020 when the US Federal Reserve was forced to make an unprecedented intervention to restore order to US debt markets. Wacker said that, previously, traders had "seen some markets break especially pre- and post-the beginning of the pandemic. As clients were looking to trade more and more electronically over the past decade, the resiliency of markets weren't what they'd like". Antoine Bouvet, senior rates strategist at ING, said that although poor liquidity hampered trading last year, "it didn't feel like it was impossible [to] trade some assets for weeks on end" and that even illiquid markets "kept functioning". The elevation of volatility to the top of the list of concerns highlights how the changing economic environment, marked by a growth slowdown, record inflation, climbing interest rates and the looming threat of a recession, have fuelled big swings in markets. Last year, the Bank for International Settlements warned that rising volatility could undermine central banks' ability to tame soaring inflation. "2022 was kind of an amazing year in volatility terms," said Wacker. "Everything that could change, kind of did."



Traders' views marked a departure from fears of a market breakdown

Crypto

## Digital asset lender Celsius misused customer funds, court examiner finds

JOSHUA OLIVER — NEW YORK  
KADHIM SHUBER — LONDON

Bankrupt crypto lender Celsius misused investor and customer funds for years before its collapse, including to help its founders cash out tens of millions of dollars, a court-appointed examiner said in a report. The company founded by Alex Mashinsky promoted itself as an innovative, digital asset alternative to traditional banks, luring customers with interest rates as high as 17 per cent. But it used the money that it received from thousands of everyday investors to inflate the price of its own token, CEL, in a scheme an employee described at the time as "very Ponzi like", according to the report prepared by a law firm appointed by the US bankruptcy court. Mashinsky himself profited by dumping \$68.7mn of CEL while telling the public that he was not selling. Insider sales by Mashinsky and others, which were first reported in a Financial Times investigation in July, were enabled by Celsius buying up the token, using money from its customers and blue-chip investors including

Laurence Tosi's WestCap and the Canadian public pension Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec (CDPQ). "We spent all our cash paying excess and trying to prop up [Mashinsky's] net worth in [the] CEL token," a former employee told the examiner, according to the report. The nearly 700-page report by Jenner & Block partner Shoba Pillay, a former "We spent all our cash paying excess and trying to prop up Mashinsky's net worth in the CEL token" US federal prosecutor, highlights the once-prominent lender's alleged extensive financial manipulation, misrepresentations, tax deficiencies and woeful internal systems and risk controls. Its findings will raise questions for transatlantic regulators who had close contact with Celsius long before it collapsed but failed to stop billions of dollars in customer funds being locked up. The company was rejected by the UK's Financial Conduct Authority when

it applied for registration as a crypto business and forced to move its base to the US in 2021 but not blocked from soliciting customers. Celsius stopped new US customers enrolling in some products in April 2022 just two months before it collapsed after intervention by US watchdogs. New York's attorney general last month sued Mashinsky for allegedly "defrauding hundreds of thousands of investors... out of billions of dollars worth of cryptocurrency". He has denied wrongdoing. Mashinsky's lawyer did not immediately respond to a request for comment on the examiner's report. Beginning in 2020, Celsius operated a scheme it called its "OTC flywheel" where it bought up CEL on the open market and sold it via private "over the counter" transactions, often timing purchases to boost the price, the report said. "In total, Celsius spent at least \$558 million buying its own token on the market... In effect, Celsius bought every CEL token in the market at least one time and, in some instances, twice," Pillay wrote.











MARKET DATA

FT500: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table with columns: Stock, Price, Chg, %Chg, 52 Week High, Low, P/E, Market Cap. Lists top 500 global companies including Apple, Microsoft, Amazon, Google, etc.

Table with columns: Stock, Price, Chg, %Chg, 52 Week High, Low, P/E, Market Cap. Lists top 500 global companies (continued).

Table with columns: Stock, Price, Chg, %Chg, 52 Week High, Low, P/E, Market Cap. Lists top 500 global companies (continued).

Table with columns: Stock, Price, Chg, %Chg, 52 Week High, Low, P/E, Market Cap. Lists top 500 global companies (continued).

Table with columns: Stock, Price, Chg, %Chg, 52 Week High, Low, P/E, Market Cap. Lists top 500 global companies (continued).

FT500: TOP 20

Table with columns: Stock, Price, Chg, %Chg, 52 Week High, Low, P/E, Market Cap. Lists top 20 FT500 companies.

FT500: BOTTOM 20

Table with columns: Stock, Price, Chg, %Chg, 52 Week High, Low, P/E, Market Cap. Lists bottom 20 FT500 companies.

BONDS: HIGH-YIELD & EMERGING MARKET

Table with columns: Index, Return, Volatility, Spread, etc. Lists high-yield and emerging market bond indices.

BONDS: GLOBAL INVESTMENT GRADE

Table with columns: Index, Return, Volatility, Spread, etc. Lists global investment grade bond indices.

GLTS: US CASH MARKET

Table with columns: Index, Return, Volatility, Spread, etc. Lists US Treasury bill and note indices.

INTEREST RATES: OFFICIAL

Table with columns: Country, Rate, Change, etc. Lists official interest rates for various countries.

BOND INDICES

Table with columns: Index, Return, Volatility, Spread, etc. Lists various bond indices.

VOLATILITY INDICES

Table with columns: Index, Return, Volatility, Spread, etc. Lists volatility indices.

BONDS: BENCHMARK GOVERNMENT

Table with columns: Index, Return, Volatility, Spread, etc. Lists benchmark government bond indices.

GLTS: UK FTSE ASSET ALLOCATION INDICES

Table with columns: Index, Return, Volatility, Spread, etc. Lists UK FTSE asset allocation indices.

COMMODITIES

Table with columns: Commodity, Price, Change, etc. Lists various commodity prices.

BONDS: INDEX-LINKED

Table with columns: Index, Return, Volatility, Spread, etc. Lists index-linked bond indices.

BONDS: TEN-YEAR GOVT SPREADS

Table with columns: Index, Return, Volatility, Spread, etc. Lists ten-year government bond spreads.

GLTS: US FTSE ASSET ALLOCATION INDICES

Table with columns: Index, Return, Volatility, Spread, etc. Lists US FTSE asset allocation indices.

GLTS: US FTSE ASSET ALLOCATION INDICES

Table with columns: Index, Return, Volatility, Spread, etc. Lists US FTSE asset allocation indices.

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ARTS

# Funny and sad beyond words

**THEATRE**

**Sarah Hemming**



We're all left speechless sometimes, but for Oliver (Aidan Turner) and Bernadette (Jenna Coleman) that condition is perilous. They're the couple at the heart of Sam Steiner's playful romcom *Lemons Lemons Lemons Lemons Lemons* who are fumbling their way through an average relationship when a draconian law limiting every citizen to 140 words per day slices through their lives. Suddenly careless talk costs love. One elaborate smoothie order, one argument at work, one rambling phone conversation and they risk facing one another in the evening lost for words.

