How China moved into western private equity

What DeSantis gets wrong about populism JANAN GANESH, PAGE 19

#### **Stand-off** Kosovo counts cost of clashes

Military police and Nato personnel secure an area in Zvecan, northern Kosovo, a day after fierce clashes with Serbs left 30 peacekeepers and 50 protesters injured.

The violence, the worst to hit Kosovo in years, threatens to derail an EUbrokered deal intended to normalise relations between Kosovo and Serbia.

The US yesterday condemned Kosovo for stoking ethnic tension after authorities deployed police to ensure that the ethnic Albanian victors in disputed mayoral elections took office in the region's majority-Serb communities.

"The house is on fire," said Jeff Hovenier, US ambassador to Pristina, adding that Washington had cancelled joint military exercises and put all diplomatic meetings on hold. It will also stop advocating for Kosovo's membership of the EU and UN.

Tensions flare page 2



# Western nations raise pressure on Erdoğan to admit Sweden into Nato

Blinken pushes for progress → Final lobbying from Stockholm → Hopes rest on anti-terror law

RICHARD MILNE — OSLO ADAM SAMSON — ANKARA FELICIA SCHWARTZ — WASHINGTON

Western countries are increasing pressure on Turkey to allow Sweden's accession to Nato, as Stockholm makes a final push to overcome Ankara's opposition to its membership.

Writing in the Financial Times today. Ulf Kristersson, Sweden's prime minister, says that an anti-terror law coming into force tomorrow delivers "on the last part" of an agreement to secure Ankara's support for Nato entry.

"It is time to seriously consider Sweden's application for Nato membership . Only [Russia's president] Vladimir Putin has anything to gain from Sweden remaining outside Nato," he writes

A senior Swedish official added: "This

terror law is our big hope for unlocking the situation. Then it's up to Turkey to decide.

Sweden's request to join Nato after Russia's invasion of Ukraine represented a historic shift from more than two centuries of non-alignment. But Turkey's president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has blocked its membership, while allowing Finland's, arguing that Stockholm needed to do more to fight



Ulf Kristersson

ready to be an active and loyal ally, and to contribute to the security of the

from day one

terrorism. The impasse has created a rift between Turkey and its Nato allies at a time when the alliance is trying to project unity over Russia's war.

While US and other Nato allies were tolerant of Erdoğan's desire to bolster his agenda before Turkey's presidential election, which concluded at the week  $end, they \, have \, now \, stepped \, up \, efforts \, to \,$ convince him to relent.

Nato secretary Jens Stoltenberg said yesterday it was "absolutely possible" to have Sweden in Nato by the alliance's summit in Vilnius on July 11, adding that he was in close contact with Erdoğan.

"My message is that it's within ... There is a window now. We are working hard to have this as soon as  $\,$ possible," he said in Oslo, before a two day meeting of Nato foreign ministers.

visited Sweden yesterday on his way to the Nato meeting. "The time to move forward is now, we'd like to see that happen before the Vilnius summit," he said.

President Joe Biden spoke to Erdoğan on Monday to congratulate him on his re-election. "He still wants to work on something on the F16s [fighter jets]," Biden said. "I told him we wanted a deal with Sweden, so let's get that done."

Turkey is hoping to clinch a pact with the US to purchase F16 fighter jets but the deal is being held up by Congress. The Biden administration approved a \$259mn F16 upgrade package in April, shortly after Ankara agreed to allow  $Finl and \, to \, join \, Nato.$ 

Soner Cagaptay, director of the Turkish research programme at the Washpredicted further brinkmanship from Turkey's president. "Congress is saying Turkey should take the first step and green light Sweden. Erdoğan will say 'no, I want the Congress to take the first

I'll move forward'," he said. Signalling Ankara's continuing concerns, Erdoğan's communications director, Fahrettin Altun, wrote on Twitter that Turkey's government "sincerely hope[d] that the new anti-terror .. will be properly enforced".

step and green light the F-16s and then

Other countries have urged Erdoğan to back Sweden's membership. "We expect that Turkey will now ratify Sweden's application," Norway's prime minister Jonas Gahr Støre said this week. Russia-Ukraine reports page 2

#### Briefing

mergers, say dealmakers A long-awaited consolidation of European lenders has been put back by two years, warn bankers, as rising interest rates take a toll on their stocks of loans.— PAGE 6

► China welcomes Musk Beijing has called for "stable and

constructive" ties with the US in a meeting between foreign minister Oin Gang and Elon Musk, the boss of Tesla and Twitter.- PAGE 8

▶ Strife hits Israel economy Central bank chief Amir Yaron has highlighted the "significant domestic shock" from the fight over the Netanyahu government's judicial reform plans.— PAGE 4

▶ Inflation fillip for Sanchez Price pressures have eased more than expected, providing prime minister Pedro Sánchez with a timely boost just two days after calling a general election. - PAGE 4

▶ Shadow bank stress alert The European Central Bank has warned that the largest lenders in the eurozone are exposed to "spillovers" of stress from outside the banking system.— PAGE 2

▶ Nvidia hits \$1tn valuation The chipmaker has become the first to pass the \$1tn milestone, leading a surge of enthusiasm on Wall Street for companies seen to benefit from AI.- PAGE 6

#### Datawatch

Fed up ng a fair amount o

08 12 18

have a great deal or fair amount of confidence in Federal Reserve chair Jay Powell to do or recommend the right thing for the US economy, the lowest score for a Fed chief in over 20 years

#### Wall Street makes pitch for funds' crypto business

Austria	€4.50	Morocco	Dh50
Bahrain	Din1.8	Netherlands	€4.30
Belgium	€4.50	Norway	NKr45
Croatia	Kn33.91/€4.50	Oman	OR1.60
Cyprus	€4.20	Pakistan	Rupee350
Czech Rep	Kc125	Poland	ZI 25
Denmark	DKr46	Portugal	€4.20
Egypt	E£80	Russia	€5.00
France	€4.50	Serbia	NewD530
Germany	€4.50	Slovenia	€4.20
Greece	€4.20	Spain	€4.20
Hungary	Ft1450	Switzerland	SFr6.70
India	Rup220	Tunisia	Din7.50
Italy	€4.20	Turkey	TL80
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## Marlboro man claims kicking cigarette habit will clear way to ESG acceptance

The chief executive of Philip Morris International says the maker of Marlboro cigarettes is charting a path to becoming an "ESG" stock as part of a push to win back investors lost because of tobacco exclusion policies.

PMI's pivot from cigarettes towards less tives, which accounted for about a third of its revenues last year, placed the tobacco group "on the podium" when it came to environmental, social and governance impact, argued Jacek Olczak.

ESG mandates have prompted European asset managers including Robeco and Candriam, and UK pension funds run by Aviva and Scottish Widows, to sell off billions of dollars of tobacco stocks in their actively managed funds.

Olczak told the Financial Times there had been tentative re-engagement from some funds. "I'm not saying that they are building a position in Philip Morris . . . but the asset managers will not spend the time on talking with you if they don't have in mind that one day is coming that they should reconsider the exclusion [policy]," he said.

Asked if he believed that PMI might ne day be classified as an ESC Olczak responded: "I think so."

 $Cigarettes\ remain\ the\ leading\ cause\ of$ preventable death, PMI sold 621bn last. year, growing in less regulated markets such as Indonesia, Turkey and Egypt.

It has a target to derive half of reve nues from products judged to be of reduced risk by 2025, driven largely by the success of its IQOS heated tobacco stick. Analysts, however, expect PMI to fall short of the 50 per cent figure.

Olczak railed against the ESG conventions that had frozen out PMI. In relation to its products, he said the company was "on the forefront of the reporting on the methodology . . . on the transparency and on the materiality assessment", but he acknowledged that other areas such as child labour in tobacco supply chains harmed PMI's ESG rating.

Gaurav Jain, a tobacco analyst at Barave said PMI "has the best sort of na rative around ESG transition in the sector" because of its push into reduced risk products with IQOS and its \$15.7bn acquisition of nicotine pouch maker Swedish Match last year.

But he added that "the bar at which ESG funds will start looking at the sector is very high", arguing that "they still have a long journey to travel before they  $\,$ can convince a lot of people that this is a net positive to global society".

#### **World Markets**

STOCK MARKETS				CURREN	CIES					GOVERNMENT	BONDS		
	May 30	Prev	%chg	Pair	May 30	Prev	Pair	May 30	Prev	Yield (%)	May 30	Prev	Chg
S&P 500	4211.60	4205.45	0.15	\$/€	1.073	1.071	€/\$	0.932	0.934	US 2 yr	4.50	4.56	-0.06
Nasdaq Composite	13058.42	12975.69	0.64	\$/£	1.241	1.235	£/\$	0.806	0.810	US 10 yr	3.71	3.80	-0.10
Dow Jones Ind	32972.13	33093.34	-0.37	£/€	0.864	0.867	€/£	1.157	1.154	US 30 yr	3.89	3.96	-0.07
FTSEurofirst 300	1809.14	1827.39	-1.00	¥/\$	139.805	140.290	¥/€	149.976	150.237	UK 2 yr	4.37	4.47	-0.10
Euro Stoxx 50	4289.71	4320.01	-0.70	¥/£	173.498	173.300	£ index	79.986	80.080	UK 10 yr	4.34	4.46	-0.12
FTSE 100	7522.07	7627.20	-1.38	SFr/€	0.970	0.968	SFr/£	1.122	1.117	UK 30 yr	4.49	4.60	-0.11
FTSE All-Share	4104.75	4152.54	-1.15	CDV/DTO						JPN 2 yr	-0.06	-0.07	0.01
CAC 40	7209.75	7303.81	-1.29	CRYPTO		Mav	20	Prev	0/ alaa	JPN 10 yr	0.43	0.43	0.00
Xetra Dax	15908.91	15952.73	-0.27	Bitcoin (\$)		27703		7744.81	%chg -0.15	JPN 30 yr	1.25	1.26	-0.01
Nikkei	31328.16	31233.54	0.30							GER 2 yr	2.78	2.86	-0.08
Hang Seng	18595.78	18551.11	0.24	Ethereum		1900	.99	1893.01	0.42	GER 10 yr	2.34	2.44	-0.10
MSCI World \$	2830.43	2827.93	0.09	COMMOD	DITIES					GER 30 yr	2.50	2.57	-0.07
MSCI EM \$	971.75	972.86	-0.11			May	30	Prev	%chg				
MSCI ACWI \$	653.48	653.05	0.07	Oil WTI \$		69	.59	72.96	-4.62				
FT Wilshire 2500	5427.32	5356.52	1.32	Oil Brent \$	8	73	.81	77.10	-4.27			Prices are lates	st for edition
ET MOLLES - FOOD	40000.04	44700.00	1 00	0-1-1-0		1017	00	1040.00	0.00				



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#### INTERNATIONAL

# Putin vows reprisal after drones hit Moscow

Assault in Russian capital follows repeated waves of air assaults on Kyiv

MAX SEDDON — RIGA CHRISTOPHER MILLER — KYIV

Vladimir Putin has vowed to retaliate against what he claimed was a Ukrainian drone strike on Moscow, which exposed Russia's growing vulnerability to a backlash from his invasion.

The Russian president accused Ukraine of "terrorist activity" and "provoking us to respond with tit-for-tat measures" after strikes hit residential areas in the capital yesterday, which he said were aimed at "scaring Russian citizens and hitting residential buildings".

Videos on social media showed drones flying low, one exploding over Rublyovka, a wealthy suburb that is home to much of the political elite. Others showed damage after three drones crashed into residential buildings.

The barrage came as Russia launched another wave of air strikes on Kyiv, killing at least one person, wounding others and forcing the evacuation of a high-rise building; the fourth attack in three days on the Ukrainian capital.

Aerial attacks have become a regular occurrence in Kyiv since Russia began targeting civilian infrastructure with mass air strikes last autumn. The assault yesterday was the 17th on the capital in May alone after Ukraine's air force shot down dozens of ballistic cruise missiles and drones over Kyiv early on Sunday and into Monday.

The Ukrainian Air Force said Natograde air defence systems, including the US-made Patriot, had been used to defend the capital in recent days.

In Moscow, two people suffered minor injuries after drones struck residential buildings in the city's south-west, said Sergei Sobyanin, the mayor. Although Putin did not say how Russia would respond and claimed it did not attack civilian targets in Ukraine, he made his first reference to a possible nuclear escalation in months, accusing Ukraine of trying to cause an accident at a nuclear power plant in occupied Zaporizhzhia or use a dirty bomb.

The claims, first made last autumn. sparked fears in the west that Russia could be using it as a pretext for its own nuclear use as its battlefield position

Russia's anti-air defences had proved "satisfactory", he said, but "there is still work to be done", adding that Russia had experienced similar problems at Hmeimim air base during its campaign supporting Bashar al-Assad in Syria.

Sergei Shoigu, Russia's defence minister, said Ukraine had used eight drones in the attack, but none had hit their targets.

He claimed Russia had downed five drones outside Moscow with Pantsir anti-aircraft systems and forced the other three to crash.

Ukraine has not claimed responsibility for the attack, which would mark one of its largest drone strikes on Russia since the war.

#### Ukraine. Military strategy

# Kyiv seeks to rattle Kremlin ahead of offensive

'Shaping operations' such as

drone attacks aim to deceive

enemy and meddle with minds

JOHN PAUL RATHBONE, ROMAN OLEARCHYK AND CHRISTOPHER MILLER

HENRY FOY — BRUSSELS

First there was a mysterious drone strike on the Kremlin. Next came an "invasion" whose embarrassing implications for Moscow could prompt it to divert frontline troops to border

Then, late last week, Ukraine launched a marine drone attack on a Russian spy ship in the Black Sea. Yesterday morning, as many as two dozen aerial drones attacked Moscow.

Ahead of Kyiv's long-expected counter-offensive, when it aims to retake occupied territory, such attacks are just four of the increasingly daring "shaping operations" that Ukraine has launched

Ranging from symbolic strikes to more strategically significant attacks, these shaping operations form part of standard military practice. Their aim, defence officials and analysts say, is to deceive the enemy, meddle with its mindset and otherwise "shape" the battlefield before a large offensive.

"Deception operations have always been part of war, but now their effect is magnified by social media," said John Spencer, a former US army major who chairs urban warfare studies at the Modern War Institute at West Point.

"They are Ukrainian grey zone operations that require Russia to expend resources — be that troops or information operations. They're like a magician's sleight of hand: they deceive the viewer and force his attention else-

The explosion of two drones against a backdrop of the Kremlin's golden dome on May 3, which Kyiv denied any responsibility for, was the first in Ukraine's recent run of dramatic

Then, in vesterday's strikes on Moscow, which followed a wave of Russian attacks on Kyiv, several drones exploded over the capital. Russia claimed to have downed them all before they reached their targets, but the attack again exposed the capital's vulnerability.

"A successful offensive starts with a successful psychological offensive," said a senior Ukrainian official. "Their



Moscow hit: a police officer secures the area at a damaged multistorey apartment building after a drone attack yesterday

[Russian] morale is not at its highest

An equally bizarre event came on May 22 with an incursion by two Ukraine-backed groups of far-right partisans into the Russian border province of Belgorod, which the Ukrainian official said showed Russians that "their borders are not impenetrable'

Ukrainian social media lit up with memes that proclaimed the establishment of the "Belgorod People's Repub-

**Drone attacks on Moscow** Hit residential buildingsShot down Greenfield\*\* MOSCOW Timoshkino\* • Razdory\*\* The Kremlin Rublyovka. a district that is home to much of Russia's political elite

lic". In Russia, by contrast, the raid dismayed hardline military bloggers, and led to heated criticism of the defence ministry by Yevgeny Prigozhin, founder of the Wagner paramilitary group that has spearheaded Russian attacks in the Donbas city of Bakhmut.

'The idea

a lot of

for the

Russian

command

structure'

is to create

dilemmas

"The idea is to create a lot of dilemmas for the Russian command structure," said Mike Martin, a former British army officer and author of How to Fight a War. Problems — such as a breakthrough of the front line - focus attention. Dilem-

mas, by contrast, paralyse action.' The shaping operations seem to have had some psychological effect in Moscow. Commenting on the Belgorod incursion, Kremlin spokesperson Dmitry Peskov said the war required 'very difficult and tense work" that "constantly created questions".

Following the drone attack on Moscow yesterday, Rybar, a popular prowar Russian blogger, commented on social media app Telegram: "If the goal of the assault was to stress out the population, then the fact of Ukrainian drones appearing in the skies over Moscow has done enough of that already."

A Ukrainian military intelligence official meanwhile commented that the raid and others that might follow sought to "deliver a blow to [Russian] morale and force them to redeploy troops'

along the border - although "we have not yet seen any indication" of that.

Ukraine successfully used similar tactics last summer. For weeks, it talked up the notion of a southern counteroffensive. When Russian forces moved south in anticipation of that attack, Kyiv launched a blitzkrieg to the north instead that punched through thinned-out Russian lines situated around

Russia has not stood by idly. It has stepped up missile and drone attacks on Ukrainian cities and on what it claims to be military targets. As the final of the Eurovision Song Contest was being held in the UK, it bombed Ternopil, the Ukraine act's home city.

On May 13, a huge explosion, possibly of an ammunition depot, shook the western Ukraine city of Khmelnytsky, damaging schools, medical centres, apartment buildings and industrial facilities, according to the local mayor. The city's air base was also struck on Monday.

Russia has also deployed information operations, such as spoofing the tracking data of commercial ships to create the impression of a 65km-long Russian ro-war Z symbol in the Black Sea. It has also built formidable defensive fortifications along the front line.

Western officials caution it is far from clear how effective Ukraine's counteroffensive will prove to be. But Ukraine will continue its shaping operations, combining them with precise attacks that seek to corrode Russian military assets and capabilities, they say.

These may include long-range strikes using UK-supplied Storm Shadow cruise missiles, which Ukraine's defence minister, Oleksiy Reznikov, has called "treats", to drone attacks on what the senior Ukrainian official calls "fat targets" such as the reconnaissance ship Ivan Khurs.

'They [the Ukrainians] are testing and probing and finding out what works and what doesn't," said a senior western official. "The whole point of this counter-offensive is that neither Russia nor the [western allies] know when it has really begun, and what we're seeing now is them forcing the Russians to keep second guessing.

From the Ukrainian point of view, that nervous uncertainty is key. Commenting on state television last week after the Belgorod raid, Oleksiy Danilov, Ukraine's national security chief, said: "[The Russians] need to get used to it." Additional reporting by Ben Hall in London and Max Seddon in Riga

#### **Shadow bank** funding raises risks for big lenders, warns ECB

MARTIN ARNOLD - FRANKFURT

The largest eurozone lenders are exposed to "spillovers" of stress from outside the banking system, relying on so-called shadow banks for more than 15 per cent of their funding, the European Central Bank has warned.

The rapid growth of shadow banks - a group that includes insurers, hedge funds, asset managers and pension funds – since the 2008 financial crisis has left eurozone lenders increasingly vulnerable to "liquidity, market and credit risks", the ECB said vesterday.

Researchers at the central bank found the eurozone's 13 largest banks in the eurozone account for about 80 per cent of all borrowing from shadow banks, or non-bank financial intermediaries (NBFI).

"Any turmoil in the NBFI sector is likely to disproportionately affect large, complex, systemically important banks, as asset exposures, funding linkages and derivative exposures are concentrated in this group," the officials

Global financial regulators have become concerned that rising interest rates and falling asset prices in areas

#### The biggest risk identified was that funding could be pulled from the banking system at times of stress

such as commercial property could cause serious stress among shadow banks, which are more lightly regulated than lenders.

Luis de Guindos, vice-president of the ECB, last week proposed ways to clamp down on rising risks at shadow banks, which he warned had left EU regulation 'ever more insufficient" to prevent further financial market shocks from triggering a wider liquidity crisis.

The biggest risk identified by the ECB. which examined the connections between 80 lenders and NBFIs, was that funding could be pulled from the banking system at times of stress.

"Although small relative to retail and corporate deposits, deposit funding from NBFI entities can be particularly vulnerable to changes in market conditions," the researchers said.

Another channel of potential risk transmission is via banks' derivatives trading, one-fifth of which they conduct with shadow bank entities.

Loans and other exposures to shadow banks account for about 9 per cent of the total assets of eurozone banks, the ECB said. But it added many shadow banks were related to banks through partial ownership or sponsorship of spe cial-purpose vehicles. Shadow banks also hold about 28 per cent of all debt securities issued by eurozone lenders.