Steiner's 2015 comedy arrives in the West End freighted with new meaning in the wake of lockdowns and partygate. The idea of life changing utterly overnight and a government breaking its own laws no longer feels far-fetched. And there are big sociopolitical questions to do with power, protest, democracy, restriction of expression and whose words carry more weight. But like so many ingenious absurdist comedies before it, Steiner's play becomes more philosophical than political, asking questions about the role of language and the nature of intimacy. Sentenced to life with limited linguistic means, where would you spend your words – at work or at home? As the play jumps about in time, flashing from scenes before the ban to afterwards, we notice how imprecisely Oliver and Bernadette communicate when they have precious words to spare.

It's a richly thoughtful piece, and with

it Steiner joins an august list of playwrights – Beckett, Pinter, Churchill, Crip – who have deliberately limited their own currency or undermined dramatic structure to talk about the absurdities and inequities of life. It makes considerable demands too of its cast, to which Coleman and Turner respond admirably.

In Josie Rourke's production they circle one another in an empty space, the paraphernalia of normal life suspended behind them in Robert Jones's set. Tiny adjustments in body language alert us to subtext and shifts in chemistry between them.

As drama, *Lemons* doesn't quite get round the limitations to narrative and

## Sam Steiner's romcom asks questions about the role of language and the nature of intimacy

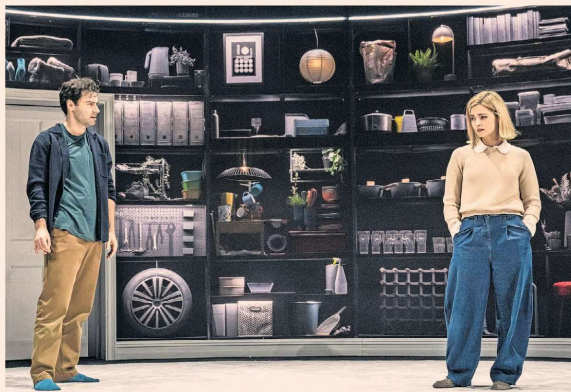
character development that it places on itself. But it's sharply observant and, in the hands of Rourke, Coleman and Turner, quipfully sad.

To March 18 then touring to Manchester and Brighton, [lemonstheplay.co.uk](http://lemonstheplay.co.uk)

When Michael Frayn first started writing farce, people asked him why he didn't write about real life. "I couldn't understand their question," he told the *Financial Times* in 2010. "Did they really not have faces in their lives? Everyone loses control of their environment sometimes."

That truth is at the heart of his dazzling comedy *Noises Off*, which shows how this silliest of genres can express our deepest fears and existential panic. Now 40 years old, the play has lost little of its dizzy joy or deep poignancy.

In act one we see a hapless theatre company staggering through the final



Above: Aidan Turner and Jenna Coleman in *Lemons Lemons Lemons Lemons Lemons*. Left, from left, Felicity Kendal, Alexander Hanson and Tracy-Anne Oberman in *Noises Off*

rehearsal of *Nothing On*, a shoddy bedroom farce driven by lust, jealousy and panic. In act two we watch a performance of *Nothing On* but from backstage, where those same emotions – now deeply felt – assail the cast, causing an even more acute state of chaos. In act three that backstage drama has invaded the stage, the genuine farce mapping on to the fictitious one with disastrous (hilarious) results.

It's the pain behind the slapstick that strikes you in Lindsay Posner's beautifully observed production.

Felicity Kendal finds poignancy in dithering Dotty, unable to recall even the most basic stage directions and so condemned, like a character from Greek myth, to keep repeating the same movements. It's also peppered with split-second comic timing and lovely performances. Tracy-Anne Oberman's actress Belinda smiles beatifically at the audience as she ploughs doggedly on, delivering whole sections of dialogue to herself because her onstage partner has failed to materialise. Joseph Millson brings brilliant physicality to the increasingly manic Garry Lejeune, crashing through doors and down stairs so convincingly that you check for bruises.

Like Chekhov (whose work he has often translated), Frayn combines astute depiction of the cruelty and randomness of life with deep affection for humanity's ability to keep on keeping on. And what's most touching about *Noises Off* is the effort the cast make to keep their creaky old show on the road. Jonathan Coy's fretful Frederick

searching for existential meaning amid the chaos and Kendal's Dotty valiantly trudging on with the wrong props.

"Am I getting some of [the lines] right?" she calls anxiously to the director, an invisible godlike presence in the dark. "Some of them have a very familiar ring," he responds, despondently – which is perhaps the best any of us can hope for.

To March 11, [atgickets.com](http://atgickets.com)

If *Noises Off* and *Lemons* play with theatrical structure, *Sound of the Underground* rips it up completely. This raucous, rebellious piece by non-binary writer Travis Alabanza, co-created with Debbie Hannan, doesn't just bring London's queer club scene to the Royal Court theatre; it interrogates what that means. How do you celebrate an underground culture on a mainstream stage? How do you use conventional language to talk about the unconventional?

These ironies are at the heart of *The Underground*'s heart.

To February 25, [royalcourttheatre.com](http://royalcourttheatre.com)

**Lemons Lemons Lemons Lemons Lemons**  
Harold Pinter Theatre, London  
★★★★★

**Noises Off**  
Phoenix Theatre, London  
★★★★★

**Sound of the Underground**  
Royal Court Theatre, London  
★★★★★

messy takeover by eight burlesque and drag artists. After a brief prologue, in which they introduce themselves, we are plunged into what looks a pastiche of a Royal Court "kitchen sink" dramatic performers, (reluctantly) dressed down, assemble over mugs of tea and discuss unionising and taking action.

It seems straightforward – until you realise that the action they are discussing is to do away with Rufus, presenter of *Rufus's Drag Race*, for commercialising drag. Polite debate then gives way to onstage anarchy with the performers upending tables, brandishing dildos and hairdryers and driving around in a mini-tank.

Even for deliberate chaos, this section feels awkward. And so the performers are dismantling the set and, with it, expectations for a piece of theatre. They discuss the economic realities of being an artist. They lament the way drag is being stripped of its radical nature to be marketed for corporate events, advertising and hen parties. They report the grim irony that popularity comes alongside an upsurge in violence and prejudice.

All traces of naturalism gone, they then bring the cabaret, with a series of flamboyant, funny and often filthy routines, impeccably performed. But the show is not finished with voicing its hard truths. Midway through the final act, drag king CHYO destroys his own routine to point out that the very body that earns applause on stage becomes a target for trans hate crime on the streets. It's outrageous, it's confrontational, it's celebratory – but above all, *Sound of the Underground*'s heartfelt.

To February 25, [royalcourttheatre.com](http://royalcourttheatre.com)

Drag and burlesque performers stage a rebellion in *'Sound of the Underground'*  
Helen Murray



**FT FINANCIAL TIMES**

**FT ENERGY SOURCE**

**DESIRABLE YET DIVISIVE: ELECTRIC VEHICLES IN THE US**

Explore the crucial issue of decarbonising energy, with Series Two of *FT Energy Source*.

President Biden wants half of all new US vehicle sales to be electric by 2030. The latest video of the series looks across America to see the progress being made and the bumps in the road.