The report came as the ECB separately published monthly data showing how bank lending in the eurozone con tinues to be squeezed by higher interest rates and concerns about rising risks.

Bank lending to eurozone households grew at an annual rate of 2.6 per cent – the lowest monthly rate for six years. Business lending grew at an annual rate of 3.8 per cent – the slowest pace for more than a year.

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**Balkans clashes** 

#### US curbs ties with Kosovo for stoking ethnic tensions

MARTON DUNAI — BUDAPEST RICHARD MILNE — OSLO HENRY FOY — BRUSSELS

The US has outlined punitive actions against Kosovo for stoking ethnic tensions that led to Nato peacekeepers and Serb protesters being injured in the worst clashes in the Balkan country this year.

Kosovo authorities over the weekend deployed police to ensure ethnic Albanian mayors who had won a disputed April election took up their offices in  $majority\hbox{-}Serb\,communities\,in\,the\,north$ of the country.

Hundreds of Serbs took to the streets and clashed with national and international law enforcement on Monday.  $resulting \, in \, more \, than \, 50 \, protesters \, and \,$ 30 Nato troops being injured.

"The actions taken on Friday to gain access to public buildings were not coordinated with the US," said the US ambassador to Pristina, Jeff Hovenier. When we found out we strongly said no because we foresaw the consequences we are seeing now," he said, adding that thev had warned Kosovo of the "nega

tive impact" on its image and efforts to normalise relations with Serbia. Washington is traditionally a strong

ally of Kosovo, whose independence is still not recognised by Serbia and a handful of EU countries. Hovenier said the US would cancel

Kosovo's participation in joint military drills and put diplomatic meetings on hold. Washington would also stop advocating for Kosovo's coveted membership in international organisations such as the UN or the EU.

Separately, Nato announced it would



Albin Kurti: Kosovo PM condemned ʻultra-nationalistic graffiti' by Serbs

deploy an extra 700 troops to maintain peace in the country, bringing the overall number of peacekeepers to about

"We strongly condemn the unprovoked attacks," Nato secretary-general Jens Stoltenberg said yesterday. "Such attacks are unacceptable and must stop . . . Violence sets back Kosovo and the entire region and puts Euro-Atlantic ambitions at risk."

Pristina and Belgrade reached a tentative agreement to normalise relations in March that included more rights for the ethnic Serb minority. That deal is now under threat, with possible knock-on effects for the stability of the region.

"The process is badly damaged," said Edward P Joseph, a Balkans expert at Johns Hopkins University in the US.

"I hope the . . . agreement is not dead but such irresponsible behaviour makes these agreements exceedingly difficult

EU top officials have also condemned the violence. "Violent acts against citizens, against media, against law enforcement and [Nato] troops are absolutely unacceptable," Josep Borrell,

the EU's foreign policy chief, said yesterday. EU member states were discussing "possible measures to be taken if the parties continue to resist proposed steps towards de-escalation", Borrell added 'We cannot afford another conflict."

Kosovo's prime minister, Albin Kurti, condemned "ultra-nationalistic graffiti on Nato vehicles", referring to Serbs spray-painting the vehicles with the letter Z, a Russian marking used since Moscow's full-scale invasion of Ukraine. Kosovo Serbs deny ties to Russia but many harbour sympathies with Moscow, long a Slavic ally of Belgrade.

The tensions also come at a time when Serbian president Aleksandar Vučić faces increased domestic pressure after thousands have taken to the streets in recent days to protest against the government's response to deteriorating public safety after two mass shootings.

Vučić, who has raised the Serbian army's combat readiness to the highest level, made an overnight visit to troops close to the Kosovo border. He also held meetings with the ambassadors of Russia and China as well as those from the US, UK, France, Germany and Italy.

#### INTERNATIONAL

# Business leaders weigh alternatives to DeSantis

Youngkin and Kemp find favour with donors wary of Florida governor's bid to become Republican presidential nominee

JOSHUA CHAFFIN AND JAMES POLITI WASHINGTON

A lacklustre early performance by Ron DeSantis in his bid for the Republican presidential nomination is reopening the market for alternatives to Donald

Business leaders, in particular, are looking for a candidate wedded to conservative policies but without the culture war fervour displayed by the Florida governor or the theatrics and unpredictability of the former president.

Among the names being discussed are Republican governors Glenn Youngkin of Virginia and Brian Kemp of Georgia, both of whom have hosted recent meetings for high-level donors.

"It would be welcome to have someone in the race who wasn't trying to out-Maga Trump on economic issues, a Reaganesque candidate who can talk about free-market policies and praises, not demonises, big business," said Brian Darling, a former aide to Senator Rand Paul and executive at the conservative Heritage Foundation.

Youngkin has said he would not run "this year". Asked about his plans last week, he said: "It is so humbling that there is an expectation that I might do this . . . But I'm going to continue to focus on Virginia.

Still, the growing clamour to enlist him is prompting Republicans to parse his words. "Youngkin is meeting with business types who are open to his message . . . basically that he's not crazy," said an adviser to a top New York donor.

A source close to Youngkin's political operation acknowledged that donors were encouraging him "to keep his future options open".

Others are clamouring for Kemp, who twice beat progressive Stacey Abrams in the governor's race and proved sturdy in opposing Trump's effort to overturn the 2020 presidential election result in Georgia. "Brian Kemp is beloved by conservatives," said Daniel Faraci, a Republican strategist who introduced DeSantis to conservative groups in Washington when he first ran for Congress.

Other potential Republican candi-



'There was a moment and [DeSantis] lost it, and that's led to people looking for a third option'

dates pitching to the business community are Chris Sununu, New Hampshire governor, and Chris Christie, the former New Jersey governor. Sununu in particular has criticised DeSantis for attacking Disney and other corporations over supposedly "woke" policies, a practice he has rejected as contrary to the party's traditional principles.

"I think the best foundation of the Republican party is limited government, local control. Appreciating that private businesses and the free market are what made this country great," Sununu said during a Fox News inter view in Florida.

Christie, who billed himself as a tough but pragmatic conservative in a failed bid for the party's 2016 nomination, is

also being encouraged by donors to consider another run and is expected to make a decision soon.

'There was a moment and [DeSantis] lost it, and that's led to people looking for a third option," said Mike DuHaime, a Republican consultant in New Jersey who is close to Christie.

Still, some Republican analysts are convinced the race is Trump's to lose, and that challenging him carries substantial risk. In doing so, a candidate would be signing up for months of pummeling that might result not only in defeat but also their political demise. Further, the more people who enter the race, the greater Trump's chances of prevailing over a divided field.

 $Others\,who\,have\,jumped\,into\,the\,race$ 



Conservative search: Ron DeSantis, making a speech in Maryland last month, has given a lacklustre early performance in his presidential bid. Potential Republican alternatives include Glenn Youngkin, top, and Brian Kemp, above-

have failed to gain traction. According to the latest Realclearpolitics.com polling average, Nikki Haley, the former South Carolina governor, is backed by 4.6 per cent of Republican primary voters, while Asa Hutchinson, the former Arkansas governor, is supported by just 0.8 per cent. Tim Scott, the South Carolina senator who announced his bid last week, garnered 1.9 per cent of voters.

DeSantis's campaign got off to a glitchfilled launch on Twitter alongside Elon Musk. The Florida governor began manoeuvring late last year when Trump appeared vulnerable and pundits spec ulated the populist spell he had cast over the party had at last broken.

Candidates the former president endorsed in the midterm elections fared

Georgia and Arizona. Rupert Murdoch's News Corp media empire turned on Trump, branding him a "loser" in the New York Post while anointing DeSantis as the party's future. Multiple criminal investigations also appeared to threaten Trump's viability as a candidate.

"Right after the midterms there was an opportunity for somebody to challenge Trump but nobody stepped up except DeSantis," Darling said.

DeSantis generated early enthusiasm and built a formidable war chest but has since struggled. One challenge for DeSantis is how to confront Trump without alienating the former president's fans. Recent opinion polls show him trailing Trump by more than 30 percentage points, although it is still early days. DeSantis will hope to regain momentum this week with appearances in Iowa and New Hampshire.

For many business leaders, his relentless focus on hot-button social issues, such as restricting abortion and limiting school curricula, has been a turn-off, as well as doubts about his aloof manner.

Thomas Peterffy, founder of Interactive Brokers, sent \$1mn to Youngkin's operation after recently saying he was halting donations to DeSantis. Other big GOP donors, such as Stephen Schwarzman, Blackstone chief executive, have met DeSantis but not yet committed. While DeSantis has stumbled,

Trump's buoyant polls are a reminder of the durability of his bond with supporters despite legal troubles, including a \$5mn judgment in a civil lawsuit in which he was accused of sexual assault. He also has an insurgent's vigour. "This is not Trump 2020," said Faraci.

"This is Trump 2016."

By contrast, Faraci has been critical of DeSantis's continued hostilities with Disney over its criticism of the so-called "Don't Say Gay" law he signed last year, which curbs discussion of sexual orientation in elementary schools. He says DeSantis should have used Bob Iger's return as chief executive as a chance to make peace, but is still in a feud with the state's largest private employer.

Janan Ganesh see Opinion



#### INTERNATIONAL

# Bank of Israel warns on price of judicial reform

Continued controversy has significant economic cost, says governor

JAMES SHOTTER — JERUSALEM

The Israeli economy has suffered "a significant domestic shock" from the fight over the bitterly contested judicial overhaul pushed by Benjamin Netanyahu's far-right government, the country's central bank governor has said.

In a speech in Jerusalem yesterday, Amir Yaron said the controversy over reform of the judiciary, which sparked one of the biggest waves of protests in Israeli history, had damaged how markets perceived Israel's economic stabil-

Joint statement

Tech chiefs

say AI poses

 ${\bf CRISTINA~CRIDDLE}-{\bf LONDON}$ 

conflict and disease

similar threat

to nuclear war

A group of chief executives and scientists from companies including OpenAI and Google DeepMind has warned the

threat to humanity from the fast-developing technology rivals that of nuclear

"Mitigating the risk of extinction from

AI should be a global priority alongside other societal-scale risks, such as pandemics and nuclear war," said a state-

ment by the Center for AI Safety, a San

researchers and engineers, including Sam Altman of OpenAI, Demis Hassabis

of Google DeepMind and Dario Amodei of Anthropic, were signatories of the

Geoffrey Hinton and Yoshua Bengio,

who won a Turing Award for their work

on neural networks and are often

described as "godfathers" of AI, also

signed the document. Hinton left his

position at Google at the beginning of

the month to speak freely about the

AI launches from Big Tech companies have heightened awareness of its poten-

tial flaws, including spreading misinfor-

mation, perpetuating societal biases

EU lawmakers are pushing ahead

Microsoft-backed OpenAI's ChatGPT,

launched in November, is seen as lead-

ing the way in the widespread adoption

of AI. Altman gave testimony for the

first time in US Congress this month,

1,000 other researchers and tech execu-

tives called for a six-month pause on the

development of advanced AI systems to

With the one-line statement, the Center for AI Safety told The New York

Times that it hoped to avoid disagree-

ment. "We didn't want to push for a very

large menu of 30 potential interventions," director Dan Hendrycks said. "It

Kevin Scott, Microsoft's chief technol-

ogy officer, and Eric Horvitz, chief scien-

tific officer, also signed the statement.

Pilita Clark see Opinion on Letters page

halt what they called an "arms race".

In March, Elon Musk and more than

calling for regulation by licensing.

with an Artificial Intelligence Act, while

the US is also exploring regulation.

potential harms of the technology.

Francisco-based non-profit body. More than 350 AI executives,

one-sentence statement.

and replacing workers.

ity. "This does not mean that all of a sudden the world will stop trading with Israel. It also does not mean that we will not see significant investments in the Israeli economy," he said, pointing to the recent announcement by chipmaker Nvidia saying it would build a supercomputer in Israel.

But it does mean that continued uncertainty has significant economic costs. Therefore, the decision makers must restore certainty about the economy in Israel . . . To the extent that constitutional changes are made, they must maintain the strength and independ ence of the institutions."

Netanyahu's coalition government, which unites his Likud party with ultrareligious and extreme right factions, took power in December and made overhauling the judiciary a priority, unveiling proposals that would radically weaken Israel's top court.

Government officials argued that the changes - which included giving the coalition greater control over the appointment of judges and severely limiting the top court's ability to strike down laws — were necessary to rein in activist judges who had used powers

#### 'Decision makers must restore certainty about the economy in Israel'

Amir Yaron, central bank governor

they were never formally granted to push a partisan, leftwing agenda

But critics - including security officials, former central bank chiefs, tech sector executives and the opposition saw the plans as a politically motivated power grab that would undermine checks and balances, pave the way for the evisceration of minority rights, foster corruption and damage the economy. After months of protests, which cul-

minated in a brief general strike in late March, Netanyahu backed down, and postponed the overhaul to allow for compromise talks between government and opposition representatives.

But he said last week that his coalition would return to the judicial overhaul prompting warnings from opposition

leaders that protests would erupt again. One of the most sensitive aspects centres on the panel that elects supreme court judges, where the coalition has proposed giving itself greater influence.

Two representatives of parliament on the nine-strong panel are due to be chosen on June 14. Traditionally, one comes from the opposition, but government officials have threatened to appoint two coalition lawmakers instead.

The remarks by Yaron are the latest warning by the Bank of Israel about the potential impact of the judicial plans. Last month, it published forecasts suggesting that the fallout if the reforms did not go smoothly could knock an average of up to 2.8 per cent annually off economic output over the next three years.

**Prices data** 

#### Sharp drop in Spanish inflation boosts PM's poll hopes

MARTIN ARNOLD — FRANKFURT BARNEY JOPSON — MADRID

Spanish inflation has dropped to 2.9 per cent, its lowest level for almost two years, boosting hopes that price pressures will ease quickly across the eurozone, providing Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez with a timely boost, two days after calling a snap general election.

Economists said the better than expected fall was good news for the European Central Bank, suggesting that inflation data for the rest of the eurozone later this week could show a rapid deceleration across the region.

However, Spain already had one of the lowest rates of inflation in Europe even before the latest figures, and economists said it could take longer for a similar cooling of price pressures to happen elsewhere in the region.

Annual consumer price growth in Spain slowed from 3.8 per cent in April, which was a much bigger drop than the decline to 3.4 per cent forecast by economists in a Reuters poll.

Spain's statistics office said the main factor curbing inflation was a fall in fuel prices. Slower growth in food and non-alcoholic drink prices "also played a

#### 'I don't think we can read that much into the wider eurozone figure from today's Spanish numbers'

role, but to a lesser extent", it added. Spain's ruling Socialist party, led by Sánchez, sought to take credit for the country's relatively low inflation, linking it to government energy policies aimed at dimming the effect of high gas prices. But the devastating results of local and regional elections on Sunday showed the message did not resonate with voters.

As the Socialists lost control of huge parts of Spain to the conservative People's party, discontent over Sánchez's political alliances outweighed any perceptions that the premier had steered the economy through a series of crises.

Sanchez on Monday responded to the election results by announcing he was bringing forward this year's general election to July 23.

Eurozone bond markets rallied in response to the inflation data and the euro fell against the dollar as investors bet that inflation in the bloc could fall quicker than expected and require fewer rate rises by the ECB.

But bond prices later fell back and the euro recovered, as economists said Spain's data might not be matched across the rest of Europe.

"I don't think we can read that much into the wider eurozone figure from today's Spanish numbers, though they are good news in their own right," said Claus Vistesen, an economist at Pantheon Macroeconomics.

After stripping out energy and unprocessed food, inflation in Spain fell from 6.6 per cent to 6.1 per cent, which showed underlying price pressures were still "relatively high", said Andrew Kenningham, an economist at Capital Economics, who added the structure of Spain's electricity market meant any changes in wholesale energy costs were transmitted to consumer prices much faster than in most of Europe.

#### Blast-off China civilian in space first

orbit as it prepares to launch a manned mission to the Moon by 2030 and achieve what President Xi Jinping has described as the country's "eternal dream" of becoming a space power. Gui Haichao, an aerospace

China has sent its first civilian into

engineering professor who studied in Canada, was one of a crew of three "taikonauts", as China's astronauts are known, who blasted off from northwest China's Gobi Desert yesterday,

bound for the country's space station. The launch of the Shenzhou-16 craft, China's 11th crewed space mission, was preceded by a "departure ceremony" that featured a band and well-wishers waving Chinese flags. State media provided blanket coverage.

China has made rapid progress on its space programme as it competes with the US to gain an edge in advanced technology with civilian and military uses. The deputy director of China's space agency on Monday confirmed plans to put a taikonaut on the Moon by 2030. In 2019, China became the first to land on the far side of the Moon.

The following year it completed the Beidou satellite constellation, a rival to the US Global Positioning System.

China landed a rover on Mars in 2021, where it plans to send a crewed mission by 2033 and launched the first part of its space station, designed to remain in orbit for at least a decade. China is the only country with its own such facility after the US barred it from participating in the rival International Space Station in 2011 over national security and technology theft concerns. Last year, China insisted its

programme was peaceful and it would co-operate with others to "safeguard outer space security". But the US suspects China has military ambitions in space, particularly as Beijing is teaming up with Russia on parts of the programme.

The China-Russia partnership aimed to "counter western political and economic pressure, facilitate multipolarisation and achieve common national security goals", said a paper this month by the China Aerospace Studies Institute think-tank at Air

University, part of the US Air Force. The crew of the Shenzhou-16 is expected to undertake cutting-edge experiments, from "the verification of general relativity" to "the origin

of life", according to state media.

China's space station was a "huge laboratory", said Quentin Parker, director of the Laboratory for Space Research at the University of Hong Kong. "The reason you have civilian scientists there is that they're the ones with the knowledge. China's ambition as far as a space station is concerned is only just starting. They are talking now about 10 years from now having tourists on board." China has sought to use the space

programme for soft power, stirring up national pride and offering other countries the opportunity to participate, analysts say. But Beijing has struggled to generate as much international support for its programme as US-backed initiatives such as the Artemis Accords, a space co-operation framework. Joe Leahy in Beijing

#### Singapore gathering

dilutes the message."

#### Beijing rejects US request for defence meeting

From left, Gui Haichao and fellow

crew members Jing Haipeng and

yesterday's launch in north-west

Zhu Yangzhu wave ahead of

DEMETRI SEVASTOPULO — TOKYO

Beijing has declined the Pentagon's request for a meeting between the US and China's defence chiefs at a security forum in Singapore this week, the latest sign of the obstacles to the countries stabilising their turbulent relationship.

The overture had been made for a meeting of Lloyd Austin, US defence secretary, and Li Shangfu, China's defence minister, at the Shangri-La Dialogue, a three-day Asia event starting on Friday and hosted by the International Institute for Strategic Studies think-tank.

The People's Republic of China informed the US they have declined our .. invitation," the Pentagon said.

The Financial Times reported this month that China had told the US there was little chance of a meeting as long as it maintained sanctions imposed on Li by the Trump administration in 2018 in connection with Chinese purchases of Russian fighter jets and missiles.

The Pentagon had previously told China the sanctions did not prohibit a meeting in Singapore, but Beijing signalled it would be inappropriate to meet as long as the measures remained.

"This is far from the first time that the PRC has rejected invitations to communicate from the secretary, the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, or other [defence] department officials," said a senior US defence official. "Frankly it's

#### 'This is far from the first time that [China] has rejected invitations to communicate'

just the latest in a litany of excuses." The official added that since 2021. China had declined or failed to respond to more than a dozen requests for senior-level meetings in addition to multiple requests for working-level meetings.

"It's worrisome that the Chinese fail to see the inherent risks in the prolonged

suspension of US-China militarymilitary dialogue," said Bonnie Glaser at the German Marshall Fund think-tank. China's foreign ministry said the US needed to "create necessary conditions for dialogue and communication between the Chinese and US militaries". It did not specify what those conditions were, but Chinese academics said dialogue would be challenging unless the US lifted the Li sanctions.

"The reason for the difficulty . . . is

very obvious. The US should work practically to respect China's security, sover eignty and concerns and correct its wrongdoings," the ministry added.

The Shangri-La Dialogue has frequently served as one of the few forums for US defence secretaries to meet their Chinese counterparts. Austin last year met Wei Fenghe, then China's defence minister, at the event.

China's refusal comes less than two weeks after President Joe Biden said at the G7 in Japan he expected an imminent "thaw" in relations. Biden said he was considering lifting sanctions on Li, but the state department clarified that was not the case. Beijing has confirmed Li will attend the event.