Watch FT Energy Source at [channels.ft.com/energysource](http://channels.ft.com/energysource)

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## Mischief with monsters in the margins

*Zany creatures resembling those found in medieval manuscripts do battle in the new video game 'Inkulnati'.*  
Chris Alnutt reports

How merry the medieval illustrator must have been. Even in some of the most strait-laced works of liturgy, margins are beset with monkeys playing bagpipes, cats defending castles besieged by mice and knights fighting giant snails (with baffling regularity, actually). Or take the rather more terrifying amphivena, depicted in a breviary as a two-headed, two-legged beast so violent that its extremities attack each other.

With its charmingly drawn sword-wielding dogs and bardic donkeys, video game *Inkulnati* follows in this lively tradition. But unlike the beasts in medieval manuscripts, the ones brought to life in this turn-based strategy game form the ranks of your personal army as you embark on a quest to save the life of the master who taught you everything you know about pugnaeous pigments.

Curiously, this isn't the first medieval manuscript-based game to be released this winter – *Pentiment* had you leaping through the vellum in a plot-driven murder mystery in 16th-century Bavaria – but Yaza Games' *Inkulnati* embraces the illustrations' more chaotic side. Here the pages are your battlefield, the quill and ink your weapons, as you summon creatures to defeat those of your AI-controlled opponent by drawing them into the margins.

For some encounters, your character will sit amid the fray, hurriedly sketching to bolster your ranks each round; in others, you've simply got to work with the troops you're given. Combat is turn-based, with one beast per player attacking at a time, so forget erasing all the enemies from the page before they get a go, à la XCOM. Likewise, confined to pages of the parchment, you'll find few spots to hide. Add in obstacles,

impending infernos and insta-death edges, and the result is a frantic and claustrophobic – albeit gleefully silly – fight to the bitter end.

Regretting your moves as soon as they're made is often a good indication of the depth of a turn-based strategy game. But *Inkulnati* inflicts, for all its charm, a tough learning curve on players – or so I told myself as a giant snail consumed yet another of my archers in one gulp. Early encounters can prove infuriatingly difficult, with the AI seemingly immune to mistakes even on the lowest difficulty settings.

The result is a frantic and claustrophobic – albeit gleefully silly – fight to the bitter end

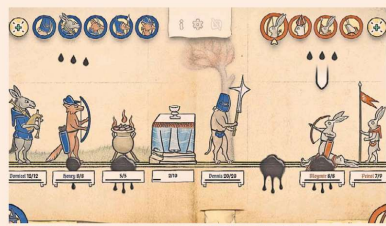
There are more overarching dilemmas to distract you along the way: unlocking and upgrading your beasts, between-battle pit stops to invest in different aspects of your army – choosing between more health or more ink, say – though it's all tightly railroaded. Dexterity plays a minor role: on certain attacks, a slider will cycle through different damage values and it's up to you to stop it at its highest value. These will fall in different places for different

enemies, so if you're attacking multiple at once you'll need to work out who to prioritise.

But the joy is really to be found in the game's escapist aesthetic. As the battle rages, columns above the margins are gradually filled with text narrating – loosely – the actions of you and your foes. "God-fearing Hildebert weakly socked the unworthy wretch and he felt as empty as a bakery in the evening" described a duel which I went on to lose rather badly. It's also visually authentic: Eleanor Kucharski, curator of illuminated manuscripts at the British Library, draws parallels with the Breviary of Renaud de Bar, a prayer book from the beginning of the 14th century.

The game's early access status emerges at times: signposting can feel a little sparse in the menus, the tutorials could use a replay button, there's no keyboard support to enter character names on PC. Online multiplayer is planned for the full release, but for now you'll have to gather around a single keyboard. But what the title lacks in polish, it more than makes up for in the originality of its setting and the charm of its animations. Centuries after their predecessors first set foot in the margins of literature, these zany creatures have finally found the spotlight.

*'Inkulnati'* is available now on Steam Early Access and Xbox Game Preview



In *'Inkulnati'* the pages are your battlefield, the quill and ink your weapons



FT BIG READ. POLITICS & POLICY

The huge incentives in the Inflation Reduction Act are provoking a debate in Brussels about the dynamic between government and industry. At stake are the very fundamentals of the bloc's economic model.

By Sam Fleming, Alice Hancock and Javier Espinoza

Donal O'Riain has been struck by the welcome his company received in the US – and it isn't just the Christmas card sent by the Department of Energy official who is helping it secure federally supported loans.

The prospect of abundant government funding thanks to the Inflation Reduction Act is prompting Ececom, an Irish low-carbon cement producer, to double a planned \$120m investment in California as it reorients spending towards the US instead of Europe, he says.

"They are rolling out the carpet for green investment – we were surprised at how personal the contact was," says O'Riain, Ececom's founder and managing director. The "net effect" is that Ececom, which qualifies for IRA funding on the basis that its cement is produced with carbon emissions that are 40 times lower than average, will "favour further investment in the States [rather] than in the EU".

Cases like that of Ececom are prompting a brutal reckoning in the EU, as heads of government prepare for a Brussels summit on February 9-10 aimed at figuring out how to respond to the massive subsidies and buy-America provisions being rolled out under the \$600bn IRA. "Europe is in panic mode," says Dutch MEP Paul Tang.

At stake are the very fundamentals of the EU's economic model.

Since its inception, the single market has been based on the idea that a level playing field needs to be secured for both the wealthier and poorer nations and strict limits are therefore needed on state aid that members offer their industries. But even before the US announced its green subsidies, the rules on state aid were already being watered down – in response to the pandemic and the impact of war in Ukraine.

France and its allies are pushing to further loosen the shackles on subsidies as part of an active industrial policy aimed at securing key supply lines, embedding the drive towards its climate objectives, and holding its own in the great power competition between the US and China.

But economic liberals in countries including Sweden and the Netherlands see a risk that Brussels will, in its rush to compete with the torrent of public cash available in the US and in China, end up "fragmenting" the single market by allowing big member states such as Germany and France even greater latitude to lavish cash on top companies. The IRA is, they fear, fuelling a wider push towards a more interventionist – some say protectionist – mindset in big economies.

Mark Rutte, Dutch prime minister, is among those warning that Europe must not "throw the baby [out] with the bathwater" as it attempts to concoct a convincing response to America's legislation. "The idea of jumping to a sort of race to the bottom on state aid is not to our liking, because one of the most successful things in the European Union since 1957 is the internal market," he tells the FT. "If we make the wrong decisions, it really could have long-term impact – far beyond this IRA thing."

What makes the debate so difficult in Europe is the extent to which America itself has ditched fair-trade norms in its legislation, which provides tax credits and federal support to industries ranging from hydrogen and electric car batteries to solar panels and sustainable aviation fuel.

The IRA, which was agreed in a surprise political deal in Washington in August, offers companies billions of dollars, largely through tax credits, to boost investment in new and nascent clean energy technologies. Companies are rewarded for reorganising supply chains to be located either in the US or among allies and partners.

The EU says the IRA's local-content requirements are incompatible with World Trade Organization rules that are meant to bar discrimination against products based on their country of origin. It has attempted to convince the US to cut European companies into the benefits, but talks within a US-EU task force on the topic have yielded only partial progress in the area of electric vehicles and batteries.

Ececom is the type of company that Europe desperately wants to keep onshore. The EU is aiming to cut its greenhouse gas emissions by 55 per cent by 2050, compared to 1990 levels, while fighting an energy crisis brought on by cuts in supplies of gas from Russia.