Additional reporting by Joseph Leahy and Maigi Ding in Beijing

**Covid-19 origins** 

#### Lab leak claims checked, says Chinese scientist

JOE LEAHY — BEIJING CLIVE COOKSON — LONDON

A top Chinese scientist has said China investigated whether Covid-19 might have originated in a Wuhan laboratory in the first admission from a senior official that it took the so-called lab leak theory seriously after years of denials.

Professor George Gao, former head of the Chinese Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, told a BBC Radio 4 podcast the Wuhan Institute of Virology was checked by experts to see whether the facility could have been the source of the coronavirus pandemic.

"The government organised something. That lab was double-checked by experts in the field" but they were not from his department, he said

China has clashed with the US over the lab leak theory since Covid emerged in the central city of Wuhan in late 2019, describing claims by the former Trump administration that the virus could have originated in the facility as lies.

 $The\,US\,state\,department\,has\,said\,that$ while it did not know the details of how

Covid was transmitted to humans, it could have been via contact with animals or an accident at the lab. In a January 2021 fact sheet, the state department said several at the lab became sick in 2019 with Covid-like symptoms.

In the BBC interview, however, Gao said that while he had not seen the result. of the investigation, he had "heard" that the lab was given a clean bill of health.

"I think their conclusion is that they are following all the protocols. They haven't found [any] wrongdoing," said



George Gao: said he had 'heard' the lab was given a clean bill of health

Gao. He is now the vice-president of the National Natural Science Foundation of China after retiring from the CDC last year. Gao did not comment when asked

Scientists have speculated that the lab could have been the source of the virus as scientists there tested coronaviruses taken from bats. Another theory is that the virus first emerged in a Wuhan wet market, where it could have been passed from wild animals to humans.

In the BBC interview, the professor did not rule out that the virus could have come from a lab. "We really don't know where the virus came from . . . the question is still open," Gao said. Such comments are not inconsistent with Chinese government propaganda.

The issue of whether Covid originated in a leak from the lab or was transmitted to humans from infected animals has divided scientists. Proponents of the lab leak theory might claim support for their argument in Gao's statement, but his comments were not likely to change many experts' minds, said Professor James Wood, head of veterinary medicine at the University of Cambridge.

FINANCIAL TIMES

nogaholding, the energy investment and development arm of the Kingdom of Bahrain, is pleased to announce a new business structure and rebrand that will unite the world-leading expertise of its companies under one name: **Bapco Energies**.

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#### **Mark Thomas**

**Group Chief Executive Officer** 



# Companies & Markets

# High interest rates impede European bank mergers

- Dealmakers warn of two-year setback
- Assets revalued at much lower levels

STEPHEN MORRIS AND OWEN WALKER

Rising interest rates have set back European bank mergers and acquisitions by at least two years, dealmakers warn, as a punitive feature of accounting rules means a long-awaited consolidation in the sector faces even higher hurdles.

the sector faces even higher hurdles.

Dealmakers had bet that higher rates would provide more cash for acquisitions as banks benefited from better margins and a boost to their share prices as profitability improved. Many had also hoped UBS's state-sponsored rescue of Credit Suisse could spark similar deals between national champions.

However, banks across the continent have vast stocks of corporate and consumer loans, as well as government

#### 'Accounting rules and their impact on capital are a big hindrance for M&A at the moment'

debt, that were sold in a lower-rate environment. As part of any acquisition, those assets would have to be marked to market and valued significantly lower than newer loans issued at more lucra-

"Accounting rules and their impact on capital are a big hindrance for M&A at the moment," said Dirk Lievens, head of the European financial institutions group at Goldman Sachs.

Under the rules, once a takeover is complete, the acquired group's assets and liabilities are reappraised at market rates under a process known as the pur-

chase price allocation.

If it is bought for less than the value of its assets — as most European banks are traded — the acquirer benefits from an accounting gain known as negative goodwill, or badwill. But that gain can be

wiped out if the asset values drop as part of the purchase price allocation process.

"With rates rising, you have negative fair value adjustment when marking assets to market upon acquisition and part of the badwill evaporates," said Lievens. He added: "If you are buying a bank at a discount to book value and the purchase price allocation reduces that, what you thought was capital — ie badwill — is not capital any more.

"You would then have to top up the

"You would then have to top up the capital, which makes doing bank deals more complicated at the moment."

The speed of the increases in the UK and Europe has not helped. A slower pace would have meant a higher proportion of loans books would have been refinanced over time, easing the impact.

For more than a decade, almost every major European lender has traded at a discount to the book value of their dissets as they struggle with high costs and low profitability. Investors, regulators and politicians all called for consolidation with multiple combinations explored, from UniCredit buying Société Générale or Deutsche Bank its domestic rival Commerzbank.

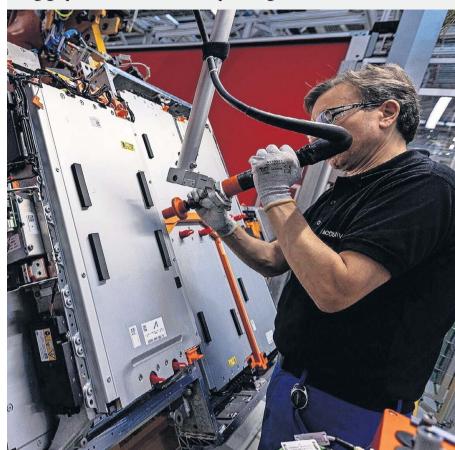
None made it over the line until UBS's enforced takeover of Credit Suisse in March. That was subject to a \$13bn fair value adjustment, reducing UBS's badvalue adjustment, reducing the month-

will gain, the bank reported this month. "The combination of rapidly rising rates and fair value accounting treatment has created a near-term obstact to bank M&A," said Andreas Lindh, cohead of the Emea financial institutions group at JPMorgan.

One of the few deals struck in Europe is foundering for this reason. In June 2021, when the ECB rate was zero, Cerberus agreed to buy HSBC's French consumer unit for a token €1. Last month HSBC warned Cerberus may pull out because of rate rises to 3.5 per cent.

See Opinion

Plea for time Mercedes chief says Europe's car supply chain not ready for post-Brexit tariffs



Local source: a worker at Accumotive, a unit of Mercedes-Benz, in Kamenz, Germany — Krisztian Bocs/Bloomberg

SARAH WHITE — DOUVRIN

The head of Mercedes-Benz has called for a delay in post-Brexit regulations that would add stiffer tariffs on shipments to and from the UK and Europe from next year, saying that the car supply chain in Europe was not yet self-sufficient enough to meet these tougher sourcing requirements.

The German carmaker's chief executive Ola Källenius said January 2024 was "too soon" to bring in tariff rules set out in a post-Brexit trade agreement, rules intended to encourage more local sourcing of vehicle components.

nents.
Under these so-called rules of origin, electric cars exported between the UK and the EU will need to have 45 per cent of their parts sourced within the two regions to avoid 10 per cent tariffs.

ent tariffs. Källenius joined other European

**INSIDE BUSINESS** 

Leo

Lewis

carmakers lobbying for a delay, including Stellantis boss Carlos Tavares who yesterday called for the phase-in date to be pushed back to 2027, warning that the current time-frame was a "lose, lose" situation for the EU and the UK.

"As the production capacity of Europe's battery industry is not yet sufficient, to demand stringent rules of origin poses a major challenge for the competitiveness of our industry," Källenius said at the inauguration of a cell manufacturing plant located in northern France, the first of four planned car battery plants planned in the region

The factory — which will supply Mercedes' electric cars and is part of its battery partnership with Total-Energies and Stellantis — was a step in the right direction towards building a standalone European car manufacturing industry, at a time when the region was trying to wean itself off

dominant Chinese and Asian batteries, Källenius added.

"But, all in all, January 12024 is too soon. We need more time for this transition and we would therefore appreciate political support, together with our British partners, in this matter." Källenius said.

The looming deadline and backlash from carmakers has highlighted the scale of Europe's challenge to catch up with Chinese and South Korean battery producers, the main suppliers globally to electric-vehicle manufacturers

Mercedes' joint venture with Stellantis and Total, called Automotive Cells Co or ACC, is set to get under way this year with an initial 13 gigawatt/hour capacity at a plant in Douvrin, in northern France.

Two more factories are expected to launch in Germany and Italy by 2030, with the aim eventually of supplying 2mn batteries a year.

#### Nvidia rides AI wave to achieve \$1tn market cap

 $\mathbf{TIM}\,\mathbf{BRADSHAW}-\mathtt{LONDON}$ 

Nvidia has become the first chipmaker to hit a \$1tn valuation, leading a surge of enthusiasm on Wall Street for companies seen to benefit from the latest developments in artificial intelligence.

Its shares rose more than 4 per cent to hit \$406.1 in early trading in New York yesterday, after its chief executive Jensen Huang launched a new supercomputer and struck new AI alliances with companies including WPP and SoftBank on Monday.

Those moves built momentum after Nvidia impressed investors and analysts last week, projecting its sales would rise to \$11bn in the three months ending in July, exceeding Wall Street's previous forecasts by more than 50 per cent.

Silicon Valley-based Nvidia began 30 years ago targeting the niche market of 3D computer graphics. Its chips power AI applications including ChatGPT, OpenAI's breakthrough chatbot, as big tech companies and cloud computing providers race to upgrade their data centre technology for what Huang on Monday declared "the tipping point of a new computing era".

High-powered chips such as Nvidia's

High-powered chips such as INVIdia 8 High-powered chips such as INVIdia 8 High-powers with the transportation of creating text and images that closely resemble what humans can produce. Generative AI promises to unleash new kinds of productivity tools but also threatens to shake up jobs in industries such as media and education.

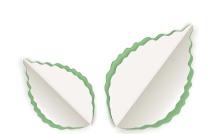
Nvidia's \$1tn market capitalisation puts it among an elite group of US stocks dominated by big tech companies that include Apple, Microsoft, Amazon and Google's parent Alphabet.

Meta hit the \$1tn milestone in June 2021, when it was still called Facebook, but dropped below the threshold a few months later. Amazon became the first public company to lose \$1tn in market capitalisation in November amid a wider sell-off in tech stocks last year.

Shares in Nvidia lost half their value during 2022 as investors fretted about a slowdown in corporate spending in data centres and pandemic hangovers in the gaming and cryptocurrency markets. But yesterday's rise follows a 25 per cent jump in Nvidia stock last week, taking its gain in 2023 to more than 180 per cent.

Morgan Stanley described Nvidia's outlook upgrade last week as "the largest dollar revenue upside in industry history".

#### Activist shareholders threaten to unsettle Japan's AGM season



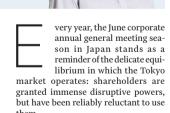
# PAPER LOVES TREES

European forests, which provide wood for making paper, paper packaging and many other products, have been growing by 1,500 football pitches every day!

> Source: Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO), 2005 - 2020 European Forests: EU27 + Norway, Switzerland and the UK







There have been many predictions that this balance might eventually crumble, though it has long held firm. But AGM season 2023, say companies' investor relations departments and investors, already feels as if it will be

different.

At the most visible end, there are more shareholder activists targeting Japanese companies than ever before, and several of them, such as Elliott, have prominently expanded their Japan teams since 2022.

Mizuho Securities and others are forecasting that the season will see Japanese companies confronting a record number of proposals from shareholders. Their approach is also shifting where previously they issued blunt demands for share buybacks and quick asset sales, many now push for systemic shifts in capital allocation, climate policy and transparency.

But a more fundamental challenge is also gathering strength from the traditional end of asset management. This is bound by an increasing list of rulesbased mandates to hold companies to account on grounds of board diversity and environmental, social and governance, and threatens to unleash at least some of that long-underused shareholder power on chief executives who fail to address their governance shortcomings.

Japan's AGM season has always been eye-catching, often for the wrong reasons. Because such a high proportion of the country's companies — 2,283 is the current tally — end their financial years at the end of March, June is an obvious time to hold shareholder meetings after the business of full-year reporting and the registering of proposals is done.

But this has been taken to extremes. Back in the mid-1990s, 96 per cent of companies held their AGMs on the same day in June. These

days, given the intensifying need to appear share-holder-friendly, the season is slightly more spread out: just under 80 per cent

spread out: just if it will be different under 80 per cent of companies hold meetings over seven days at the end of the month.

AGM season 2023, say

relations departments and

investors, already feels as

companies' investor

Behind that clustering is a technical fear. Japanese companies do not, by convention, have staggered boards, and in the case of almost all companies, shareholders are called on to elect the directors, including the chief executive as representative director. In theory, given that any one of these could be ousted by a support rate of below 50 per cent, that means every year's AGM comes with the notional threat of a total wipeout of a company's gubernatorial bench.

For decades, this theoretical risk was offset in ways that allowed CEOs to sleep easy. Friendly companies formed lat-

ticeworks of "allegiant" shareholders who, in combination with docile investor bases, in effect guaranteed that support rates for nominees would arrive in the very comfortable 85-95 per cent zone. But companies can now see that changing rapidly, as stewardship obligations force pension funds and life insurers to be less docile and old habits, such as having boards without a decent contingent of independent members, now create vulnerability for CEOs.

Those companies whose financial years end in December have already held their AGMs, and the struggles that some have had with investors now stand as a warning to the thousands of others holding their meetings over the next four weeks. Fujio Mitarai, the chief of Canon and a towering figure in corporate Japan, scraped through with just 50.59 per cent support. Big shareholders, including BlackRock, voted against Mitarai because Canon has no female directors and he was held responsible.

The top management of retailer Seven & i Holdings survived more comfortably, but only after a sustained attack from the US activist fund Value-Act Capital and intensive efforts by the company to win over shareholders.

Fund managers contacted by the Financial Times report an extraordinary flurry of meetings with the investor relations departments and CFOs of Japanese companies that now feel threatened in the upcoming AGM season, and are seeking to protect their chiefs from a sub-50 per cent vote.

The ideal situation, those fund managers add, is that the threat alone triggers improvement: Japan's equilibrium remains, but with better-governed companies on one side, and less docile investors on the other.

leo.lewis@ft.com

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**Geopolitical risk** 

# China urges stable US ties during Musk meeting

Benefits of constructive links underlined as Tesla boss arrives in Beijing

EDWARD WHITE — SEOUL GLORIA LI — HONG KONG

China called for "stable and constructive" ties with the US in a meeting with Elon Musk that highlighted the complex relationship between Beijing and the boss of Tesla. Twitter and SpaceX.

The foreign ministry quoted Musk, who arrived in Beijing yesterday for his first visit since the outbreak of the pandemic, as comparing US-China interests

to conjoined twins and as saying that Tesla opposed any decoupling of the two biggest economies. China is Tesla's big-

The remarks by foreign minister Qin Gang were made against a backdrop of tensions that have brought US-China ties to their lowest point in decades.

Qin told Musk: "A healthy, stable and constructive China-US relationship is not only beneficial to both countries, but also to the world."

In a separate signal of US corporate commitment to China, JPMorgan chief executive Jamie Dimon yesterday met Chen Jining, Shanghai's top Communist party official, ahead of a 2,600-person conference that the US bank is holding

in the city on Wednesday.

Shanghai's official social media account quoted Dimon as saying that JPMorgan would play a role as a bridge for foreign companies to invest in the city. The bank declined to comment on what it called a private meeting.

The visits to China by Musk and Dimon come amid rising concerns among foreign businesses in the country following a series of raids on corporate consultancies.

Chinese security hawks have also raised concerns over links between SpaceX, Musk's commercial-rocket and satellite company, and the US military. Twitter, Musk's social media platform, is banned in China.

Musk's trip also takes place amid rising concerns among foreign businesses in the country following a series of raids on consultancies.

Musk is expected to visit Tesla's Shanghai factory this week. Tesla's China office declined to comment.

Musk has in the past struck a sympathetic tone with regard to Beijing on sensitive issues over its US ties, including on Taiwan, which Beijing views as part of its territory. When asked in May about tensions involving China and the US over Taiwan, Musk said there was "a certain inevitability to the situation"

given that "the official policy of China is that Taiwan should be integrated".

Chinese defence experts have expressed worries about how Musk's satellites could be used to conduct surveillance or, in the case of a conflict, support Taiwan. Such fears deepened after SpaceX dispatched a shipment of Starlink satellite kits to fortify Ukraine's internet network against invading Russian forces last year.

Musk's arrival in China follows a series of visits in recent weeks by rival car-sector leaders including Volkswagen's Oliver Blume and General Motors' Mary Barra.

Tesla's decision to slash prices

in China late last year was the opening salvo in a price war that has intensified competition, especially with BYD, a Shenzhen-based group backed by Warren Buffett's Berkshire Hathaway.

Tesla's share of sales in China's "new energy vehicle" market — which includes plug-in hybrid and battery cars — initially dipped before rising to 9.6 per cent from 7.9 per cent in 2022, according to data from Shanghai-based consultancy Automobility.

However, BYD's market share in the same period has risen from 31.7 per cent to 38.1 per cent.

Additional reporting by Ryan McMorrow

#### Travel & leisure. Publishers

# 'Genshin Impact' studio seeks to join ranks of top game developers

Shanghai-based miHoYo hopes new title 'Honkai' will help it to catch industry leader Tencent

ELEANOR OLCOTT AND GLORIA LI HONG KONG

On the eve of last month's launch of its online game *Honkai: Star Rail* staff at the Chinese gaming company miHoYo worked late into the night.

"Everyone was rushing to launch the product. The company has thrown a lot of resources at *Honkai*. It's clear the intention is to make it at least as big as *Genshin Impact* and to make it the main title of the company," said one employee drafted in to work on *Honkai's* release.

A space-travel anime game, *Honkai:* Star Rail is miHoYo's second new title since the breakout success of *Genshin*.

How it performs will determine whether the Shanghai studio can establish an enduring role for itself as one of China's top game developers in the face





Source: Sensor Tower

of competition from industry giants Tencent and NetEase. Since launching in September 2020,

Since launching in September 2020, Genshin, which is an anime role-playing game set in an open-world environment, has raked in \$4.8bn in revenues on mobile, making it one of the top three money-spinning mobile titles, according to data analytics group Sensor Tower.

"I like the game's open-world mode, allowing gamers to traverse the virtual environment freely... and it doesn't require players to spend much money to get a good experience," said Changshabased gamer Ma Ka, an avid player.

The 28-year-old architect has also been playing *Honkai: Star Rail* since its release, lured in by its "generous free items" and format, which he says is "more suitable for tablets and smartphones" than *Genshin*.

China's online gaming market is dominated by Tencent and NetEase, which have 50 per cent and 20 per cent market share, respectively, according to Goldman Sachs research. This is in contrast to most other large gaming markets, where big publishers typically have less than 10 per cent of the market.

"It is too early to say that miHoYo will surpass NetEase or Tencent. But their investment strategy and research and development have been very successful," said Chenyu Cui, a senior gaming analyst at consultancy Omdia.

Genshin's popularity has also underscored the increased competitiveness of Chinese gaming studios, which have been developing games with international appeal to combat slowing growth, stringent censorship restrictions and a regulatory crackdown at home.

The industry suffered a major blow two years ago, when Beijing imposed tight restrictions on the time that minors could spend playing games



Groups such as miHoYo, whose Honkai: Star Rail was released last month, have been developing games that have international appeal to battle slowing growth and Beijing's regulatory curbs

online, after state media branded them a form of "spiritual opium". Tencent reported that minors' gaming time had collapsed by 96 per cent in the first quarter of this year, compared with the same period three years ago.

The regulatory restrictions led to several of the smaller gaming studios closing down after authorities stopped issuing new gaming licences for nine months. Even the large incumbents saw their revenues decline.

Beijing reopened the floodgates on

game licences late last year, bolstering gaming companies' share prices. A week ago, regulators issued licences for 86 games, including a battle anime title from NetEase and a Tencent "first-person shooter" game.

Industry insiders and gamers say restrictions on content have had a less

restrictions on content have had a less radical effect. Guns, violence and buxom anime girls are still generally allowed, and Chinese game developers' ability to create global smash-hit titles with uncensored versions is undiminished.

One Tencent gaming team member

said Beijing's intensified focus on the sector had not "changed the content of the games that much". "We're still very focused on the expe-

rience of the game. We've strengthened restrictions on youth gaming time, but there are not huge differences in the content itself," they said.

Chinese game developers and publishers have increased their overseas

lishers have increased their overseas market share from 14 per cent in 2019 to 22 per cent in 2022, according to Sensor Tower. Part of *Genshin*'s strategy to expand

Part of tensmin's strategy to expand international market share has been to release updates every five to six weeks featuring new maps, characters and tasks to keep users coming back and spending money. Most other major titles typically release big expansion packages every three months.