On both fronts, the bloc needs every scrap of renewable energy and clean technology it can get. But it is competing in a global market where both the US and China are pouring billions into green industries through state funding.

O'Riain says that in France, where Ececom has two factories, the company received no public subsidies as it has



expected to be green. While the IRA's widely heralded consumer subsidies on US electric vehicles amount to \$7,500, figures from the European Automobile Manufacturers' Association and Bruegel show that the average in the EU is not actually that far behind, at the equivalent of \$6,500.

Part of the EU response to be discussed at next week's summit will be making it easier to redirect pots of EU money to specifically respond to the IRA.

Some EU companies fear Brussels is going to be too cautious in its response. Ilham Kadri, chief executive of Solvay, the Belgian chemicals company, says her company is already benefiting from funds from the IRA, plus the state of Georgia has also committed to \$27m of state and local tax incentives.

Her experience of getting subsidies in France, by contrast, was a "long, tough journey", she says, with a lot of bureaucracy "for almost, I would say, nothing". Europe, she says, needs to "wake up" and address not only state aid limits but also lengthy regulatory processes.

Kadri's experience illustrates a problem many executives complain of in the EU regime: the sheer complexity of applying for the pots of cash scattered between different EU, national and regional programmes.

The IRA distributes support via simple-to-obtain tax credits, something Brussels has no power to do given tax is a national competence.

EU funding also seems to favour industry incumbents rather than innovative start-ups. The first call-up for large-scale projects in 2020 through its Innovation Fund received 311 applications, from which seven grants were awarded – all to projects led by large companies including BASF, a multinational chemical company, and the Italian energy company Enel.

Cleantech for Europe, an industry



France under Emmanuel Macron is pushing to loosen the shackles on subsidies as part of industrial policy

# Can the EU keep up with the US on green subsidies?

Companies developing greener initiatives have been boosted by President Joe Biden's agenda. Brussels under European Commission president Ursula von der Leyen is considering how to respond to the subsidies

FT Montage: Getty Images/ ERM-EFE/Sputnik

were not available at the time. State assistance, he adds, "means we can raise our horizons in terms of how fast we can scale".

The question of state aid The pressure on the EU single market has been building for some time. Some EU diplomats and politicians argue the union has long been guilty of a naive approach towards its green industry by permitting China, in particular, to dominate critical sectors instead of nurturing Europe-based champions. France is now leading the charge to a harder-headed approach to international trade and work on securing its own resilience and "sovereignty". Paris in January demanded a "made in Europe" strategy in response to the IRA, entailing a reinforced European industrial policy and a far-reaching simplification of the EU's state aid framework.

Within the commission, Thierry Breton, French commissioner for the EU's internal market, has championed the push for European "strategic autonomy" in industries from pharmaceuticals and semiconductors to critical raw materials. "It is high time to reconcile climate neutrality policy with industrial competitiveness policy," he said on Friday during a trip to Washington.

Three commissioners from free-market minded countries – Margrethe Vestager of Denmark, Valdis Dombrovskis of Latvia and Frans Timmermans of the Netherlands – are pushing

back. Vestager, the EU's competition commissioner, unveiled state aid proposals yesterday as part of a wider set of policies aiming to streamline permitting for new green projects and easing payments of EU money. Changes need to be "focused", she says, arguing it is only in a few sectors that there is an "acute risk" of investment shifting from the EU to the US.

"If the state leads this transition then on some occasions state aid is also legitimate, as long as no one then jumps to the conclusion to say, 'Well, let the taxpayer do everything,'" she says.

The prospect of a further loosening in state aid controls has, however, caused deep disquiet this week among some senior competition officials in Brussels, where some fear the floodgates are opening on public subsidies in Europe.

They complain these "temporary" relaxations of its state aid rules are becoming a persistent habit. Brussels pushed through a time-limited loosening early in the Covid-19 crisis, but then followed up last year with further flexibility in response to the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the energy crisis.

"There is a joke that nothing is more permanent than temporary things," says one EU official. "This temporariness is starting to last."

The results of these relaxations of subsidy restraints have been hugely imbalanced. EU member states have won approval for €672bn subsidies under the bloc's temporary crisis frame-

work, of which no less than 53 per cent has been notified by Germany, the EU's biggest economy, equating to around 9 per cent of its annual gross domestic product.

France's share stands at 24 per cent, or just above 6 per cent of GDP, while fiscally stretched Italy sought approval for only around 7 per cent of the total – equalling less than 5 per cent of GDP.

Specialists say this contributes to a deeper fragmentation between EU countries and indeed regions. Craig Douglas, the founder of World Fund, a €350m venture fund based in Berlin, says the discrepancies between the "specific buckets of capital" available in Europe are sharp. "I want to build a manufacturing facility in Aachen or Bavaria there is more regional capital available than doing it in Paris."

Unlocking the money The debate over state aid is reawakening a related dispute over how to fund subsidies.

European countries with strained public finances insist that any loosening of state aid constraints needs to be balanced by the creation of a big new EU-wide pot of cash to help to support member states with limited fiscal resources. Some, including Italy, are pushing for much more flexibility in how they can deploy existing EU funding.

Germany, the Netherlands and other fiscally conservative states are, however, prepared to block any additional common EU borrowing, meaning any fresh cash on tap is likely to be modest.

They argue the bloc already has ample funding available for its green transition, and that it is the US that is playing catch-up with Europe's existing initiatives. Back in 2020, for example, across the EU some €18bn was forked out to subsidise renewables, according to commission figures.

That has been enhanced by the €800bn NextGenerationEU Covid-19 recovery programme, under which capitals are required to commit at least 37 per cent of spending to the green transition. On top of that, about €100bn of the EU's 2021-27 cohesion spending, which boosts regional development, is

"If we make the wrong decisions it really could have long-term impact – far beyond this IRA thing"

"The support schemes are extremely hard to navigate. There are so many of them... we need Europe to have much more pragmatism"

body for green technology start-ups, noted that this represents a 2 per cent success rate for applicants. Projects that had been selected mostly focused on the carbon capture and storage, a technology which sets out to remove carbon produced by fossil fuels, rather than projects that would prevent the emission of carbon dioxide in the first place.

Top EU officials readily admit permitting processes for new installations take far too long. Jules Besnainou, Cleantech for Europe's executive director, warns that there is a risk of "leakage" of clean tech industries out of Europe "no matter what". The question, he says, is whether the EU response comes in time to scale up these industries, or "do we just lose them?"

A broader strategy Europe's economic liberals argue a lot of the wrangling over public subsidies misses the wider point.

Countries such as Sweden, which holds the EU's rotating presidency, want the EU to focus instead on underlying competitiveness, loosening regulatory constraints and boosting fundamentals such as worker skills, rather than seeking ways to marshal more public money. Financing reforms might help. Delaying on the EU's carbon reduction objectives requires additional investment of €520bn a year in 2021-2050, according to the commission, the majority of which will have to come from the private sector.

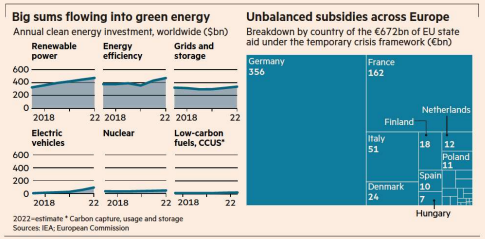
Yet the continent remains heavily reliant on bank-provided finance, while its attempts to forge stronger and more vibrant capital markets are proceeding at a snail's pace.

Any adjustments to the state aid regime or creation of new EU resources must "go hand in hand" with reforms to the internal market, argues Cecilia Malmström, EU trade commissioner from 2014 to 2019, plus a drive to conclude more trade deals. It would be a "dangerous path" to engage in a tit-for-tat response to the IRA, she says.

But the EU's band of free-market cheerleaders feels embattled, especially following the departure of the UK, which had been one of their most vocal members. Plaintive references to WTO norms sound out of touch with the great power competition driving the world economy, embodied by the "decoupling" from China driven first by President Donald Trump and continued by his successor Joe Biden.

"Even the more liberal ones in the flock realise the world has changed," says one senior EU official. On the IRA, the message from Washington is "just do the same as us, because we are not going to change anything".

Data visualisation by Chris Campbell





The FT View



The return of the 'British disease'

Brexit is one of the factors behind the UK's economic underperformance

In the 1970s, the UK was known as the 'sick man of Europe'... Today it seems to be the sick man of the developed world.

exposed to sky-high energy prices. The disastrous 'mini' Budget of Liz Truss's short premiership led to a rise in borrowing costs which has eased but is still affecting families and businesses.

As well as getting more people back into jobs, Britain needs to develop a more agile training and education system

As a start, the government should replace or extend its super-deduction on capital spending, which expires in April, to boost business investment.

Business groups labelled Jeremy Hunt's economic plan outlined last week as "empty". The chancellor has a further chance to spell out a more ambitious agenda in the March Budget.

Opinion Economics

We lack an effective global system to deal with debt

Ben Hahay



Rebecca Grynspan

There is an alarming tendency among the international community to regard debts in the developing world as sustainable because they can, after some sacrifice, be paid off.

Ghana or Sri Lanka into debt distress. In 2021, developing countries paid \$400bn in debt service, more than twice what they received in official development aid.

This full-blown development crisis threatens a lost decade for the world economy

can only pay their debts by way of austerity or foregone investment in the sustainable development goals (SDGs). Their debts are sustainable in that they can be repaid, but unsustainable in every other way.

The failure of these efforts has revealed the complexity of existing procedures, characterised by creditors who refuse to engage in restructuring with extraordinary powers of sabotage. Crisis resolutions are often too little, too late.

Letters

AI in the right hands can end the scourge of fake news

Your article on generative AI had so many weaknesses that I thought it might have been written by, well, generative AI (The Big Read, January 26).

hasn't, from the loom to the electric motor to spreadsheets? It has no "real understanding" - whatever that means - but do people always have a real understanding of what they are talking about?

be misused by bad actors, but so can a kitchen knife, gunpowder, nuclear power or social media. And it can create fake content - wow, I am impressed you are discovering the concept of fake content.

Email: letters.editor@ft.com Include daytime telephone number and full address

Corrections: corrections@ft.com If you are not satisfied with the FT's response to your comment, you can appeal to the FT Editorial Complaints Commissioner: complaints.commissioner@ft.com

How France's fighter jet fillip can bolster Zelensky

The reporting by Lella Abbound, Henry Foy and Ben Hall in the article "France open to sending jets to Ukraine" (Report, February 1) indicates that France's position on sending fighter jets to Ukraine might be changing for the better.



Doodittle said: "The first lesson is that you can't lose a war if you have command of the air, and you can't win a war if you haven't."

Hunt or the BoE, who is in charge of inflation policy?

I am confused. In your article "Chancellor pushes back against tax cut by Tories" (Report, February 1) you note that chancellor Jeremy Hunt "insisted that halving inflation to 5 per cent by the end of the year was his priority, and insisted that cutting taxes would make that task harder".

Try starting meetings with a prayer - I recommend it

Your "Office Life" column ("If you invite someone to a meeting, there has to be a purpose", Opinion, January 30) brought to mind an organisation for which I was a consultant some years ago.

OUTLOOK IRELAND

From the Sex Pistols to post-punk ballad for Eurovision

ever mind the bollocks. Here's the Sex Pistols' former frontman Johnny Rotten bidding to take on the establishment, again.

2008 it entered a TV puppet named Dustin the Turkey with a song lamenting that Ireland, which by then had won a record seven Eurovisions, had lost its Midas touch. It bombed.

first title with "All Kinds of Everything" in 1970. Ireland won six more times in the 1980s and 1990s, and stunned audiences in 1994 with the breathtaking Riverside show in the interval. But then came hubris.



by Jude Webber



# Opinion

## The corporate world is losing its grip on cyber risk

**BUSINESS**  
**Helen Thomas**



The Lloyd's of London insurance market prides itself on being able to put a price on anything – from Tina Turner's legs or Bruce Springsteen's vocal cords, to the risk that a bounty hunter might claim the reward from Cutty Sark Whisky in the 1970s for capturing the Loch Ness monster. But from the end of March, there will be something it won't price: systemic cyber risk, or the type of major, catastrophic disruption caused by state-backed cyber warfare. In one sense, this isn't surprising. Insurance policies typically exclude acts of war. Russia's NotPeety attack on Ukraine in 2017 showed how state-backed cyber assaults can surpass traditional definitions of armed conflict and overspill their sovereign

target to hit global businesses. It caused an estimated \$10bn in damages and years of wrangling between companies like pharma giant Merck and snack maker Mondelez and their insurers. But the move is prompting broader questions about the growing pains in this corner of the insurance world. "Cyber insurance isn't working anywhere at the moment as a public good for society," says Claran Martin, former head of the UK National Cyber Security Centre, now at the Blavatnik School for Government. "It has a huge role to play in improving defences in a market-based economy and it has been a huge disappointment in that sense so far." The Lloyd's move is designed, say insurers, to clarify rather than restrict coverage. Whether it succeeds is another matter: this is a murky world, where cyber crime groups operate with impunity in certain jurisdictions. Ransomware group Conti last year seemingly switched focus, declaring its support for the Russian government after the invasion of Ukraine. Attribution is fraught: governments point fingers for geopolitical reasons, not commercial tax credit rules.

ones. If the intention is to exclude rare, catastrophic events, better to have an independent body that declares and categorises cyber events, argues Graeme Newman, head of CFC Underwriting. This focus on systemic risk is slightly odd. The cyber insurance world has been rocked not by cyberwarfare in recent years but by ransomware and cyber extortion attacks. Payments