At home, gaming companies are having to balance creating content that can pass Beijing's censorship restrictions in order to obtain a highly prized gaming licence with developing games that still hook the player in with their entertainment and visual appeal. The compro-

"It is too watered-down versions of games, says Daniel Ahmad, senior analyst at gaming consultancy Niko Partners.

He cites the example of changes for the patriotic battle game *Peacekeeper Elite*, where blood had been turned from red to green and the size of blood splatters reduced, compared with the inter-

the patriotic battle game *Peacekeeper Elite*, where blood had been turned from red to green and the size of blood splatters reduced, compared with the international version of the game that inspired it, Tencent's *PUBG Mobile*. Most changes to appease censors go largely unnoticed though, he added, other than by hardcore gamers.

Ma Ka says the impact of stricter enforcement of censorship rules is clear with *Honkai: Star Rail*. He said *Genshin Impact* was trying to appeal to male gamers with "female avatars with big boobs and sculpted legs in black stockings". By contrast, *Honkai's* characters do not "have exaggerated physical features or wear revealing outfits".

Like many fans of miHoYo titles, this has not deterred him from playing. "I don't need erotic or violent content in the games," he says. "I just enjoy the fun of the game playing."

## Hub-upmanship City-state's rise bolsters Singapore Airlines while HK's Cathay reels

MERCEDES RUEHL — SINGAPORE CHAN HO-HIM AND PRIMROSE RIORDAN AND ANDY LIM — HONG KONG

Just as Singapore Airlines was handing staff an eight-month salary bonus after record profits, Hong Kong was giving away more than 4,400 Cathay Pacific tickets as the city sought to encourage visitors to return.

Shares in Singapore Airlines have risen to their highest level in more than three years after the carrier made clear the strength of its post-pandemic recovery with an annual profit of \$\$2.16bn (\$1.6bn) for the year ending in March.

Shares in Hong Kong-listed Cathay Pacific, meanwhile, have dropped nearly 40 per cent from April 2019. In March the airline unveiled a HK\$6.5bn (\$830mn) loss for 2022, and shares have remained flat since.

The divergence reflects the rise of Singapore, one of the first countries in Asia to reopen its borders after the pandemic, and the burnishing of its status as a business hub.

Hong Kong, on the other hand, remained largely closed off to travel until late last year, losing its status as the region's busiest airport to Singapore in 2022. Its slow reopening has affected Cathay Pacific, which is also reeling from labour shortages.

Brendan Sobie, an aviation analyst based in Singapore, said the city-state "was ahead of everyone last year in AsiaPacific [with the reopening]. They benefited from that tremendously. I don't think Cathay Pacific's first financial year after reopening will look like Singapore's. That honeymoon period caused by supply and demand imbalance is waning; they've largely missed out on those market conditions."

Hong Kong tourism is still very early in its recovery, which is reflected in carrier numbers. Singapore Airlines has reached nearly 80 per cent of pre-pandemic passenger capacity, while Cathay Pacific is still at less than 50 per cent.

Singapore Airlines and its whollyowned budget airline Scoot carried 2.7mn passengers in April, an 85 per cent year-on-year increase and just under the 3.1mn passengers they flew in the same month in 2019. Cathay Pacific carried 1.4mn passengers in April 2023, about 44 per cent of the number in April 2019.

At its annual meeting this month, Cathay Pacific chief executive Ronald Lam said the airline was unlikely to exceed 70 per cent of pre-Covid passenger capacity before the end of this year, citing labour constraints. An average of 10 to 15 senior pilots

An average of 10 to 15 senior pilots had quit Cathay Pacific each month this year, said the Hong Kong Aircrew Officers Association, down from about 30 to 50 each month in the second half of last year. The airline, which had a crew of 3,800 pilots in late 2019, had lost more than 1,800 pilots over the past three years, according to union chair Paul Weatherilt, but had only recruited about 400 new pilots. After seeing wage cuts of up to 40 per cent in 2020, pilots remained disgruntled, the union said.

Cathay Pacific said the "attrition rate has normalised across all staff groups" including pilots. Crew base pay had risen 3.3 per cent from the beginning of this year.

JPMorgan analyst Karen Li wrote in a note in March: "Besides Hong Kong having a later reopening timeline than other aviation hubs, Cathay Pacific's

ing challenges with supply constraints across the aviation ecosystem . . . [such as] availability of certified manpower."

With wages calculated by flight time,

slower recovery pace reflects [its] ongo-

But their

strategy

and R&D

have been

successful'

very

investment

With wages calculated by flight time, Hong Kong aviation officials had advised Cathay Pacific that some of its pilots had been taxiing at "considerably slower speeds", according to an internal Cathay Pacific memo. And Cathay Pacific sacked three cabin crew after a clip accusing them of joking about a Mandarin-speaking customer's Englishlanguage ability went viral. Lam said it had caused "significant damage to the image" of Hong Kong and Cathay Pacific. The flight attendants' union hit

back, citing low morale, an increased workload, and lower pay.

Singapore Airlines said it had brought back most of the 3,000-plus pilots, many of whom had been furloughed, by the middle of last year. A "very small number" left during the pandemic, it said at the time. The carrier does not provide much detail on its staff. It did not respond to a request for comment.

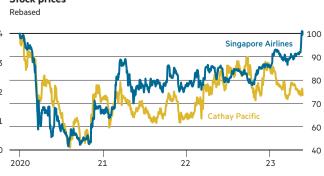
Since the pandemic, Singapore has gained more transit traffic that traditionally went through Hong Kong. One airline executive said: "Singapore Airlines [did] well last year because they functioned as the only realistic transit hub in all of Asia."

Cathay Pacific posted a 68 per cent drop in sales originating from the Americas to \$572mn in 2022 compared with 2019. Singapore Airlines had a 46 per cent rise in sales originating from the Americas to \$1.1bn in the 12 months to the end of March this year against the 12 months to the end of March 2020.

The booming conditions that boosted Singapore Airlines are not expected to last. And Hong Kong is throwing billions of dollars into luring back international business and tourists.

"We are still in a dynamic period, and many of us believe most of the benefits have been temporary," said a Singapore Airlines executive. "I'm not sure we will see a profit like that again. Calling a winner seems too early."





# Insurers in turmoil after ESG wars spark exodus from climate alliance

Sector's commitment to UN-convened net-zero initiative falters in face of antitrust warnings

IAN SMITH AND KENZA BRYAN — LONDON

Dark smoke billowing across the Richard Rogers-designed Lloyd's of London headquarters and the banner unfurled by climate protesters last week provided a visible reminder of the political war over the role of the insurance industry in global warming.

On the same day in New York, another campaign group was pushing in the opposite direction, with the "anti-woke" group called Consumers' Research targeting the offices of Euro $pean\,in surers\,with\,a\,mobile\,bill board.$ 

It demanded that the companies pull out of the Net-Zero Insurance Alliance  $({\rm NZIA}), a\, {\rm UN\text{-}convened}\, body\, set\, up\, two$ years ago for insurers wanting to cut their carbon footprint and reduce climate change risk. The rightwing pressure group claimed that these efforts to scale back insurance cover for fossil fuel projects were anti-competitive. "Call off the collusion," it blared.

On the latest front in the environmental, social and governance battles testing all corporations, it was the anti-ESG forces that carried the day. Lloyd's joined a string of big European

insurers, as well as a major Japanese and an Australian reinsurer, to quit the alliance by the end of the week, throwing it

A letter from US attorneys-general sent to the insurance groups this month raised "serious concerns" over whether the alliance was at odds with antitrust laws. This was a key catalyst for the departures, according to people briefed on the decisions to withdraw at two

"It's a real shame that the NZIA looks as if it is in the process of collapsing. That shouldn't be the reality," Lindsay Keenan, European co-ordinator at campaign group Insure Our Future, said. "Any sensible person knows that collective action is required to solve the climate crisis.

But Washington-based Consumers' Research executive director Will Hild aims to keep up the pressure, claiming that the alliance was part of a wider "ESG scam". He said: "We're going to be pushing back on the entire conspiracy to enforce environmental policy  $through \, corporate \, collusion \, rather \, than \,$ the democratic process. It won't be a full victory until NZIA no longer exists."

Some experts said the exits from the insurers' alliance could undermine other industry coalitions and pledges by the wider financial sector to cut emissions. A trickle of banks and asset managers have quit other key climate alliances in recent months because of the ESG backlash.

"It would be naive to suggest there's no risk of contagion [to other climate alliances]," said Simon Holmes, a member of the UK Competition Appeal Tribunal and visiting law professor at the University of Oxford. "One person gets cold feet, the next does as well . . . everybody loses from this."

He added that while it was possible to characterise withdrawing insurance cover from fossil fuels projects as anticompetitive "in a narrow sense", there was a strong case that coalitions such as the NZIA met the conditions to be exempt from these laws, on the grounds

of a wider consumer benefit.

The anti-ESG campaigners' victory", said Jakob Thomä, co-founder of a non-profit think-tank, the 2 Degrees Investing Initiative cloud. "It adds transaction costs," he



Polar opposites: climate activists protest against insurers outside the Lloyd's Building in London, while in New York (below) the pressure group Consumers' Research calls on companies to quit the net-zero alliance - Mike Ke

said. "People will know to cross their t's three times, four times, to try to protect themselves from being caught in the crosshairs of the anti-ESG movement." The attacks were also a sign that net

zero policies were starting to become a "pain point" for fossil fuel industries, Thomä added. The insurance initiative was one part

of the broad umbrella group, the Glasgow Financial Alliance for Net Zero, set up by former Bank of England governor Mark Carney ahead of the UN climate  $summit\,held\,in\,2021.$ It warned on Friday that the "political

attacks are now interfering with insurers' independent efforts to price climate risk, which will harm policyholders, main street investors and local economies"

The NZIA faced criticism from the  $start-but\ more\ frequently\ that\ its\ col$ lective action was too weak, rather than too strong. Climate campaigners ques-



tioned why a policy banning the insurance of coal projects was not a condition for entry. At the time, the NZIA's leadership cited "antitrust issues"

Even with what many climate activists saw as a low bar to membership, it failed to attract US insurers as members. Soon after its launch, the secretary-general of the public-private Insurance Development Forum said it was uncertain that the industry could "make much progress" without the backing of the vast US insurance sector.

At the same time, industry intentions to reduce their underwriting exposure to climate risk have come up against arguments about energy security and the impact on coal-dependent econo-

"Enabling the transition, I think, is a more productive outcome for society than shutting off the lights," Carl Hess, chief executive of major insurance brokerage Willis Towers Watson, said last

Lloyd's of London, which had set a goal to end new insurance for the dirtiest projects of thermal coal and oil sands, as well as Arctic drilling, from the start of last year, also then appeared to row back. It said it was "not mandating" the exclusion of these policies, saying it was down to individual companies in the market to make their own underwriting decisions.

Those insurers now departing the net zero alliance are still largely expected to continue to disclose the greenhouse gas emissions associated with their underwriting, in the framework provided by the Partnership for Carbon Accounting

At a company level, some insurers are

sensible person knows that collective action is required to solve the climate crisis'

stepping up their exclusions for clients that do not bring their business in line with climate goals.

The property and casualty insurer called If, part of Nordic group Sampo, began screening its corporate customers for ESG criteria in 2021. Out of more than 600 clients, 19 were found to have fallen short of sustainability standards, it said. For two clients with a bad record of pollution, it plans to decline insurance at the next renewal, while others are on watch.

Chief executive Morten Thorsrud said it was "happy to help [clients] by nudging them towards a more sustainable strategy and operations".

US insurers are also taking steps to reduce their risk individually. New York-listed Chubb, a leading energy insurer, announced new underwriting criteria that would require clients to reduce their emissions of methane, the largest component of gas and a significant contributor to global warming.

Insurers will continue to be dragged in both directions. A report from Greenpeace Nordic this week said 69 insurers, including Lloyd's companies, still cover groups planning new oil and gasfields in

At the same time, anti-ESG campaigners are expected to intensify criticism of climate plans during a divisive US presidential election campaign in the year

"This is a distraction, but we stay the course," said Curtis Ravenel, a senior adviser to Gfanz. The private sector could only "go so far", he added, with government intervention to provide les and standards needed "truly catalyse climate action".

#### Former Enel boss says green transition is unstoppable

SILVIA SCIORILLI BORRELLI — TRENTO WILL LOUCH — LONDON

The former chief of Italy's largest statebacked utility has said all governments will have to tackle the green transition regardless of their beliefs about climate

Francesco Starace, who is joining private equity group EQT in June after being pushed out of Enel by Giorgia Meloni's government, said in an interview that even the more reluctant policymakers would "converge" in aiming to decarbonise the economy.

"Not everybody understands it prop erly and some politicians don't understand where the transition is going, but we shouldn't be troubled," Starace said. 'Eventually they will all converge.'

He added: "During my nine-year tenare as chief executive of Enel I met six [Italian] governments, the transition happens anyway." While Starace minimised his depar-

ture from Enel saying "it was time to use mv experience elsewhere", international investors in the energy group saw Rome's decision to replace him as a sign that his transition-focused strategy could be reversed. Starace said: "I don't see that happening because investors want the transition and it's the obvious direction [in which] to go for companies like [Enel].'

The executive transformed the €60bn utility into one of the world's largest renewable energy producers after taking over in 2014. However, the group's debt also grew to more than €60bn, another sticking point with the government. Starace launched a €21bn asset disposal plan last year in an attempt to reduce net debt.

Enel declined to comment on the new management's strategy. The group's chair, Paolo Scaroni, said in March, before his appointment, that the 'energy transition is a necessary target but I am convinced nuclear [as opposed to renewable] energy is the only technology that can help us leave behind fos sil fuels"

Nuclear power for electricity generation was completely phased out in Italy after a referendum in the country in

Meloni's rightwing coalition has opposed plans to ban the sale of combustion engine cars from 2035. Earlier this year she said the government was not composed of "dangerous climate change deniers" but that a "more pragmatic and gradual approach [to energy transition] was needed". Starace said transition would affect all

industries: "[It] starts with the energy sector, but it will go through the econo mies of the world.

As a partner at EQT, Starace said he would lead global investments into renewable energy. "The need for private capital going forward to make the energy transition happen is huge," he

EOT announced in February that its newest fund was seeking to raise €21bn to invest in key infrastructure and energy assets. This month the Swedish firm's infrastructure fund took a majority stake in Italian mobile provider Wind Tre's network company.

Starace had previously hinted at

wanting potentially to retire after stepping down from the top job at Enel. "Its time to give back [what] I learned and help others avoid mistakes, EQT is a great vehicle [for this]," he said. "What I did promise again.'

**Pharmaceuticals** 

#### Bankruptcy ruling shields Purdue owners from opioid lawsuits

JAMIE SMYTH AND SUJEET INDAP NEW YORK

Members of the Sackler family who own Purdue Pharma can be shielded from lawsuits linked to the US opioid crisis in exchange for payments worth up to \$6bn, appellate judges have ruled in a reversal of a lower court's decision.

The judgment addresses a controversial provision of US law that released Sackler family owners of Purdue from liability as part of the company's bankruptcy settlement. The maker of the powerful painkiller OxyContin, Purdue filed for bankruptcy in New York in 2019 amid a wave of litigation over its role in an opioid epidemic that has killed almost 1mn people in the US.

A bankruptcy judge in 2021 approved a settlement that required the family owners to pay \$4.5bn and provided them with immunity from future lawsuits. A federal judge overturned that settlement later that year.

The company's Sackler owners then

agreed to increase their financial contribution from \$4.5bn to \$6bn, winning support from several dissident victims groups and states which had opposed the original deal.

Yesterday, a three-judge panel of the US Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit reversed the lower court and said that US bankruptcy law permitted giving civil liability protection to



is manufactured by Purdue Pharma

parties who are not in bankruptcy in certain situations.

"The bankruptcy court's inclusion of the releases is equitable and appropriate under . . . the specific factual circumstances," the judges wrote.

The announcement paves the way for the bankruptcy court to approve a modified settlement that would protect the Sackler family from lawsuits.

The US bankruptcy trustee, a division of the US Department of Justice which had opposed the releases, declined to comment on whether it would appeal against the ruling to the US Supreme Court.

Such releases have become controversial in US bankruptcy cases, with appeals courts in different US regions or legal circuits differing on whether to

Purdue's initial \$4.5bn settlement was thrown out following a legal appeal by a group of eight US states and the attorney for the Southern District of New York which had argued that Sackler family

owners were benefiting from the bankruptcy process without having personally filed for Chapter 11 protection themselves.

Opponents of the original settlement pointed to analysis presented in the bankruptcy court that showed the Sackler family members who own Purdue had taken more than \$10bn out of the company between 2008 and

Lawyers for Purdue warned that without such a settlement, years of litigation would delay payments to victims and shrink the available pot.

In a statement, the families of the late Mortimer Sackler and the late Raymond Sackler said yesterday that they "believe the long-awaited implementation of this resolution is critical to providing substantial resources for people and communities in need".

They added: "We are pleased with the court's decision to allow the agreement to move forward and look forward to it taking effect as soon as possible.

#### Legal Notices

Petroplus Marketing Ltd. in debt restructuring liquidation / publication of provisional distribution list for the fifth interim payment

The provisional distribution list for the fifth interim payment in the debt restructuring proceeding with assignment of assets concerning Petroplus Marketing AG in debt restructuring liquidation

with assignment of assets concerning Petroplus Marketing AG in debt restructuring liquidation, industriestrasse 24, 6304 Zug, will be open to inspection by the creditors concerned between 31 May 2023 and 12 June 2023 at the offices of the liquidators, Brigitte Umbach-Spahn and Karl Wüthrich, Attorneys-at-Law, Wenger Plattner, Seestrasse 39, Goldbach-Center, 8700 Küsnacht (please call the hotline on +41 43 222 38 50 to arrange an appointment).

Appeals against the provisional distribution list must be lodged with the Obergericht Zug, Beschwerdeabteilung als Aufsichtsbehörde über Schuldbetreibung und Konkurs, Kirchenstrasse 6, Postfach 760, 6301 Zug, within ten days of the list's publication, i.e. by 12 June 2023 (date of postmark of a Swiss post office). If no appeals are lodged, the fifth interim payment will be made as provided for in the provisional distribution list.

Küsnacht, 31 May 2023 etroplus Marketing AG in debt restructuring liquidation

The Liquidators: Brigitte Umbach-Spahn Karl Wüthrich

ww.liquidator-petroplus.ch

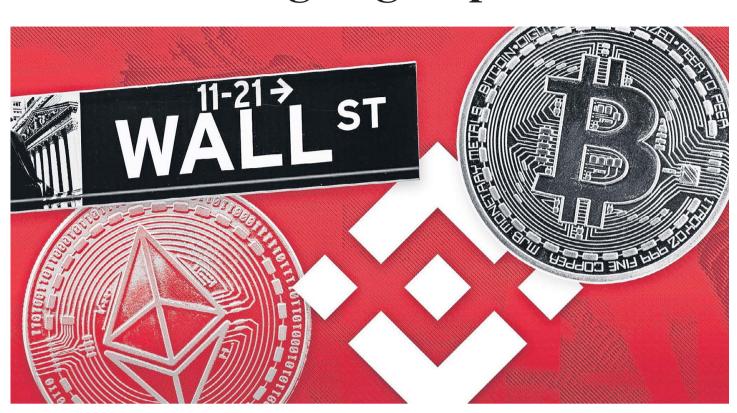
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Crypto. Competition

# Traditional finance firms set to challenge digital pioneers



Big names seek to attract fund managers with exchange and custody functions for tokens

NIKOU ASGARI — LONDON

Some of the finance industry's bestknown names are building their own infrastructure to trade digital markets, betting that fund managers will prefer companies they already know and trust to the many opaque cryptocurrency exchanges that dominate the sector.

Standard Chartered, Nomura and Charles Schwab are among the traditional financial institutions that are creating or backing new, separate crypto companies including exchange and custody firms that can handle digital tokens such as bitcoin and ether.

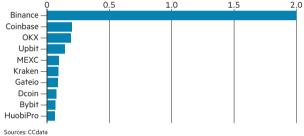
They are betting that fund managers are still keen on trading crypto, even after prices crashed last year and a string of companies including exchange FTX and lenders Celsius and Genesis failed.

For asset managers, the collapses have underscored the risks of putting money with businesses that are largely unregulated and face questions over their transparency. Many are demanding assurances that their money is safe before they start trading crypto.