**There is a lack of data about a threat that is, in any case, constantly changing**

identified as received by ransomware attackers more than quadrupled in 2020 on the year before, according to Chainalysis, and stayed there in 2021. Cyber insurance pricing by the back end of 2021 had doubled compared to the previous year, according to broker Marsh, and was still up 50 per cent again in the third quarter of last year. Payments fell last year, in part

because the Ukraine conflict may have disrupted cybergangs in the region. Victims may also be less willing to pay up, given the vast costs of repairing or rebuilding systems required in the aftermath of an attack. But this may not last: already this year, the UK has suffered high-profile attacks on the Guardian newspaper, the Royal Mail and retailer JD Sports. The spiralling cost of claims has meant more restrictions on coverage, according to the US Government Accountability Office: limits on how much can be claimed for cyber incidents dropped sharply in 2021. The risk is that boards, with limited expertise, may not be getting the cover they think, especially since advisers report carve outs for common threats like fraud from compromised business email accounts. Insurers, heatedly, also tightened up security requirements when underwriting. The industry, tetchy about suggestions that cyber may prove uninsurable, concedes a lack of data about a threat that is, in any case, constantly changing. The Bank of England last month issued a warning about "immature" risk

management. Limited take-up doesn't help: Aviva found only a quarter of UK businesses have cover and that, if anything, cyber risk was slipping down the list of board priorities. With both the US and UK considering a government backstop for systemic risks, the blurring of private and public responsibilities could force reform. Passing cyber risk to governments would have to mean tougher minimum standards for corporate resilience (which are probably merited anyway). Transparency about attacks and improved data-sharing could also help. Ultimately, countries need a national debate on cyber risk, of the type under way in Australia since last year's Medibank breach seized the health data of nearly 10m customers. Preferably without a major attack first. The arbitration is a reasonably priced, well-understood form of cyber insurance that also improves resilience and reduces costs for society. At the moment, it's not obvious that we're getting closer to that goal.

helen.thomas@ft.com

## On Sri Lanka's 75th birthday, the future looks bleak

**Zeinab Badawi**

Sri Lanka is marking the 75th anniversary of its independence from Great Britain this year, yet there is little to celebrate – the beautiful island is experiencing the worst economic crisis in its history. The country defaulted on more than \$50bn of foreign loans in 2022, and last May the then prime minister Ranil Wickremesinghe complained that finding even \$1m was proving to be a challenge. Sri Lanka has one of the largest public sectors in the world, which – including defence – accounts for between 70-80 per cent of the country's annual budget. Meeting the salary bill is a battle. The government is in the throes of negotiating a \$2.9bn IMF bailout, which ministers seem confident will be approved.

India and others have sent aid, including food and medical supplies, to a population living under constant pressure. A majority of Sri Lanka's 22m people live in rural areas and are struggling to put food on the table. Average earnings are down, inflation is about 59 per cent, though the government insists it is coming down. The UN warns of severe undernourishment and rising poverty in a country that once boasted one of the highest standards of living in south Asia.

To the visitor, the true situation is initially hard to grasp. Restaurants in the capital Colombo are full and markets well stocked. Travels around the central mountain region and the small villages are also deceptive. I gave a tip of \$3 to the hotel staff member who had

**Many citizens are struggling to put food on the table and inflation is about 59 per cent**

arranged my room; he burst into tears, hugging me that he needed the money for his young daughter.

Sri Lankans, renowned for resilience, now just "seethe with anger", says Sri Lankan Booker Prize winner Shehan Karunatilaka. By last year frustration had reached boiling point. Millions, mostly the young, took to the streets in Colombo and across the country. The presidential palace was stormed and the prime minister's residence torched. President Gotabaya Rajapaksa fled to Singapore, from where he resigned by email.

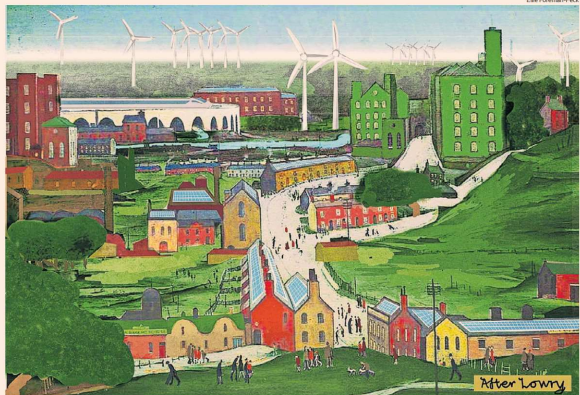
His successor, the political veteran Wickremesinghe, is seen as a surrogate for the powerful Rajapaksa family, which has dominated Sri Lankan politics and business for decades. While tourism has certainly been hit hard by Covid, many blame their current predicament on endemic and longstanding government corruption, nepotism and economic mismanagement. About 300,000 Sri Lankans left the country in 2022, the highest number on record.

If conditions do not improve, new protests could be triggered and may even turn violent. But demonstrating is one of the few ways for Sri Lankans to express their dissatisfaction with the government. The ruling coalition has a strong parliamentary majority and opposition parties are splintered. There are serious restrictions on freedom of speech. Staff at News 1st, Sri Lanka's biggest independent news network, were severely beaten by police while covering the protests.

The security forces and military still enjoy a prominent role in society and their numbers are disproportionately high, a legacy of the civil war between Hindu, Tamil minority separatists and the Buddhist Sinhalese-dominated authorities. This brutal conflict, which began in 1983 and ended in 2009 with the defeat of the Tamil Tigers, hangs like a shadow over present day Sri Lanka. Some 100,000 died or simply disappeared, with little justice for victims and their families.

Can people rise above these residual ethnic and religious tensions and coexist as simply Sri Lankans? Protesters from all ethnicities marched together last year, united in their common disgust and shared suffering. Perhaps a new, nonsectarian sense of nationhood could prove the silver lining to this bleak chapter in Sri Lanka's post-independence history.

The writer is president of Soas, University of London



Elle Fennell-Park

## Conservatives are forced to face net zero

**BRITAIN**  
**Robert Shrimley**



Some government reviews disappear into the machine; others land with a thud. Chris Skidmore's 340-page report on the UK's net zero strategy is heavy enough to leave a dent wherever it lands. And while its major concern is the gap between good intentions and delivery, its greatest political impact could be that it makes its argument in a language Conservatives understand. A former Tory energy minister, Skidmore was the man who signed the UK's net zero pledges into law. And while not resiling from its original, environmental case for green transformation, his report confronts Tories with a further compelling argument. The developed nations are now in an economic race to lead in clean energy technology, and the UK is not winning. The world is facing two industrial revolutions, one powered by artificial intelligence, the other by clean energy. Their shape and terms will be set by the world's three power blocs, the US, China and the EU. Joe Biden's Inflation Reduction Act with its \$369bn of subsidies for green technologies has fundamentally altered the net zero landscape. The EU is

set to respond, initially with an easing of tax credit rules. For all its previous lead on green tech, Britain cannot compete on subsidies and it is not setting the rules. The UK's only option is to be decisive, nimble and cutting edge as Brexit was supposed to make it. Instead, the report warns that poor delivery and conflicting signals mean it is losing ground. No one can accuse the government of inactivity. There are numerous initiatives and substantial investment. Business lobbies will always ratchet up demands for extra subsidies. Even so, the report's argument is irresistible. Skidmore's report is important enough as a warning. But it comes at a crucial moment in the political debate. A vocal caucus on the populist right is agitating against net zero. While hostile MPs are a minority, their arguments are amplified in the Tory press and by outsiders like Nigel Farage who have, in the past, exerted a powerful pull on the party. The appeal of their stance is that it rests on a view that the climate agenda has been seized by the left as a vehicle for higher taxes and state intervention. What Skidmore offers, as well as a jeremiad on complacency, is a call for Tories to understand that the clean energy drive is vital to prosperity. The party of capitalism cannot let the UK sit back in an inescapable industrial race that will define the next century. The technology is coming, the only question is whether the jobs and income accrue only to others. Many red-wal Conservative already

see this as part of the levelling-up agenda. But the message from business is that lack of momentum is deterring investment and sending opportunities abroad. "Government", the report argues, "has too often pursued stop-start strategies which undermine confidence for business, investors and consumers in committing to measures which would reduce carbon emissions." The report makes numerous recommendations, including on solar power and phasing out gas boilers, but at its core is a simple point. Where the UK has hopes of a leadership role on newer technologies, be it on carbon capture use and storage, small modular nuclear reactors, hydrogen or recycling critical minerals, it must back that ambition with credible road maps and stable

**The party cannot allow the country to sit back in an inescapable race that will define the next century**

funding. There are too many annual funding rounds; a 10-year commitment would bring more private money to the table. "The money is going to be spent either way", argues Skidmore. Those in government push back on some of this criticism, pointing to subsidies, funding models and legislation to advance new technologies. Senior figures argue that Rishi Sunak may lack Boris Johnson's often-empty ovalism, but will commit methodically to backing sectors which offer the UK an international advantage. Jeremy Hunt, the chancellor, has asked Skidmore to take on a role examining regulatory obstacles to emerging technology and he has been visiting Downing Street to sell his ideas to senior policy officials. His prescriptions include an Office for Net Zero to drive policy, a proper push on energy efficient homes, longer-range funding commitments on hydrogen and carbon capture, and a clear route map to building small modular nuclear reactors. The worry is that the Tories have a history of stepping back from what

David Cameron once called the "green crap" as financial challenges mounted. Net zero has looked like a subset of Sunak's economic agenda and doesn't feature in his five core missions. Even less encouraging was his opposition to onshore wind farms, one of the easier steps in the clean energy transition. The report, then, throws down two challenges for Sunak. The first and most crucial is to up the UK's game on delivery. If one accepts Skidmore's overarching argument (and it is hard to refute), then this cannot be an afterthought to any growth strategy. The second is to demonstrate leadership to the Conservative movement and show the UK cannot sit this out. Labour has an expansive (and expensive) green strategy. If Tories do not like it, they need to offer a viable alternative. Failure now leaves the UK in danger of missing not only its net zero targets but also the economic benefits of being a pioneer in an industrial revolution which cannot be avoided.

robert.shrimley@ft.com

## Beware the great battery industry fallacy

**TECHNOLOGY**  
**Robin Harding**



Batteries, batteries, batteries. The race to attract this industry of the future, and power the electric vehicles that will rule the roads, is as frantic as the rush for AAA cells after an eight-year-old opens their birthday presents. An orgy of subsidies under the Inflation Reduction Act is building so-called "gigafactories" across the US, while the UK is agonising over the collapse of its only big battery project. One sign of battery-induced insecurity is the number of start-ups wrapping themselves in the flag, with names such as the failed Britishvolt or American Battery Factory.

battery. Ergo, a flourishing auto industry, needs battery plants. This is true as far as it goes and batteries will certainly be a large business. But what the mania ignores is many years of experience that shows batteries are a bad business: low margin, capital intensive, dirty and hemmed in by hard physical limits on technological progress. Investors and countries piling into this industry are going to get burnt. The industry leaders, which do not boast of gigafactories, are all based in Asia. Sony pioneered the lithium-ion battery in the 1990s, but sold out in 2016 after years of struggling to make them pay. Japan's Panasonic and Samsung SDI and LG Energy Solution of South Korea, the industry's most established names, have been enjoying a sales boom, but even in good years they struggle to reach a 10 per cent operating margin and run balance sheets in the tens of billions of dollars. The most profitable and fastest-growing battery maker is China's CATL, a good clue to where this industry will end up. The basic economics of battery making explain the financial outcomes. You

need to buy a large volume of scarce inputs – of which nickel and lithium are among the less exotic – and manufacture them into cells, at scale, using hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of machinery. You sell the resulting output in an almost purely business-to-business market with no brand loyalty or after-sales revenue. The processes involved relate to the chemical industry. Light manufacturing it is not. Nations throwing money at making them will miss the real value in future vehicles: software and data

The chemistry of each battery – the combination of an anode and a cathode material – puts a limit on the energy it can store: its electrochemical potential. The biggest jumps in performance have involved a new chemistry, such as the shift to lithium. But a battery must work when it is hot and when it is cold; it must charge and discharge a sufficient amount of energy, at a sufficient speed, a sufficient number of times; it must be safe and it must be affordable. To meet every constraint with an all-new technology is formidable hard. There is steady, incremental innovation in anode, cathode and separator materials, although the value is often captured by specialist chemical companies, not battery makers. The big gains in the industry today come from "learning by doing" – to reduce cost as volumes grow, but that points again to vast scale and capital investment, not particular technical breakthroughs, as the secret of success. Scale, capital and cost: it all points to China. Battery gigafactories in high-income countries are likely to meet the same fate as solar panel factories, televi-

sion factories and, indeed, a previous generation of battery factories in high-income countries. Certainly, there will not be a dozen national battery industries to support a dozen national auto industries. What, then, is a rich country with a large car industry to do? Batteries are heavy so there may be value in local manufacturing, especially if there are trade barriers. Geopolitical risk may also hamper the growth of China's exports. If the battery becomes a commodity, however, then nations throwing money at them will miss the real value in future vehicles. That will lie in the software, especially for automated driving; in the data a driver generates; in design, branding and interior quality; and in the safety of what will always be a large metal box that goes fast. Silicon Valley has figured out all of that and is awaiting its chance. A battle for the future of the auto industry will soon be joined. National gigafactories will not win it.

robin.harding@ft.com



# Lex

Twitter: @FTLex

## Indian stocks: getting Adani's Gaut

In recent years, some investment pundits promoted Indian stocks as an alternative to "uninvestable" Chinese equities. That thesis has taken a heavy blow from the woes of the Adani group, which has pulled a \$2.4bn share sale. Short seller Hindenburg Research has alleged that the highly leveraged industrial conglomerate, manipulated its stock price and engaged in accounting fraud. The company, run by tycoon Gautam Adani, denies the claims. But the failure of the financing shows how deep the unease of investors has become.

Adani cancelled its cash call after shares in group companies extended losses yesterday. The stock of issuer Adani Enterprises, the group's flagship company, fell 25 per cent. The failure of the deal suggests backers such as Abu Dhabi's International Holding Company and London-listed Jupiter had second thoughts.

Adani group stocks have a combined weighting of just 6 per cent of the MSCI Standard index. But their influence on foreign investors is significant. Foreign funds have sold \$1.5bn in Indian stocks. Such retreats recur in India. More than a decade ago, corruption scandals in telecoms sparked an extended sell-off. Investors also jumped ship when regulators fined Reliance Industries and chair Mukesh Ambani for irregularities involving a share issue. India is a vast, vibrant country with talented people. But it suffers from perceptions that high levels of corruption encourage financial chicanery. These are often unfair. But the relationship between politicians and the business elite is close.