"The large, pedigreed, traditional institutional investors definitely prefer dealing with counterparties who they know have been in existence for years and have been regulated in the traditional sense," said Gautam Chhugani, senior analyst of global digital assets at

The price of popular coins bitcoin and ether have risen about 68 per cent and

Crypto native exchanges dominate spot trading Trading volume, year-to-date to May 21 2023 (\$tn) 0.5 Binance



56 per cent, respectively, this year, compared with an 8.8 per cent rise in the MSCI World stocks index.

"Lots of institutional players are testing different bits of activity to test the waters, build a bit of experience in the market but also for . . . making sure they have an option for further growth avenues," said Alexandre Birry, chief analytical officer of financial institutions at S&P Global Ratings

The newcomers are breaking into a market dominated by companies such as Binance and Coinbase, which also have their own institutional customers.

But they are betting that their finance industry knowhow and reputations, unsullied by the wave of crypto scandals and enforcement actions from US regulators, will prove persuasive.

Broker Charles Schwab and market makers Citadel Securities and Virtu Financial are among firms backing EDX Markets, while British bank Standard Chartered has backed exchange and custody house Zodia Markets and Zodia Custody.

"They wanted to build an exchange

they felt comfortable trading on," said Jamil Nazarali, head of EDX Markets and former Citadel Securities executive.

The infrastructure being built by large institutions is markedly different to the crypto industry's original structure. Wall Street executives are keen to separate business units such as trading from custody, as a way to reduce risk and potential conflicts of interest.

The collapse of Sam Bankman-Fried's exchange FTX and trading firm Alameda Research, which were closely entwined, has brought those concerns to the fore.

Custody, where assets are stored securely to prevent funds from hacks or theft, has emerged as the most straightforward way for traditional finance firms to grow their crypto presence.

"I don't want my custody to be run by the same person as my exchange," said Michael Safai, co-founder of trading firm Dexterity Capital, adding that the extent to which some companies do not separate such functions "isn't appeal

ing, and it's even a bit unsettling". BNY Mellon and Fidelity already have

The collapses of crypto lenders showed asset managers the risks of storing cash with largely unregulated

digital asset custody arms and US stock exchange Nasdaq is awaiting approval from regulators to launch its own.

A survey of 250 asset managers by consultancy EY-Parthenon found half would switch from a crypto native firm to a traditionally backed company that offered the same services. Ninety per cent said they would trust a traditional financial group with custodying their  $crypto\,tokens, according\,to\,the\,study.$ 

S&P's Birry said crypto custody was often the first step because "it's safer and foundational. It's a low-margin activity, you have to do two or three tasks and you have to do it well."

If Wall Street-backed crypto companies do succeed in enticing institutional asset managers, that may pose a challenge to incumbent crypto exchanges such as Binance or Coinbase

The Wall Street-backed firms are building their infrastructure along more traditional lines. Nazarali said EDX had purposely not built its venue on cloudcomputing technology, as other crypto exchanges had done. He said the cloud helped established crypto exchanges scale "very, very fast", but was too slow  $and \, unreliable \, for \, professional \, traders.$ 

"Market makers hate that. That cre ates a lot of risk for them, they can't quote as tight prices," he added.

Some see two markets developing; a shallow retail-facing one with big discrepancies between buying and selling prices, and a deep institutional one, where prices are more competitive.

Usman Ahmad, chief executive of Zodia Markets, said that, as the crypto industry developed, it "may lead to a disparity of spreads between institutions and retail [and lead to] institutions paying a tighter spread in a more liquid market".

nals and pushing up the volatility of the US stock market, also thought the upsurge in ETF usage was evidence of the departure from their use simply as long-term portfolio building blocks.

Instead, he believed investors were

'The view that ETFs are

last year. This led to a "skyrocketing" of

zero-day-to-expiration options vol-

umes and the likelihood of a "ramping

up" of ETF trading by options market

makers, who typically use ETFs to hedge their options positions.

academic paper that argues the rise of passive investing is distorting price sig-

Valentin Haddad, co-author of a 2022

simply an instrument

for passive trading is

not accurate'

**Equities** 

STEVE JOHNSON

ETFs make up

record 31%

of turnover

in US stocks

Exchange traded funds accounted for a record 30.7 per cent of US stock market turnover last year, a jump of more than a fifth from their 25.3 per cent share in 2021, raising questions about their seemingly unstoppable rise.
The data, revealed in the latest report from the Investment Company Institute, a US trade body, reignites concerns about their influence on the broader market and underlines their increasing use as shorter-term trading instruments for participants looking to rapidly change market exposure, analysts say. Shelly Antoniewicz, senior director of industry and financial analysis at the ICI, attributed ETFs' higher share of turnover to "elevated market volatility". "During periods of market turbulence, ETF secondary market trading [of ETF shares] volumes rise — both in absolute terms and as a share of total stock market trading - as investors, especially institutional investors, turn to ETFs to quickly and efficiently transfer and hedge risks," she said. While agreeing that high market volatility will have driven ETF volumes, Rabih Moussawi, associate professor of finance at Villanova School of Business, said the jump in ETF trading could also be due to the introduction of daily option expirations on the S&P 500 index

increasingly trading on macroeconomic news — something "ETFs are particularly well suited for".

'If anything, it just confirms that the view that ETFs are simply an instrument for passive trading is not accurate; market participants use them very dynamically," he added.

In dollar terms, US ETF trading volumes surged 22.5 per cent year on year to a record \$44.1tn, the ICI data shows.

The jump in ETFs' share of turnover comes after years in which this measure has plateaued at 25-27 per cent. This proportion held despite dramatic market growth, with the assets of US-listed ETFs surging from \$992bn in 2010 to \$7.2tn at the end of 2021, according to the ICI, before slipping to \$6.5tn at the end of last year as markets fell.

ETFs have continued to account for about 30 per cent of trading volumes this year, Antoniewicz said.

**Asset management** 

#### Goldman's Asia private equity unit boss ceases trying to tap US-based investors

KAYE WIGGINS — HONG KONG

The head of Goldman Sachs's private equity business in Asia has said that she has stopped trying to raise money in the US because of geopolitical tensions between Washington and Beijing.

Stephanie Hui, who runs the Asia-Pacific private and growth equity arm of Goldman Sachs Asset Management. with investments that include deals in China, spoke at a private equity conference in Hong Kong yesterday.

"I've been asked to do observations of

what we're seeing in the marketplace . . . [one is] the geopolitics," she said. "I used to go to the States to fundraise a lot. My friends know that my destination lately is the Middle East. I go to south-east Asia a lot. China a lot. and Korea and Japan because there's more interest in this part of the world, particularly in China, from the countries Liust listed. I only go to the States to see my boss . . . not for fundraising."

The bank said her comments were a reference to wider industry trends.

Hui's experience is an indication of how North American investors, such as public pension funds, are increasingly

wary about deploying money in China at a time when tensions are high and Washington is finalising an outbound investment-screening mechanism aimed at China. The Ontario Teachers Pension Plan, a Canadian fund, said in January that it had paused direct investment in private assets in China.

Goldman's arm operates as a private equity firm within the bank. It manages global funds raised from investors that can be deployed worldwide, but it has generated outsized returns in Asia.



Tensions between China and the US have affected Goldman fundraising

Hui's comments are more an indication of investor sentiment than a sign that the bank will raise less money in the US since Goldman's set-up means Hui's US colleagues can raise money from American institutions, which is then pooled with money raised in Europe and Asia and invested globally.

"I grew up doing China investing," Hui said at the Hong Kong Venture Capital and Private Equity Association meeting. When it came to which sectors to invest in, "data analytics and artificial intelli gence is definitely where we're looking"

Other sectors of interest were health care, travel and China manufacturing, as well as value-for-money retailers, as "there's a bit of talk about people being more frugal about [their] spending".

GSAM's previous investments in China include Alibaba, education company iTutorGroup and Shanghai-based Zhenge Biotech, said the data provider PitchBook.

Hui also noted that Chinese investors made up a smaller proportion of the money in private equity funds globally, citing figures that showed China represented just 34 per cent of fundraising in Asia in 2022, from 83 per cent in 2017.

**Financials** 

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#### Hunt is on for bargains amid tentative signs of recovery at regional banks

NICHOLAS MEGAW AND BROOKE MASTERS — NEW

Some investors are starting to sift for bargains among the regional lenders caught up in the market chaos that followed the collapse of Silicon Valley Bank, according to portfolio managers

KBW's Regional Banking index has fallen more than a quarter since the start of the year, with the collapse of SVB and smaller peer Signature Bank prompting a reckoning across the financial sector in the US and abroad.

But the index has shown tentative signs of stabilising, with two consecutive weeks of gains for the first time since the start of February. The KBW Regional Banking index has regained 11 per cent

from its year-to-date nadir in early May. The calm is drawing the attention of some investors, who have started rebuilding their positions in the sector.

Phil Stone, managing partner at Fourthstone, which specialises in investing in US financials, said his funds had been defensive for 18 months because of recession fears, but were now "high conviction buyers". He added that

some of the prices were "the most attractive we've seen in years", comparing valuations to the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis.

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Yet many remain wary of diving back into the sector too early. "A lot of these banks are trading dirt cheap," said Remi Olu-Pitan, a multi-asset fund manager at Schroders. "But although they're cheap, they could get cheaper. The valuation

#### 'A lot of these banks are trading dirt cheap. But although they're cheap, they could get cheaper'

signal is there but we don't have that catalyst [to buy] just yet. I think it will come towards the second half of the year."

George Patterson, chief investment officer at PGIM's quantitative investing arm, agreed that "there's probably some great opportunities in regional banking because I think everybody had panicked" in the aftermath of SVB's col-

But he stressed the need for patience. "We're never trying to call the bottom . . . I don't think we're quite yet [ready to be] increasing positions.

Patterson's view was typical of many investors, according to sector analysts.

Ebrahim Poonawala, head of North American banks research at Bank of America, said there was "a lot of pencil sharpening, probing and digging into individual companies" as fears of immediate contagion risk receded. But he added that the fundamental outlook for many regional banks remained weak, with challenges including a potential recession, an inverted yield curve which tended to weigh on profit margins and concerns about the health of the commercial property sector.

Stone said concerns about regional banks' exposure to commercial real estate were overblown, arguing that office loans represented a small fraction of the total for most lenders.

Greg Hertrich, US head of depositary strategies at Nomura, said regional banks had been working to reassure investors that they had responded to the concerns sparked by the earlier collapses. But he said many investors would wait for further evidence from second-quarter earnings reports in July.

#### The day in the markets

#### What you need to know

- Tech sector and debt-ceiling deal hopes lift US stocks
- Turkish lira hit by Erdoğan victory China indices in bear territory

US stocks advanced yesterday, bolstered by a strong technology sector and hopes that lawmakers would pass the debtceiling bill before the June 5 deadline

The tech-heavy Nasdaq Composite added 0.7 per cent, led by gains in computer stocks. Wall Street's benchmark S&P 500 rose 0.1 per cent, having closed at a nine-month high on Friday.

Al-related stocks extended their rally from the previous week, with Nvidia breaching \$1tn in market capitalisation and its shares rising 6 per cent.

Nvidia became the first chipmaker to join the trillion-dollar club, having benefited from soaring demand for chips used in generative AI systems.

The Philadelphia Semiconductor index has added more than 40 per cent this year, driven by the Al industry.

Pressure on US Treasuries eased as traders predicted the debt-ceiling bill, agreed on Saturday, would pass Congress this week, ahead of the default deadline.

The yield on policy-sensitive two-year bills fell 0.09 percentage points to 4.5 per cent. The yield on the benchmark 10-year note was down 0.11 percentage points to 3.71 per cent. Yields fall as prices rise.

The yield on Treasury bills that mature next month — at about the date the government could run out of money eased to 5.27 per cent, having last week hit its highest in more than 20 years.

The deal would raise the country's \$31.4tn debt ceiling for two years until



after the next presidential election in late 2024. The bipartisan bill needs to pass both chambers of Congress, with traders poised for the first vote in the House of Representatives today. The latest report from the Conference Board showed  ${\sf US}$ consumer confidence declined in May as perceptions of the labour market and future business conditions deteriorated amid persistent inflation and concerns about a potential recession.

In Europe, the region-wide Stoxx 600 slid 0.9 per cent, the CAC 40 lost 1.3 per cent and the FTSE 100 fell 1.4 per cent.

The Turkish lira weakened to TL20.4

against the US dollar, hitting a record low after President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan won the election over the weekend.

The Hang Seng China Enterprises index was down, pushing it 20 per cent lower from its peak in January. That put it in bear market territory, although it later rallied to close up 0.5 per cent.

China's benchmark CSI 300 index of Shanghai- and Shenzhen stocks was also down more than 10 per cent from its peak this year, matching the technical definition of a market correction. although it also rallied to close marginally

up. Daria Mosolova and Hudson Lockett

#### **Big Tech exposes** the problem of index distortions

#### Rupak Ghose

#### Markets Insight

eating their indices, distorting their usefulness in some cases as market gauges for investors.

The most widely used index in the world is the S&P 500, which is supposed to be a broad barometer of the US stock market but has increasingly been driven by a small number of tech giants. This year, the S&P 500 is up by about 10 per cent but with much of its returns driven by Apple, Microsoft, Amazon, Alphabet, Nvidia, Meta and Tesla.

A similar trend can be seen in the Nasdaq 100. These seven stocks now account for about 29 per cent of the market capitalisation of the S&P 500 and 60 per cent of the Nasdaq 100. JPMorgan analysts last month said the US equity rally was driven by the nar-rowest leadership in a rising stock market since the 1990s.

As market tides come and go, there will always be periods when stocks or sectors dominate market indices. But the degree of imbalances now adds to the onus on investors, when choosing a passive investment vehicle, to check if it really provides diversification or expo sure to the sector they are hoping for.

For example, the five largest exchange traded funds by assets under management include three S&P 500 trackers from BlackRock, Vanguard, and State Street, while the dominant ETF for the Nasdaq 100 is Invesco's QQQ. Such increasingly concentrated indices are clearly not reflective of the health of the overall US stock market.

In more focused or sector-specific indices, the issues are starker. The ETF sector is highly liquid and transparent. Most big indices still work well mechanically. But for all the calls for index pro-

viders to ensure objectivity and rigour,  $industry\ classifications\ are\ always\ going$ to be somewhat subjective. Including or excluding a small group of the largest stocks can skew these indices significantly.

Take the recent shift of payments processors including Visa and Master-card out of the S&P's technology sector and into the financials sector. In many banking crises of the past, the Financial Select Sector SPDR Fund, or XLF ETF, has been a proxy way to gain or hedge exposure to the US banking sector as it tracked the S&P financials index

During the recent banking crisis, the

#### Including or excluding a small group of the largest stocks can skew these indices significantly

KBW US banks index was often referenced more publicly as a benchmark, but the XLF remains the largest and most liquid route to play the financial

Yet today, a little under 30 per cent of this index is composed of Apple share-holder Berkshire Hathaway, Visa and Mastercard. The inclusion of a lot of data vendors, exchanges and fintechs mean banks are now a smaller proportion of this sector index and even Citigroup is no longer a top 10 constituent. And the Visa and Mastercard shift

leaves behind an unbalanced S&P technology index. Following recent share prices moves, Apple and Microsoft now account for about 47 per cent of the market capitalisation of the Technology Select Sector SPDR Fund, or XLK, which tracks the S&P index. This means the benchmark is hitting concentration limits allowed by US regulation, illustrating the challenges of index composition.

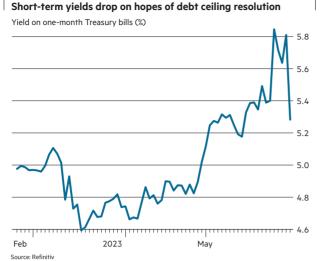
Even apart from concentration issues, there are questions about how representative the S&P technology sector  $index\,is\,of\,Big\,Tech\,stocks.\,Several\,years$ ago, the likes of Meta – then Facebook – and Alphabet were shifted to the communications sector.

Despite the huge value in its web services and cloud computing arm, Amazon is considered a consumer discretionary stock by S&P. The increasing tendency of companies to be technology-enabled is blurring the lines between the sectors they could belong to.

One of the fastest-growing areas for indices has been thematic investing and, in particular, strategies focused on environmental, social and governance factors. Under the threat of regulatory scrutiny, index providers are tightening disclosures, inclusion criteria and ratings. Nevertheless, in an area where we are dealing with less than perfect information there will always be a huge number of value judgments and differences between index providers.

Such differences and index imbalances of course provide opportunities for active fund managers to prove the case for their role — to bet against a market benchmark, say, to wager that the dominance of the likes of Microsoft or Apple might not last. For passive investors, they should serve as a reminder that indices are still flawed, humanmade constructs with sometimes arbitrary classifications. We still need to do our homework when choosing them.

Rupak Ghose is an adviser to fintechs and a former financials research analyst



#### Markets update

		0	•		*3	<b>♦</b>
	US	Eurozone	Japan	UK	China	Brazil
Stocks	S&P 500	Eurofirst 300	Nikkei 225	FTSE100	Shanghai Comp	Bovespa
Level	4211.60	1809.14	31328.16	7522.07	3224.21	108768.09
% change on day	0.15	-1.00	0.30	-1.38	0.09	-1.42
Currency	\$ index (DXY)	\$ per €	Yen per \$	\$ per £	Rmb per \$	Real per \$
Level	103.976	1.073	139.805	1.241	7.089	5.058
% change on day	-0.221	0.187	-0.346	0.486	0.149	0.994
Govt. bonds	10-year Treasury	10-year Bund	10-year JGB	10-year Gilt	10-year bond	10-year bond
Yield	3.706	2.338	0.431	4.341	2.753	11.247
Basis point change on day	-9.830	-10.000	0.040	-12.100	-0.200	-2.500
<b>World index, Commods</b>	FTSE All-World	Oil - Brent	Oil - WTI	Gold	Silver	Metals (LMEX)
Level	430.83	73.81	69.59	1947.90	23.15	3654.70
% change on day	-0.07	-4.27	-4.62	-0.02	0.61	1.53
Yesterday's close apart from: Curre	encies = 16:00 GMT; S&P, Bove	spa, All World, Oil = 17:00 G	MT; Gold, Silver = London pm	fix. Bond data supplied by T	'ullett Prebon.	

#### Main equity markets







#### **Biggest movers**

93	,		
%		US	
	Nvidia		5.79
	Broadcom		5.20
Ups	Ford Motor		4.85
$\supset$	Netflix		4.25
	Tesla		3.96
	Comerica		-7.38
Downs	Eqt		-5.17
	Generac Holdings		-4.25
۵	Mosaic (the)		-3.51
	Ana		-3.26

Eurozone	
Deutsche Post	2.01
Swatch	1.93
Terna	1.65
A.p. Moller - Maersk B	1.63
Vopak	1.63
Credit Agricole	-9.70
Oci	-7.00

i erna	1.03
A.p. Moller - Maersk B	1.6
Vopak	1.63
Credit Agricole	-9.70
Oci	-7.00
Societe Generale	-5.7
Casino Guichard	-5.1
Sanofi	-4.79
Based on the constituents of the ETSE Euro	firet 300 Eurozon

UK	
Frasers	2.68
B&m Eur Value Retail S.a.	2.14
Hargreaves Lansdown	1.77
Jd Sports Fashion	1.62
Whitbread	1.54
Ocado	-3.71
Rolls-royce Holdings	-3.12
Shell	-3.00

#### Wall Street

Heading the S&P 500 index was chipmaker Nvidia, building on a rally that left its shares up almost 25 per cent last week. That rise was triggered by a bumper revenue forecast, which Nvidia said was driven by growth in artificial intelligence.

In the top half of the blue-chip benchmark was Broadcom, which touched an all-time high following reports that broker UBS has raised its price target for the chipmaker, also citing its Alfuelled growth potential.

Enphase Energy, a solar power system provider, rallied on news it was expanding its partnership with wholesaler Natex to distribute its batteries and microinverters - placed on panels to convert electricity across Europe.

Cardiac tech group **HeartBeam** surged on announcing a strategic agreement with South Korean conglomerate Samsung. This was an extension to an existing tie-up between Samsung and Livmor, a digital health company HeartBeam bought earlier this year for an undisclosed sum.

Gevo jumped after its board gave the go-ahead to buy back up to \$25mn worth of shares. The renewable chemicals and biofuels company said it aimed to "opportunistically repurchase shares" stock that was down more than 30 per cent this year. Ray Douglas

#### **Europe**

An upgrade helped buoy Germany's Siltronic, the silicon-wafer manufacturer, which had its rating lifted from "hold" to "buy" by Jefferies.