India can dispel negative interpretations of such ties by probing the Adani affair thoroughly and with extensive public disclosure. Adani must meanwhile prove its debatable proposition that the share sale failure does not hurt its financial position.

The tendency of the Indian economy to undershoot bullish expectations is partly explained by the deadening effect of corruption. Economic growth is expected to decelerate in the year to next March, to the slowest in three years.

Foreign investors dumped more than \$16bn of Indian equity, a historic

record, last year. But even after that exit, the Sensex trades at a pricey 5 times book, double that of Chinese and Japanese counterparts. Loose capital will now favour investments in China.

## Vodafone: Vantage Elliott

Nick Read riled investors with efforts to tame Vodafone. He was ousted. Interim replacement Margherita Della Valle says the mobile operator "can do better". That is Elliott Management's view of the sale of the Vantage Towers subsidiary led by Read. The US activist has taken an exposure of more than 5 per cent to Vantage stock.

The intervention undermines the importance of scenario planning for residents or owners. Journalist Victor Castanet last year published an explosive account of the abuse of elders and allegations of financial misconduct. A rescue — state-sponsored, as is often the case in France — arrived yesterday with a restructuring led by Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations. Orpea's shares have crashed almost 90 per cent from their total worth of €6bn in January 2022.

Strict efficiencies meant outsized profit margins and a premium rating for Orpea shares. Shareholders now stand to lose everything under new

bankruptcy laws that have shifted the balance of power away from them. Aggressive expansion in the low-rate era meant Orpea's total debts more than doubled to €9.5bn. Creditors will now swap a portion for equity at a substantial discount.

Holders of half the unsecured debts worth €5.8bn will receive a 49.4 per cent shareholding while contributing €195m of new money. That represents a haircut of about 70 per cent on money lent.

New investors led by the CDC will contribute €1.55bn of fresh funds for a 50.2 per cent stake. Existing shareholders will own just 0.4 per cent of the new company unless they provide capital. Shareholder approval is no longer



Retirement homes should be places of calm and sanctuary. France's Orpea turned out to be neither for residents or owners. Journalist Victor Castanet last year published an explosive account of the abuse of elders and allegations of financial misconduct.

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required for such restructurings. Old rules would have typically left shareholders with more skin in the game.

The deal will lower net debts by 60 per cent. As a ratio of ebitda, these would fall to 6.5 times 2025 expected earnings, from around 25 times.

The new Orpea will operate at lower margins. A 15 per cent ebitda margin on 2024 revenues equates to a valuation multiple of 4 times, or about a third of Orpea's historical average. That is unlikely to entice existing shareholders back into the fold.

Too bad. Orpea in France and the old Four Seasons group in England have proved a point: high leverage and care homes do not mix.

at the cost of the most expensive plant required to kick in to satisfy demand. Often that is gas-fired generation. This has proved very expensive as a result of the Ukraine war.

Some cheaper solar and wind plants exposed to the wholesale market have pocketed windfall profits. Others have handed them over for a long-term price agreement.

One solution is to split the two markets. Renewables generators would then compete with each other for long-term contracts. Pricing would reflect the cost of investments — maybe €50-€80/MWh for new plants.

Flexible suppliers would compete on a spot market, presumably at much higher prices. This would include generators using fossil fuels and hydrogen plants, and perhaps battery

arrays. That would enable canny distributors to buy much of their electricity on long-term contracts at low prices, lowering its cost in time for the next gas crisis. It would also be good prepping for when renewables make up most of the market. As things stand, delinked renewable power prices would be too low for plants to recoup their investments because running costs tend towards zero.

The split-market proposal has plenty of advocates. It also has plenty of smags. The main one reflects committed thinking: the market we have today is not ideal but it does distribute electricity.

That is true. But renewables work in fundamentally different ways from the old power plants. This means a different set of rules is needed.

## Peloton: peddling hope

In October, Peloton's new chief executive, Barry McCarthy, said the pandemic's stage winner had six months to rediscover its balance. A nascent recovery has come ahead of schedule.

Yesterday, the stationary bike maker said that in the fourth quarter it just broke even on its preferred measure of free cash flow. That is a turnaround from a deficit of more than \$700m just three quarters ago.

McCarthy has tried hard to reorient Peloton away from a capital-intensive, unprofitable hardware-peddler towards becoming a slick provider of "Fitness-as-a-Service". Peloton may now provide a model for other growth high-fliers unimpeded to compete in a capital-constrained world.

McCarthy and his team pepper their talk with jargon such as "customer acquisition cost" aligning with "lifetime value of the customer". The result is that Peloton has cut its workforce from 9,000 to 4,000 and outsourced bicycle production and fulfillment. To get ahead, it now sells used bikes and relies on third-party retailers.

Last quarter, total revenue was under \$800m, compared with the \$1.1bn achieved in each of the two previous holiday periods. More importantly, for the third consecutive quarter the majority of revenue came from subscriptions to fitness content videos rather than bike sales. The gross margin on those software sales is 68 per cent, compared with the losses on bike sales as Peloton dumps inventory.

Peloton's number of subscriptions has stabilised at 5m, and it believes these will expand as the business rights itself. And the market has cheered it on as the stock price has more than doubled from its 2022 lows. Improved results and investor risk appetite help.

Peloton is fortunate it has a software component that benefits from economies of scale. It will not revisit its peak market capitalisation of near \$50bn soon. But McCarthy's new programme has created a leaner, humbler and more sustainable Peloton.

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## NIKKEI Asia The voice of the Asian century

**CROSSWORD**  
No 17,322 Set by PETO

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26											

**ACROSS**

- Fresh chip on top of lid treated with varnish (6,6)
- Largely free to overrun island country (7)
- Homeless tramp is fed by street musicians (7)
- Bad beer not entirely withdrawn when prohibited by law (7)
- Rebellious group in France facing lawsuit (7)
- Breathes in sharply expressing astonishment in front of grass snakes (5)
- Small image of lamb in hut abroad (9)
- Left behind in Amsterdam's west end and forbidden to implicate Rob (9)
- Possible partner for Austrian physicist and philosopher? About time (5)
- Warnings about drug filled containers (7)
- Tired through overwork when ladder fell (3-4)
- Rev finding it's too sloppy for a rice dish (7)
- Helping to make Kampala moderately fashionable (1,2,4)
- Detect zinc say when it's present in minute amounts (5,7)

**DOWN**

- Stories about university lab losing bishop's bones (7)
- Angers reserves with rule for goals at the outset (7)
- Cleaner volunteers name after fellow's turned over in fraud (9)
- Demonstration of impenetrability (5)
- Courageous fellow starts to cuddle unusually bony young feline (4,3)
- Rosetti essentially fools around with American verse form (7)
- Worried, surely, facing supposedly alien craft (6,6)
- Only one labourer regularly held to be working alone (6-6)
- Set about getting subordinate to steal (9)
- Counsellor drives a convertible (7)
- Likely to have far-reaching effect for doctor caught drinking wine (7)
- Soldier has them alternately following lawyer's instruction (7)
- At fault after setting up wrong produce for show (4,3)
- Pinched woman's shawl (5)\*

**JOTTER PAD**  
Solution 17,321

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