The broker said "a lot of negative news" had already been priced into the shares, which had been down about 25 per cent year to date before this month's sector-wide rally spurred by Nyidia's results.

Analysts acknowledged that "demand weakness" persisted, although there were signs of a bottoming of the cycle, with wafer manufacturers expecting a recovery towards the end of this year and the beginning of 2024.

Italian football club Juventus rose sharply following reports that it had a plea bargain accepted by football authorities.

The club was reportedly paying a €718,000 fine and would not face any further points reductions, having been docked 10 points earlier this season over a separate case.

This settlement centred on alleged 'salary manoeuvres" from the 2019 to 2021 seasons. Juventus has denied

The team, currently seventh in Serie A could still play in a lucrative European tournament next season depending on the outcomes of Sunday's final matches of the season. Ray Douglas

#### London

Rallying to the top of the FTSE 250 index were the London-listed shares of RHI Magnesita, which confirmed it had received a bid for a 20 per cent stake in the refractory products supplier.

The proposal came from private equity firm Rhône Capital, which offered £28.50 per share, a 39 per cent premium to RHI's most recent closing price.

Jefferies, drawing on what it had seen with Rhône's holding at swimming pool group Fluidra, expected the investor to become "a supportive shareholder, with 'appropriate representation' on the board", later reducing its stake.

Oil and gas group **Hunting** joined RHI at the head of the mid-cap index after announcing it had won a contract, estimated to be worth up to \$91mn, with India's Cairn Oil and Gas, Vedanta.

This news coincided with Hunting upgrading its 2023 outlook, forecasting core profit in the \$92mn to \$94mn range from a \$88mn target stated in April.

Near the bottom of the FTSE 250 was footwear group **Dr Martens**, which was downgraded from "outperform" to "sector perform" by RBC Europe. The broker went on to point out that the classic boot brand's guidance "may prove too optimistic" given "nearer term challenges particularly for the US market".

Ray Douglas



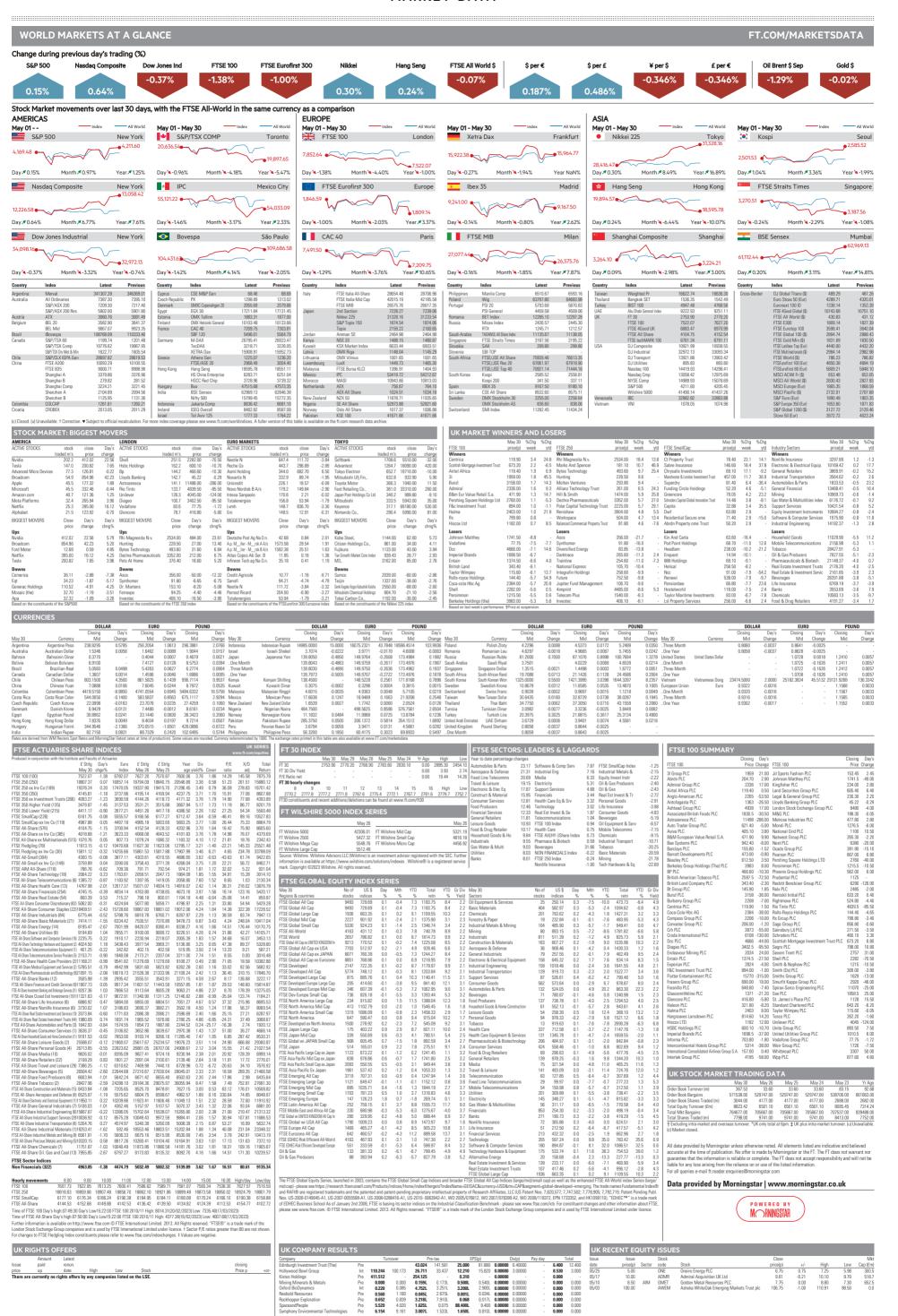


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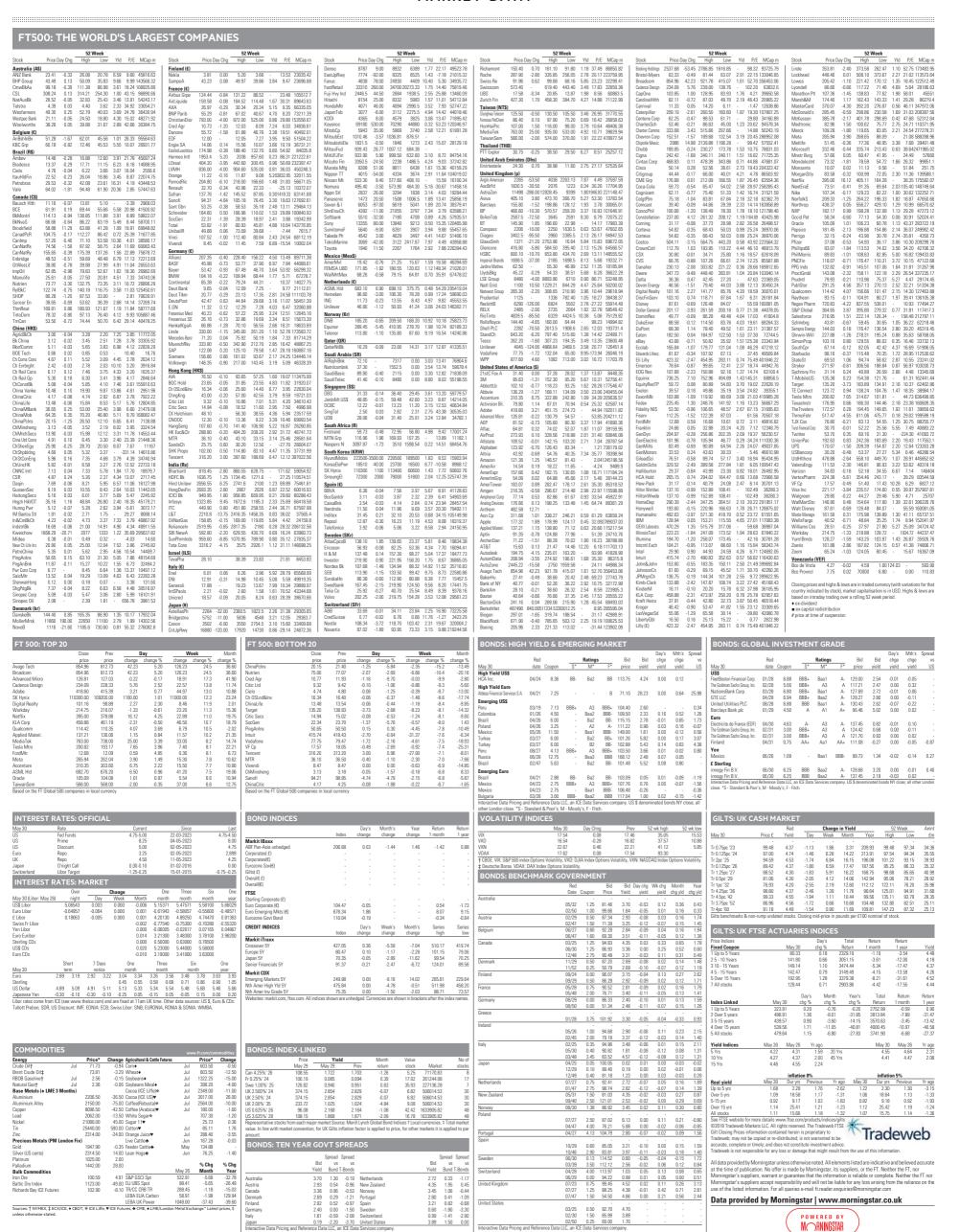
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#### MARKET DATA



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Clasis Crescent Global Short Term Income Fund USD A (Dist) \$ 0.93 Clasis Crescent Variable Fund GBP A (Dist) £ 9.61



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Euro High Income	€1.2087		0.0045	2.5
High Income	£ 0.6329		0.0024	3.7
Sterling Bond	£1.2148		0.0045	2.0
Brooks Macdonald Internation	al Multi Stra	tegy	Fund Li	mite
Balanced Strategy A	£ 0.9281	-	0.0018	0.5
Balanced Strategy	£ 0.9250	-	0.0018	0.0
Cautious Balanced Strategy A	£ 0.8953	-	0.0015	1.1
Growth Strategy A	£ 0.9390	-	0.0030	0.4
High Growth Strategy A	£ 0.9384	-	0.0043	0.1
Cautious Balanced Strategy	£1.2491	-	0.0021	0.0
Growth Strategy	£1.9603	-	0.0063	0.0
High Growth Strategy	£ 2.7453	-	0.0123	0.0
US\$ Growth Strategy	\$1.7266	-	0.0131	0.0

Emerging Mkts NAV	£	7.21	-	-0.16	
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			Orbis OEIC Global Balanced Standard	£	19.73		0
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The Antares European Fund Limited

Chartered Asset W	anagement ri	e Ltu		
Other International Fu	nds			
CAM-GTF VCC	\$ 287397.45	287397.45	1722.97	
CAM GTI VCC	\$ 780.49		-32.39	

CAM-GTF VCC	\$ 21	7397.45	287397.45	1722.97	
CAM GTI VCC	\$7	80.49	-	-32.39	
RAIC VCC	\$	1.64	1.64	0.03	2.06



Multi-Manager Investment Programmes PCC Limited								
UK Equity Fd Cl A Series 01	£ 3312.15	3338.48	59.65	0.00				
Diversified Absolute Rtn Fd USD CI AF2	\$ 1688.02		45.93					
Diversified Absolute Return Stlg Cell AF2	£ 1579.00		-1.96	0.00				
Global Equity Fund A Lead Series	£ 1752.47	1755.76	-19.13	0.00				

MMIP Investment Management Limited (GSY)

Platinum Capital Management Ltd Other International Funds							
Platinum All Star Fund - A		\$147.71		-	_		
Platinum Global Growth UCITS Fund	\$	8.20		0.04	0.00		
Platinum Essential Resources UCTS Fund SICAV USD Class E	\$	9.45		-0.14	0.00		
Platinum Global Dividend UCITS Fund	\$	45.29		-0.18	0.00		

**Polar Capital Funds Plc** 

PLATINUM



Rubrics Global UCITS Funds Plc

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Memnon European Fund - Class U2 GBP	£ 262.44	1.45	0.1

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rging Markets Equity Fund	\$1	20.25		2.10	0.00	Dodge & Cox Worldwide Fun	ds p	lc - Glo	bal E	Sond Fu
rging Markets Equity ESG Fund	\$1	39.77	-	2.35	0.00	EUR Accumulating Class	€	16.00		0.03
ging Markets Frontier Equity Fund	\$1	75.91	-	0.55	1.01	EUR Accumulating Class (H)	€	10.55		0.02
ging Markets Blended Debt Fund	\$	51.65	-	0.03	4.97	EUR Distributing Class	€	11.46		0.02
ging Markets Blended Debt ESG Fund	\$	85.85		0.02	0.00	EUR Distributing Class (H)	€	7.49		0.02
rging Markets Active Equity Fund	\$1	19.18	-	1.99	0.00	GBP Distributing Class	£	12.23		0.00
ging Markets Corporate Debt Fund	\$	58.07	-	0.03	7.62	GBP Distributing Class (H)	£	8.07		0.02
rging Markets Debt Fund	\$	55.99		-0.04	5.94	USD Accumulating Class	\$	12.39		0.03
ging Markets Local Currency Bond Fund	\$	62.69		0.11	4.29	Dodge & Cox Worldwide Fun	ds p	lc-Glob	al St	ock Fu
						USD Accumulating Share Class	\$	29.67		0.35
						GBP Accumulating Share Class	£	39.51		0.36
						GBP Distributing Share class	£	26.52		0.24
						EUR Accumulating Share Class	€	41.52		0.46
						GBP Distributing Class (H)	£	13.65		0.16
						Dodge & Cox Worldwide Fun	ds p	Ic-U.S.	Stoc	k Fund
						USD Accumulating Share Class	\$	37.56		0.33
						GBP Accumulating Share Class	£	47.31		0.29
antas Sicav ulated				1	(LUX)	GBP Distributing Share Class	£	28.28		0.17
ulated						CUD Assumulation Chass Class		AE AD		0.27

Dodge & Cox Worldwide Fun	ds p	lc - Gle	obal l	Bond F	und
EUR Accumulating Class	€	16.00		0.03	0.00
EUR Accumulating Class (H)	€	10.55		0.02	0.00
EUR Distributing Class	€	11.46		0.02	3.42
EUR Distributing Class (H)	€	7.49		0.02	3.39
GBP Distributing Class	£	12.23		0.00	4.18
GBP Distributing Class (H)	£	8.07		0.02	3.47
USD Accumulating Class	\$	12.39		0.03	0.00
Dodge & Cox Worldwide Fun	ds p	lc-Glol	bal S	tock Fu	ınd
USD Accumulating Share Class	\$	29.67		0.35	0.00
GBP Accumulating Share Class	£	39.51		0.36	0.00
GBP Distributing Share class	£	26.52		0.24	0.80
EUR Accumulating Share Class	€	41.52		0.46	0.00
GBP Distributing Class (H)	£	13.65		0.16	0.76
Dodge & Cox Worldwide Fund	ds p	Ic-U.S.	Stoc	k Fund	
USD Accumulating Share Class	\$	37.56		0.33	0.00
GBP Accumulating Share Class	£	47.31		0.29	0.00
GBP Distributing Share Class	£	28.28		0.17	0.17
EUR Accumulating Share Class	€	45.40		0.37	0.00
GBP Distributing Class (H)	£	14.80		0.13	0.38

umerican EUR Unhedged Class         € 157.50         -         1.86         0.00           umerican Fund USD Class         \$ 168.65         -         1.63         -	
merican Fund USD Class \$168.65 - 1.63 -	
merican Fund GBP Hedged £ 82.38 - 0.79 0.00	
merican Fund GBP Unhedged £ 136.74 - 1.35 0.00	
MILLTRU	ST

Website: www.foord.com - Email: info@foord.com								
FCA Recognised - Luxembourg	j U	CITS						
Foord International Fund   R	S	48.84		0.05	0.00			
Foord Global Equity Fund (Lux)   R	\$	16.37		0.14	0.00			
Regulated								
Foord Global Equity Fund (Sing)   B	\$	19.56	-	0.00	0.00			
Foord International Trust (Gsy)	\$	47.61		0.05	0.00			

Milltrust International Man- mimi@milltrust.com, +44(0)20			
Regulated			
British Innovation Fund	£121.92	2.89	0.00
MAI - Buy & Lease (Australia)	A\$ 103.45	0.50	0.00

mimi@milltrust.com, +44(0)20 8	1123	8316 WV	W.III	illitrust.c	om
Regulated					
British Innovation Fund	£	121.92		2.89	0.00
MAI - Buy & Lease (Australia)	A\$	103.45		0.50	0.00
MAI - Buy & Lease (New Zealani	d)NZ\$	91.20	-	-6.06	0.00
Milltrust Global Emerging Markets Fund - Class	A S	95.03		-0.06	0.00

Emerging Market Stars I USD Acc	\$	11.26		0.15	0.00	
European Ex UK Inc EUR Acc	€	15.39	15.39	0.12	0.00	
Financial Opps I USD	\$	13.71		0.06	2.12	
Global Convertible I USD	\$	13.46	13.46	0.01	0.00	
Global Insurance I GBP	£	9.89	-	-0.02	0.00	
Global Technology I USD	\$	77.46		2.34	0.00	
Healthcare Blue Chip Fund I USD Acc	\$	18.83	18.83	0.03	0.00	
Healthcare Dis I Acc USD \$	\$	12.77	-	-0.01	0.00	
Healthcare Opps I USD	\$	68.01		-0.03	0.00	
Income Opportunities B2 I GBP Acc	£	2.96	2.96	0.00	0.00	
Japan Value I JPY	¥	161.97	161.97	-0.03		
North American I USD	\$	33.25	33.25	0.35		
Smart Energy I USD Acc \$	\$	9.85	9.85	0.29	0.00	
Smart Mobility I USD Acc \$	\$	9.00	9.00	0.14	0.00	
UK Val Opp I GBP Acc	£	12.60	12.60	0.09	0.00	

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5	0.29	0.00	
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enquiries@stonehagefleming.com	1	
Regulated		
SF Global Best Ideas Eq B USD ACC	\$244.33	-0.29
SF Global Best Ideas Eq D GBP INC	0.000.00	-0.89

LAPIS GBL F OWD 50 DIV.YLD-Na-D	£ 104.19	0.56
LAPIS GBL MED DEV 25.YLD-Na-D	£ 95.62	0.19
LAPIS GBL TOP 50 DIV.YLD-Na-D	£117.93	0.28

Milltrust Alaska Brazil Fund SP A	\$ 89.82		1.74	0.00
Milltrust Laurium Africa Fund SP A	\$ 91.54		0.23	0.00
Milltrust Marcellus India Fund SP	\$124.57	-	0.06	0.00
Milltrust Singular ASEAN Fund SP Founders	\$127.10		0.88	0.00
Milltrust SPARX Korea Equity Fund SP A	\$116.30	-	1.43	0.00
Milltrust Xingtai China Fund SP A	\$ 91.59	-	-0.35	0.00
The Climate Impact Asia Fund SP A	\$ 77.01	-	-1.12	0.00
The Climate Impact Asia Fund (Class B)	\$ 76.22		-1.11	0.00

rnsey) Lt	d	(	GS
£ 550.47	555.70	-0.82	0.0
		£ 550.47 555.70	£ 550.47 555.70 -0.82

Prusik Investment Management LLP Enquiries - 0207 493 1331				(IRI	
Regulated					
Prusik Asian Equity Income B Dist	\$178.20	-	-1.92	4.8	
Prusik Asia Emerging Opportunities Fund A Acc	\$177.57	-	-0.01	0.0	
Develly Asia Frond III Diet	£ 202 77		1 77	0.0	

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The fund prices quoted on these pages are supplied by the operator of the relevant fund. Details of funds published on these pages, including prices, are for the purpose of information only and should only be used as a guide. The Financial Times Limited makes no representation as to their accuracy or completeness and they should not be relied upon when making an investment decision.

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Guide to pricing of Authorised Investment Funds: (compiled with the assistance of the IMA. The Investment Association, Camonile Court 23 Camomile Street, London EC3A 7LL. Tel: +44 (0)20 7831 0898.)

of the underlying investments. The buying and selling price for shares of an OEIC and units of a single priced unit trust are the same.

Treatment of manager's periodic capital charge: The letter C denotes that the trust deducts all or part of the manager's/operator's periodic charge from capital, contact the manager/operator for full details of the effect of this course of action.

**Exit Charges:** The letter E denotes that an exit charge may be made when you sell units, contact the manager/operator for full details.

Time: Some funds give information about the timing of price quotes. The time shown alongside the fund manager s/operator's name is the valuation point for their unit trusts/OEICs, unless another time is indicated by the symbol alongside the individual unit trust/OEIC name.

The symbols are as follows: \$\frac{\psi}{0}\$ (101 to 1100 hours; \$\frac{\psi}{1}\$ 110 to 1400 hours; \$\frac{\psi}{1}\$ 4101 to 1700 hours; \$\frac{\psi}{1}\$ 4101 to midnight. Daily dealing prices are set on the basis of the valuation point, a short period of time may elapse before prices become available. Historic pricing: The letter H denotes that the managers/operators will normally deal on the price set at the most recent valuation. The prices shown are the latest available before publication and may not be the current dealing levels because of an intervening portfolio revaluation or a switch to a forward pricing basis. The managers/operators must deal at a forward price on request, and may move to forward pricing at any time. Forward pricing: The letter F denotes that that managers/operators deal at the price to be set at managers, beginning and definite prices in the support of the prices of the price to be set at the managers operators, who exists no additional transfer in the price to the set at the managers operators, the letter of the prices to the set at the managers operators, who exists no additional transfer in the price to the set at the managers operators, which is the price to be set at the managers operators, which is the price to the set at the managers operators.

Investors can be given no definite price in advance of the purchase or sale being carried out. The prices appearing in the newspaper are the most recent provided by the managers/ operators. Scheme particulars, prospectus, key features and reports. The most recent particulars and documents may be obtained free of charge from fund managers/operators.\* Indicates funds which do not price on Fridays.

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Regulated				
Milltrust Alaska Brazil Fund SP A	\$ 89.82	-	1.74	Ī
Milltrust Laurium Africa Fund SP A	\$ 91.54		0.23	1
Milltrust Marcellus India Fund SP	\$124.57		0.06	1
Milltrust Singular ASEAN Fund SP Founders	\$127.10		0.88	1
Milltrust SPARX Korea Equity Fund SP A	\$116.30		1.43	1
Milltrust Xingtai China Fund SP A	\$ 91.59		-0.35	1
The Climate Impact Asia Fund SP A	\$ 77.01		-1.12	1
The Climate Impact Asia Fund (Class B)	\$ 76.22	-	-1.11	1



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FINANCIAL TIMES Wednesday 31 May 2023

#### **ARTS**

# 'They told me I had to stop painting'

Having survived the medium's 'death', Jacqueline Humphries is making work which asks fresh questions. By Julia Halperin

ike many observers who watched footage of climate protesters throwing tomato soup across the glass-covered surface of Vincent van Gogh's "Sunflowers" at London's National Gallery last autumn, painter Jacqueline Humphries was horrified - at first. Then her horror turned to fascination. Before long, she began to feel a certain  $kinship\,with\,the\,young\,agitators.$ 

Humphries has dedicated her nearly 40-year career to the question of how painting can remain captivating in an age of technological distraction. She couldn't help but admire the way the bright orange paint looked as it dripped over Charles Ray's stainless steel "Horse and Rider" (2014) after activists attacked the sculpture in Paris last November. Their marks, she thought, resembled the ones she makes. And people could not look away from them.

"I don't want art to be destroyed, but I want art to be engaged with in profound ways," Humphries says at her airy studio in the industrial neighbourhood of Red Hook, Brooklyn. For a painter so interested in spatters and mess, she looks remarkably tidy in crisp black Prada pants and a matching top. "They are saying art is powerful, and that is a net plus in a world where images are everywhere."

The protesters' shock tactics are the inspiration for a new body of work in Humphries' two-venue solo exhibition at Modern Art on Helmet Row and Bury Street in London (June 3-July 22), which coincides with London Gallery Weekend (June 2-4). It is the latest in a trio of exhibitions of Humphries' work this year, first at Greene Naftali in New York and then at Palazzo Degas in Naples. Greene Naftali and Modern Art are also due to present her work at the Art Basel fair in Switzerland (June 15-18).

Humphries calls these paintings "prevandalised": compositions in hues such as rose, mustard and sage with ghostly black paint oozing down the front. It looks as if an oily black substance was hurled at the canvas and then wiped off, leaving behind a stain. In some pictures, a baby's tiny hand hovers outstretched at the edge - a nod to the protesters of

#### 'I don't want art to be destroyed, but I want art to be engaged with in profound ways'

the future, as well as the current demonstrators' penchant for gluing themselves to works of art. "The more I work with it, the more compassion I have," Humphries says. "It made me think about my own destructive impulses.

While Humphries does not reveal the source of those impulses ("You'd have to ask my therapist"), they have been brewing for some time. She shows me a snapshot of her in front of an imposing bank building on a visit to Zurich 20 years ago. It had been vandalised with bold splashes of red paint. In the photo, she is leaning against the wall with a slight smirk on her face, clearly delighted that the sparkling city had



Above: Jacqueline Humphries, photographed for the FT by Erinn Springer. Above right: Humphries' 'IH6491' (2022)

been given an unwelcome jolt of colour. Humphries grew up in New Orleans,

raised by an artist mother and a father who worked at an investment firm by day and played jazz by night. She never felt she fitted in. But when her mother took her to a museum in Houston, and later when she spent time in Paris as an exchange student, she found a community that she felt connected to: painters such as Manet, Chardin and Cézanne. "By then, I was obsessed," she recalls.

There was just one problem. She attended art school at a time when painting couldn't have been less in fashion. In fact, the prevailing conclusion was that painting was dead. In mid-1980s New York, the most respected artists were Cindy Sherman, Richard Prince and others who employed the visual language of advertising to create photographs, videos and collages that evealed the manufactured nature of images. Abstract painting was dismissed as too tactile, retro and earnest.

After Humphries enrolled in the notoriously theory-focused Whitney Independent Study Program in 1985, a group of students staged an intervention. "A bunch of the fellows got together one day and marched into my studio as a group and told me I had to stop painting," she says. Her reaction must have surprised them. "I thought, Wow, this is great, I'm doing something right! They took the time to pay atten-tion." The pushback she received inspired a new series of paintings that got progressively smaller and smaller – a literal interpretation of the pressure she felt as a painter to disappear.

Since then, Humphries has made it her mission to keep painting vital in our attention-addled digital age. She has used reflective silver paint and fluorescent paint visible only under black light to recreate the glow we experience when we look at an iPhone or computer screen. She has peppered her canvases with the debris of our digital lives, including emoticons, emojis and captchas, those distorted phrases we type to prove to a website that we are not robots. More recently, she began painting tiny dots across her surfaces while they were still wet. The veil effect invites the viewer's eyes to glaze over the work as one might while scrolling TikTok

is a massive sheet of paper labelled "Blood Spatters", with an elaborate menu of daubs and drips taken from forensics websites. Next to it hangs a similar menu for emojis. Humphries uses these menus like a painter's palette, selecting her image of choice and sometimes manipulating it further on the computer. The result is fed into one of the studio's commercial laser cutters to create a stencil that she uses to apply the paint to the canvas. Humphries felt strangely encouraged that the climate protesters chose art as the vehicle to raise an alarm about the danger facing humanity. She remains dubious, however, about painting's ability to save the world. "It's not defensible what they're doing, but neither is art in

designed to keep us addicted to looking at the screen," Humphries says. "But I

want the same damn thing: I want some

one to be frozen looking at my thing."
Humphries' studio looks like a

mash-up of a mad scientist's lair, a

Swedish design studio and a forensics lab. As we enter, we pass a 3D printer

whose nozzle is whirring back and forth,

hard at work. Taped to the wall nearby

radical: to prompt people to look at the world around them more carefully. In a final bid to frustrate the contemporary viewer, Humphries creates works that firmly resist being photographed. Through the phone screen, the layers and textures flatten and the tension between the handmade pours and stencilled marks disappears. The surfaces look surprisingly dull. The artist hopes it will be enough to prompt view

the first place," she says. Her work has a more modest aim that is, in fact, quite

modernart.net; londongalleryweekend.art

back out at the world.

ers to look away from their devices and



'JH123091HJ' (2023) by Jacqueline Humphries



# Musicians give black lives a voice

JAZZ

**Black Lives: From Generation to** Generation

Ronnie Scott's, London

Mike Hobart

The Black Lives: From Generation to Generation project, initiated by Brussels-based producer Stefany Calembert, was an immediate musical response to the social tensions that surfaced following the murder of George Floyd in May 2020. Recording started under pandemic conditions - remotely at first, then in studios when restrictions relaxed – and a double CD of the same name, themed broadly on giving black lives a voice, was released early last year. The 20-track album, recorded across three continents, featured more than 60 musicians in various combinations.

This first-house gig at Ronnie Scott's captured the recording's common cause and grand design with a series of musical vignettes that drew on a 14-strong cast including three drummers, two drum kits, brass, vocals and spoken word. As on the album, compositions flowed logically from lyrical jazz to African lilt and hardcore rap.
The evening started with the sampled

sound of a protest march, the scratchy bite of DJ Grazzhoppa's turntables and American guitarist David Gilmore channelling the Delta blues. With the scene set, light-touch funk set up the spoken word of "We Are Here", delivered imperiously by Sharrif Simmons as a mix of poetics and rap. The layered lines and programmed drums of the recording

were expanded by a live rhythm section, Simmons rapping in French and with solos for tenor sax. "Friendship" came next, with a gorgeous grand piano introduction from Federico González Peña, female backing vocals and Peña's synth bringing the piece to a high.

When the band stretche core aesthetic criss-crossed between edgy M-Base funk and Afro-inflected jazz. Bassist Reggie Washington, a constant stage presence, expertly managed the power of three drummers and slotted in rhythmic complexities with urgency and a deep tone. Saxophonist Jacques Schwarz-Bart engaged with his syncopated fluency, warm sound and biting attack, and was equally at ease on the grooves that supported him. The complex "Sa Nou Yé" moved smoothly from French urban hip-hop to township groove, and segued into "Sanga Bô", a feature for percussionist

Sonny Troupé to rouse the crowd. As the set progressed, trumpeter Jeremy Pelt joined the band for the minorkey moods and sparse hip-hop beats of "Anthem for a Better Tomorrow", fol-

lowed by vocalist/guitarist Adam Falcon with his stirring and soulful "Colored Man Singin' the Blues!". Drumme Marque Gilmore and Gene Lake played as one, soloists swapped lines and the evening came to a high. Pelt returned to add a lovely muted

solo on "From the Outside In", a poetic ballad movingly brought to life by South African vocalist Tutu Puoane. Guitarist Jean-Paul Bourelly delivered the intriguing Afrocentric hip-hop of "Masters of Mud (Shape Shifting)". There was no time for the expected all-handson-deck finale, making a low-key end to an upbeat night.

ronniescotts.co.uk



From left: Jeremy Pelt, Christie Dashiell and Tutu Puoane -



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Wednesday 31 May 2023 ★ FINANCIAL TIMES 17

#### FT BIG READ. FINANCIAL SERVICES

State-backed investors have poured money into buyout groups, enabling Beijing to deploy hundreds of billions of dollars into western companies and economies even as the political mood has shifted.

By Will Louch, Yuan Yang and Kaye Wiggins

An IVC Evidensia veterinary practice in Sweden may not appear to have much in common with a Vena Energy solar project in Taiwan, or the GardaWorld security personnel at a Canadian icehockey game.

But some of the capital that helps sustain all three companies comes from the same place: the People's Republic of China. Private equity firms EQT, Global Infrastructure Partners and BC Partners — the immediate owners, respectively, of the three businesses — are just three among dozens of western buyout groups that Chinese state-backed investors have poured money into, according to people familiar with their affairs and an analysis of regulatory filings.

These relationships between private equity groups and entities such as China Investment Corporation and the State Administration of Foreign Assets have enabled China to deploy hundreds of billions of dollars into western economies, taking indirect stakes in companies across sectors such as healthcare, technology and engineering, even as politicians move to reduce the west's economic dependency on China.

CIC and Safe are among the world's largest investors in "alternatives" — a category of illiquid investments dominated by private equity. The two have about a quarter of their respective \$1.35tn and \$1tn in assets invested in alternatives, according to data provider and consultancy firm Global SWF.

Additionally, the Hong Kong Monetary Authority, the territory's de facto central bank, has about \$62bn invested in private equity and real estate. It also owns a stake in CVC Capital Partners, one of Europe's biggest buyout firms and has invested in its funds, say two people with knowledge of the matter. These indirect investments in private

These indirect investments in private equity funds have been increasing as a result of western governments and regulators taking steps to stop Chinese state funds from investing directly in companies and infrastructure.

They have also been helped by the growth of the private equity industry, which over the past three decades has grown from a niche corner of the financial services sector to a near \$13tn asset class. Its rapid growth has turned it into an important conduit for global capital flows, with firms such as Blackstone, KKR and Carlyle Group managing and investing money on behalf of sovereign wealth funds, endowments, super-rich individuals and state pension plans.

Private equity executives insist there is no risk to national security in having money from Chinese state entities in their funds because the way they are structured typically does not give such investors board seats or voting rights. Indeed, some see it as a risk-free way to attract Chinese capital without giving up any actual corporate influence.

However, the close relationship between private equity and the Chinese state has become increasingly at odds with the shifting political mood in western capitals, where governments have become much more vigilant about the potential for Chinese influence over strategic industries.

In the case of private equity, this is aggravated by a wider lack of transparency. "It's essentially a black box, in

'It is deeply concerning that Chinese state investors effectively own such large swaths of our economy and infrastructure'

terms of the origins of the money," says Lily McElwee, a China expert at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington.

The investments by Chinese state funds are attracting political scrutiny because they have created ties between China and western economies that could be near-impossible to unpick.

"It is deeply concerning that Chinese state investors effectively own such large swaths of our economy and infrastructure, through their investments in private equity funds and other investment vehicles," says Alicia Kearns, a Conservative MP who chairs the influential foreign affairs select committee in the UK. "The private nature of these funds means it is impossible to know the true extent of this phenomenon."

But Peter Lu, global head of law firm McDermott Will & Emery's China practice, who has represented Chinese stateowned funds on their foreign deals, says regulators are increasingly starting to pay attention to the money behind private equity funds more generally.

"Increasingly for big deals, PE funds have to tell US and UK regulators who is behind them through national security fillings," he says. "You've got investors not just from China but also from Saudi, Qatar, all of the world, in these deals. It's very hard for a big sovereign wealth



# The China funds quietly investing in private equity

state-backed investors have favoured the interests ranging from energy to veterinary businesses. Industry heavyweights Blackstone's Stephen Schwarzman. below, are still open to Chinese sovereign funds despite the changing political climate



fund to hide." CIC declined to comment. Safe acknowledged a request for comment but did not respond.

#### 'A paradigm shift'

The relationship began in earnest just before the financial crisis. On May 20 2007, the Chinese government announced what was then its most eyecatching overseas deal: the acquisition of a \$3bn stake in US private equity giant Blackstone, whose billionaire founder Stephen Schwarzman hailed the deal as a "paradigm shift in global capital flows". It created ties between CIC and Blackstone that persist today, though CIC has since sold its stake.

Less than six months later, the Chi-

nese government formalised its ambitions to invest overseas when it set up CIC, seeded with \$200bn. The fallout from the global financial crisis helped the Chinese sovereign wealth funds build closer ties with private equity firms, many of which were struggling to raise money from traditional sources.

The Chinese were not alone. The crisis catalysed sovereign wealth funds' interest in private capital as they repositioned their portfolios away from low-return government bonds into higher risk, higher yielding alternative assets like private equity and infrastructure.

Investment firms and consultants clamoured to help build closer relationships between private equity barons and cash-rich sovereign wealth funds, often based in Asia or the Middle East.

Hamilton Lane, an influential US adviser to investors like public pension plans and sovereign wealth funds, won lucrative mandates to help build out at least one Chinese sovereign fund's private equity portfolio, while US fund picker GCM Grosvenor set up a secondment programme with CIC, according to a person familiar with the matter. Both companies declined to comment.

"Every single fund of funds and gate-

keeper has worked for CIC at one point," says one industry executive.

These relationships helped the Chinese state funds to quickly expand their operations. According to people familiar with the matters, and an analysis of regulatory fillings, the list of firms that have received investments is a who's who of the industry: Carlyle Group, Permira, BC Partners, EQT, Brookfield, Nordic Capital, CVC Capital Partners, Blackstone, Ardian, Hg Capital, Bridgepoint, Eurazeo, Triton and Global Infrastructure Partners are among them.

China's sovereign wealth funds have also invested directly into companies alongside private-equity managers in infrastructure assets. In one, Singaporean renewable energy provider Equis Energy, CIC took a direct stake alongside GIP, in which it is also an investor.

Macquarie and Blackstone have also co-invested with CIC in this way, according to one former CIC employee.

During the 2010s, western governments, particularly in the UK, welcomed Chinese investment with open arms. China's sovereign wealth funds bought stakes directly in UK trophy assets like Heathrow airport, Wentworth Golf Club and utilities Thames Water and National Grid. In 2015, then prime minister David Cameron called for the UK to become "the partner of choice" for China in a speech marking the visit of Chinese president Xi Jinping.

In the US, Chinese net direct investment hit a record of nearly \$50bn in 2016, data from think-tank Rhodium Group shows.

#### Political backlash

Donald Trump's election as US president in 2016 started to bring China's outbound direct investment ambitions to a halt. New legislation passed in 2018 expanded the powers of the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States, a government agency that moni-

tors direct investments with national security implications. The greater scrutiny led to a slowdown in Chinese investment in the US, with the value of deals falling below \$10bn in 2019 and 2020.

"We've not seen many [direct] investments from Chinese sovereigns in the past few years," says Diego Lopez, managing director at sovereign wealth fun specialist Global SWF. "They have had problems with Cfius and deploying direct capital into the US is not easy."

However, the clampdown did not prevent China's state-backed funds deploying significant amounts of cash indirectly, through private funds.

"We stepped up our investments in private markets... continued to expand our network of high-quality managers, and deepened our co-operation with external investment partners," CIC's chair and chief executive Peng Chun wrote in the corporation's annual report last year. This took CIC's private market commitments to a record high, accounting for almost half of its overseas investment portfolio.

CIC has also struck a series of partnerships with managers that gave it a foothold in an array of smaller and midsized companies across Europe and North America, which it helps expand into China. This involved setting up separate funds with investment firms Triton, Charterhouse, Eurazeo, Goldman Sachs and Investindustrial, among others.

These funds in turn invested in assets ranging from California-based industrial company Boyd Corp, Dutch medical business Dutch Ophthalmic Research Center and the UK's Phastar, a data science company focused on clinical trials, according to people familiar with the matter and media reports.

#### Russia prompts rethink

One reason Chinese investments in private equity have attracted so little attention is that the risks are much less

clear-cut than with direct acquisitions.

According to executives in the industry, the private equity funds that China and other states have invested in are usually structured in such a way that the investors, known as limited partners, do not exercise day-to-day control over the firms their money is used to acquire. "It's all passive investment and it's a good way to get foreign capital in," says one industry lobbyist.

But even though private equity executives insist there is no problem with taking money from Chinese state funds, they privately acknowledge that the political climate has changed. In addition to the rising tension between Washington and Beijing, they increasingly fear the US will start to view investments from HKMA as essentially Chinese capital, given the way China has asserted its authority over the city.

One sign of the sensitivity is that industry executives are often unwilling to speak publicly about the investments they have received from China.

Russia's invasion of Ukraine last year

Russia's invasion of Ukraine last year also prompted a reassessment of the industry's relationship with China. "It definitely was a wake-up call," says HK Park, managing director of Crumpton Global and a former Pentagon official. "Many corporations and investors were

#### 'The percentage of Chinese money in our funds is something we have to be very aware of'

surprised by how quickly sanctions [against Russia] snapped into place and are now seeking geopolitical expertise for the next crises."

As buyout groups and their managers scrambled to assess their exposure to Russia in the early days of the war, including how much of the money in their funds came from the country, several executives said privately that the exercise would be far more difficult if, for instance, sanctions were imposed on China in the event of an increase in aggression towards Taiwan.

"The percentage of Chinese money in our funds is something we have to be very aware of," says one senior executive at a private equity group that backs tech firms. "It's important to diversify as you will be managing the money for a decade or so and the geopolitical situation can change a lot in that time."

The lack of transparency about money from sovereign wealth funds, which are usually responsible for their own disclosures, adds to the difficulties.

"The level of disclosure among SWFs is self-administered so we see quite some disparity between funds," says Imogen Liu, assistant professor of International Political Economy at Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. "Private equity funds are black boxed. We don't really know how they manage client money and this has geopolitical implications."

McElwee, who has done extensive research on Chinese tech investments in the US, says the large sums being channelled through private equity funds could make it much harder for the US government to consider using sanctions as a policy tool.

"The more China is integrated financially and economically, this will act as a deterrent to introducing sanctions or mean it's very difficult to implement

While firms are viewing Chinese state money with growing caution, it has not yet prevented them accepting the cash. Last year, Chinese sovereign funds made commitments to firms including software investor Hg, Nordic Capital and Cinven, say people familiar with the matters. Regulatory filings corroborate the claims. Leading figures in the industry, including Blackstone's Schwarzman, and senior executives from France's Eurazeo, Italy's Investindustrial and the UK's Charterhouse, have also been spending time in China and meeting with leading figures at its sovereign funds, including CIC.

More European governments are now following the US in tightening their oversight of Chinese direct investments, in some cases creating powers to reassess approval for past deals. Rishi Sunak, the UK prime minister, last year described China as a "systemic challenge" and pledged to reduce the UK's dependency on Chinese money.

But regulatory scrutiny has not yet extended to private funds. "The government has the power to legislate similar restrictions upon the ultimate ownership of UK assets by foreign powers and hostile states," Kearns says.

"And [it] should look very closely at how best to ensure transparency in the private fund space more broadly, and ensure the protection of our critical national infrastructure in particular."

#### The FT View



#### FINANCIAL TIMES

 $\hbox{`Without fear and without favour'}$ 

ft.com/opinion

#### Fixing Britain's broken housing market

#### To raise home ownership, the planning and tax systems must be unblocked

Britain's housing market is broken. England has among the lowest numbers of homes per 1,000 people in western Europe, and dwellings are among the smallest and most expensive. With home ownership falling, the Labour party is drawing up plans that would force landowners to sell plots to councils at lower prices to stimulate housebuilding via so-called compulsory purchase orders. It is part of a broader attempt by the opposition party to be seen as the "party of home ownership" ahead of next year's election.

The plans would set an undesirable precedent for expropriation, and CPOs are unlikely to significantly reduce the UK's deficit of more than 4mn homes. That is because the country's sclerotic planning system and vested local

interests will continue to hinder housebuilding. Unless these underlying issues are addressed, a reasonably priced home will continue to be a pipe dream for many.

The Conservative government has already diluted housebuilding targets and planning reforms following opposition from MPs. Prime Minister Rishi Sunak may instead reboot measures to support first-time buyers. Alongside CPOs, Labour has proposed "first dibs" on new houses for first-time buyers and a ban on "entire developments" being sold to overseas investors. Both parties, however, risk stoking demand more than supply by not doing enough to address blockages in the housing market.

Britain's planning systems create uncertainty, with authorities able to veto projects on a case-by-case basis. Indeed, not knowing what can be built and where is one reason why establishing a fair price for forced land purchases will be difficult. A less discretionary sys-

tem that allocates zones for development would be better.

Boosting the supply of land is important too. In England, the greenbelt — protected land — covers more area than developed land and infrastructure combined.

Dealing with inefficiencies in the existing housing stock is also important, alongside unlocking more land. Stamp duty — a property purchase tax — gums up the market by raising the cost of buying a home and discouraging owners of larger properties to trade down. England also levies a council tax on properties based on decades-old valuations. This has led to higher burdens falling on the young and less well off. Both taxes in England could be replaced by a simple 0.5 per cent tax on current property valuations in a way that is revenue neutral, according to Fairer Share, a charity. It could also apply to undeveloped plots with planning permission to encourage building.

The problem is that these measures

Summit offers unique chance to reverse injustices in Africa

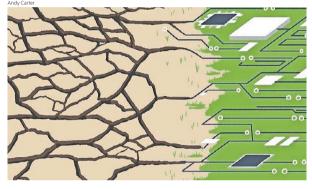
run counter to the interests of homeowners — the bulk of voters. New developments irk so-called Nimbys who see them as an eyesore and a threat to property values — that is why compulsory purchases do not guarantee more building. And reforming taxes on property risks alienating older and wealthier voters. Successive governments have instead pushed cosmetic measures. Labour's recent noises around building more on the greenbelt and taking on Nimbys are welcome. Following through is the challenge.

Britain's chronic housing shortage has contributed to its low-growth malaise. It reduces workers' mobility, and high housing costs damp demand. The next government will need to abandon ineffective attempts to appease both prospective and existing homeowners simultaneously. If Britain cannot rapidly start to build more homes and raise home ownership, its long-run economic growth prospects will remain lacklustre. In that case, nobody wins.

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**Opinion** Technology

# Don't let AI fall into the climate trap





t is a phenomenon unleashed by humans that could reshape life as we know it. Troubling warnings from experts have galvanised public concern about it. Board-

rooms are scrambling to understand it. Young people fear it will blight their futures. Governments are drawing up rules to tame it.

Yes, this is advanced artificial intelligence. But it also describes another, more familiar threat: climate change.

This year, as galloping gains in AI technology prompt calls for globally co-ordinated regulation, some experts think we should borrow from the international playbook for tackling climate change. And they are right to do so, up to a point. Both problems are inherently global, so a patchwork of national controls won't work.

But future generations will not thank us for a repeat of the pitfalls that

#### Requiring consensus from nearly 200 countries is a recipe for hopelessly slow progress

have dogged attempts to control climate change for the past three decades — especially considering the vast benefits AI promises.

Used well, artificial intelligence could transform our management of cancer, poverty and even climate change itself. Global warming, on the other hand, has few upsides. A warmer world might make farms more fruitful and extreme cold less risky in some places. But authoritative scientific reports from the UN's Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change clearly state that for human health alone, there are very few examples of beneficial outcomes from climate change at any scale.

Few question the conclusions of these reports, but imagine how hard it would be to co-ordinate efforts to cut carbon emissions if there were no such scientific consensus. Artificial intelligence experts don't need to imagine. They are deeply divided, politically and technologically, over how much harm might come to whom by when, and how much already exists.

So there is understandable interest in seeing if the IPCC model might work for AI. "This is really an active question among policymakers right now," Professor Robert Trager, of the Centre for the Governance of AI, tells me.

This makes sense, though considering

the breakneck speed of AI advances, an Intergovernmental Panel on Artificial Intelligence would need to be far nimbler than its climate predecessor, which has typically taken six years or so to issue its mammeth reports.

so to issue its mammoth reports.

Moreover, the IPCC is part of a wider global climate framework that offers a lot of lessons in what *not* to do for artificial intelligence.

The panel was set up in 1988, a year of climate turning points that mirror many of those we are seeing for AI in 2023. In both years, respected experts have issued jolting warnings. In 1988, Nasa scientist James Hansen testified to the US Senate that "the greenhouse effect has been detected and is changing our climate now". This was not the first official alarm bell sounded about global warming but it made front-page headlines and bolstered early efforts to address carbon emissions.

Something similar has happened in 2023 as Elon Musk, Apple co-founder Steve Wozniak and more recently, AI "godfather" Geoffrey Hinton have warned of the risks to humanity the

technology poses.

This month alone, the G7 has called for new standards to keep AI "trustworthy", while the White House, US Senate and 10 Downing Street have met AI chiefs to discuss their contentious technology. Meanwhile, the EU is finalising an AI Act aimed at making systems safer and more transparent.

Still, there is growing agreement that international collaboration on AI is needed. Some like the model of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Others prefer the less intrusive example of the International Civil Aviation Organization. It's an agency of the UN, which is also home to the climate secretariat that emerged after world leaders backed an international treaty to combat climate change in 1992.

Annual meetings of the "conference of the parties" to the treaty, or COPs, led to more detailed climate targets being established in the 1997 Kyoto protocol and 2015 Paris agreement. Yet today, emissions remain at record levels. The reasons for this are complex and manifold but it has not helped that climate COPs have given new meaning to the word "glacial".

That is partly because COP decisions in effect require consensus from nearly 200 countries — a recipe for hopelessly slow progress and more. In 2018, Trump administration officials helped to block a COP meeting from embracing the conclusions of an IPCC report commissioned at an earlier gathering.

Climate COPs serve a range of useful purposes. We would be far worse off without them. But they also show what must be avoided as we seek ways to ensure that AI works for us, not the other way around.

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#### Letters

# to the FT Editorial Complaints Commissioner: complaints.commissioner@ft.com

The next

government

will need to

abandon

ineffective

attempts to

prospective

and existing

simultaneously

property

appease both

Hanan Morsy is right that next month's Summit for a New Global Financial Pact is a huge opportunity to reverse the unjust situation facing Africa (Opinion, May 23).

Originally, we had high hopes that the summit would live up to its stated aim of forging a new contract between the north and the south — one that would give vulnerable countries access to the financing they so urgently need.

to the financing they so urgently need. But what was intended as a platform to unite governments from the global south and north is now falling far short.

Few, if any, countries from the global south are present in the deliberations,

with civil society organisations having been largely excluded as well. How is it possible to have meaningful conversations about the necessary shift in capital flows without proper representation from the south in the room?

Unfortunately, failure to address the dire needs of the most vulnerable is a familiar pattern. This is why the Paris summit really matters.

It is a unique opportunity to generate political momentum to upgrade the woefully inadequate responses to stabilising fragile economies. But to do so, it must send an unequivocal

message that the north is serious about debt relief and bridging the financing gap, currently estimated at \$27.4tn between now and 2030 for basic human needs. Earth4All modelling has shown that redressing inequality is critical to avert global economic disorder and the breakdown of peace and security.

The best way to tackle inequality is to ensure that money flows in the right direction, to those who need it most and for those sectors that are essential for human wellbeing within planetary boundaries. This is the only way to build resilience to future shocks and

stresses and avert the danger of economic disorder, which we fear will lead to new global emergencies on a scale that we have not seen before.

The summit has less than one month to turn potential failure around and instead send a powerful message that genuine economic and financial stability has to be anchored in equity and prosperity for the many, not the few.

Sandrine Dixson-Declève

Co-President

The Club of Rome and co-author of Earth4All Brussels, Belgium

#### Pretoria's neutrality over war will hurt economically

An economic noose tightens on South Africa as the governing party treads the political tightrope of their foreign policy.

The serious doubt cast on South Africa's stated neutrality amid the war in Ukraine holds major economic risks for the country ("US accuses South Africa of covertly supplying arms for Russia's war effort", Report, May 12). The depreciation in the currency, relative to the US dollar, to its weakest level on record, is detrimental to the efforts of the country's central bank in reducing consumer price inflation,

currently at 7.1 per cent.
Despite the government's denial of
an approved arms sale to Russia, fears
remain that South Africa's preferential
trade terms with the US, which are set
to expire in 2025, are at risk. South
Africa wishes to renew these terms to
strengthen ties with the US.

Following a period of low economic growth, the socio-economic challenges faced by the country are enormous, including unemployment of over 30 per cent and high inequality.

Against this backdrop, the government should be focused on sustainable economic growth. Key to this objective is a secure energy supply, stable consumer prices, continued foreign direct investment and international trade.

The past few days highlighted the economic risks to South Africa in distancing itself from the US, thereby potentially alienating itself from the west and adversely affecting key factors to economic growth. The country should balance its sovereign right to dictate its foreign policy with its responsibility towards its citizens for sustainable growth in the local economy.

**De Villiers Lategan** Selwyn College University of Cambridge, UK

#### Harris remains notable for her lack of distinction

Harold Sklar is right (Letter, May 26). Kamala Harris has been virtually invisible as vice-president. Her important role as envisaged by Biden, to be seen and to act for, and energetically to represent, a large and disaffected democratic constituency, a difficult job admittedly, has been "carried out" with none of the energy and distinction it demands. Indeed, it's hard to explain or point to anything of note she has been associated with.

It reminds one of that less than active former president, Calvin Coolidge, upon whose death it was reported someone asked "but how can they tell?"

Alastair Conan Croydon, UK



# Prospects for citizens' iuries are debatable

Martin Wolf enthusiastically promotes citizens' juries or assemblies and is confident that, presented with the "evidence", a randomly selected group of people — advised by "experts" — would have come round to his way of thinking on Brexit "since Leavers will change their minds in response to the evidence" ("Citizens' juries can help fix democracy", Opinion. May 29).

It is precisely by implying that the "evidence" would have raised no milar doubts in Remainers' min that causes me to wonder just how and by whom he envisages "experts" to be chosen for his assemblies. The parallel with criminal juries is a poor one because the sort of political issue that Wolf would like addressed (he highlights immigration) would require an assembly to consider evidence, and to deliberate and resolve, in an entirely different manner than in a criminal trial, where the jury has a simple binary decision on a carefully defined issue, with advocates arguing for one or other of only two verdicts and each calling those witnesses that it believes further its case.

On matters as nuanced as immigration there are an infinite number of positions and both the range of possible outcomes and that likely to be favoured by a jury or assembly would be largely determined by who was allowed to present a case — and so ultimately by the individual or entity that selected the advocates and experts to be heard, a party whose neutrality and bona fides would always be open to question. I also note that he envisages the randomly chosen participants in "open debate": one wonders just how possible this would be when so many are unwilling to leave their "safe space and debate contentious issues with people with whom they disagree. **Charles Mercey** 

Tellisford, Somerset, UK

#### Tax incentives are the key to unlocking investment

Chris Giles is right when he states that the core issue behind the lack of business investment in Britain is not access to capital but UK companies "not wanting" to do so ("Changing pensions regulations will not boost UK business investment", FT.com, May 25)

Not wanting to invest is a perfectly rational response to the extremely high levels of external instability in the business environment that we've seen in recent years. After all, investment is, by definition, putting capital at risk, so if uncontrollable risks are abnormally high it makes sense to protect that capital by waiting.

Instability in our main trading relationship, a global pandemic, political turbulence, febrile markets and the prospect last year, based on official forecasts, of a long recession in the UK would all therefore be expected to reduce investment. In fact, our own Institute of Directors survey data shows a statistical correlation (R=0.73) between business leaders' confidence in the future of the UK macroeconomy and their firm-level investment intentions.

When the external risks are heightened, policy needs to work harder. We're hopeful therefore that the recent strengthened tax incentives for capital investment may start to unlock decisions, particularly if it is combined with a clearer government road map on industrial and trade policy, including around the investment requirements to achieve net zero and — here's hoping — greater macroeconomic stability.

Kitty Ussher

Chief Economist Institute of Directors London SW1Y, UK

### Patients in clinical trials should get full disclosure

Lord O'Shaughnessy wants to quadruple the number of NHS patients in clinical trials ("No 'magic wand' for financial pressures, Hunt tells pharma groups", Report, May 26). The overall probability of success in

The overall probability of success in drug and vaccine trials is low — two-thirds of cancer drugs in phase 3 trials are rejected — so there is a good chance of participants taking an ineffective treatment or one with unacceptable side effects.

Potential recruits must be fully informed of the dangers as well as the advantages of taking part in a trial.

Paying doctors to persuade their patients to take an experimental treatment is unethical.

Any financial incentive should go to

the participants. **Dr John Doherty**Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire, UK

#### US and China just view the world differently Evan Medeiros's commentary on a

Evan Medeiros's commentary on a possible US-China rapprochement (Opinion, May 26) points out that the US and China are seeking different things. He says China wants to throw cold water on the recent fires that have erupted between the two countries. Then he makes the point that the US is striving to get China to play by the WTO rules.

Does he want the US to forget about the WTO rules? Of course, he cannot wish for that. If China is determined to run on its own course, there is bound to be friction. Medeiros has seen that himself in his previous job as the China guy in the Obama administration. He and President Obama backed off. That temporarily improved the atmosphere, but achieved nothing concrete.

There is a fundamental difference between China and the US on how the global economy should work and be managed. China has charted mercantilism and state-led industrial policy as its course to riches and power. The US has been trying to convince Beijing that so-called free trade and globalisation is the right road.

China's success, so far, is a powerful argument for sticking to its guns. Having tea parties together is not going to change the fundamental situation.

Clyde Prestowitz

A leader of first US trade mission to China in 1982

in 1982
Director of the US Export Import Bank
Potomac, MD, US

## BoE has been too timid It is time the Bank of England accepted

full responsibility for its pusillanimity in the fight against higher inflation ("Britons among most gloomy on inflation prospects", Report, May 23. Lamely following the US Fed in its

decisions and blaming inflation on Ukraine and Covid is no longer good enough. Were UK inflation to fall back to its 2 per cent target, the BoE would cheerfully accept the praise. So it must take the rap when it doesn't.

Matthew Clements

London SW1V, UK

#### Hydrogen is affordable

"Green hydrogen's staggering cost" (Big Read, May 29) refers to Lex's calculation that "a net zero [green hydrogen] system might require . . . \$20tn of investment by 2050". It is worth noting this "staggering" cost of below \$1tn a year is less than fossil fuel subsidies in 2022, as calculated by the IEA. That was admittedly an exceptional year, but the point is that staggering costs can be affordable.

Peter Nicholas London W6, UK

#### Opinion

#### Why DeSantis is losing Republicans to Trump



onsider for a moment what Donald Trump gives to his average follower. Membership in a vast nationwide communion of like-minded people. A paternal figure in a confusing world. The frisson of transgression: middle-aged whites don't often in life get to play the rebel.

Next to all this, what is the marginal benefit of seeing him win an actual election? What, after that, is the marginal benefit of watching his policies come into force? No doubt, Trump fam would rather have these bonus items than not. But he has done them a profound emotional and almost spiritual service before it ever gets to that.

It is not clear that Ron DeSantis understands this about populism. Until

he does, he won't displace Trump as the leader of the movement in the US. The governor of Florida trades on his electability and administrative competence. But if either of these things was paramount for voters in the Republican primaries, the contest would

already be over.

Trump lost the midterm elections in 2018. He lost the presidential election in 2020. He is the only president in the 80-odd-year history of the Gallup approval-rating poll never to score 50 per cent. Republican candidates who bear his stamp have a mixed electoral record at best. Even allowing for the widespread and false belief that he was diddled out of a second term, there must be lots of Trump fans who know, deep down, that DeSantis or Nikki Haley would do better with the national electorate in 2024. No matter. Neither confers on them the sense of tribal belonging that he does. Neither upsets the liberals as much.

The governor's other boast — his executive grip — matters even less. Just because liberals have always feared the emergence of a competent demagogue

doesn't mean populist voters have yearned for it to the same degree. How much of his base did Trump lose after failing to build that wall on the Mexican border? How much of it has gone over to Joe Biden as thanks for passing the biggest protectionist bill in memory?

DeSantis is logical, poor man. He thinks modern politics is about *doing* things. The extent to which it is about

It doesn't matter that the governor is an effective populist. He 'presents' as an establishment creature

belonging — about replacing the group identity that people once got from a church or a trade union — is lost on his rationalist ken. In this one sense, he thinks like a liberal. The left is forever trying to "answer" populist concerns by reshoring industrial jobs or devolving power. It is very sweet, this. And yes, perhaps at the start, populism was about tangible grievances. But once

people took sides, around 2016, that group membership started to mean more to them. (As in a long-running war whose original cause is lost on the belligerents.) Trump perceives this more clearly than his rivals.

DeSantis believes that politics is downstream of culture, that culture is shaped in institutions, that conservatives have ceded those institutions to the organised left. The Gramsci of Tallahassee doesn't just diagnose the problem. He is creative and dogged in installing a rightwing counter-hegemony. Ask Disney. Ask the educational bureaucracies of Florida.

This is more thought and work than Trump has ever put in to the cause. It is also perfectly beside the point. I am no longer sure that populist voters want to win the culture war. Just being in it gives them meaning. If anything, there is more group identity in losing, more solidarity under siege than in triumph. If I am right, none of the governor's arguments against Trump — his electoral repellence, his boredom with detail — are half as wounding as he hopes.

DeSantis is a case study in the vibes

theory of politics. It doesn't matter that he is a sincere and effective populist. He "presents" as a creature of the establishment. It is something to do with the Ivy League and navy past, the dour style of speech, the apparent rectitude (no sexual or financial scandals) and the lack of a visual hook in all that neat hair and sober tailoring. Even his record as the leader of a big state counts against him. No populist worth the name would be reading his briefs and enacting ideas with such bureaucratic patience. "Neeeerrrrd," you can imagine Trump shouting at him, à la Homer Simpson, across a TV debate studio.

So, a strident rightwinger, from a far humbler background than Trump, is framed as though he were the latest scion of the Bush clan. He can console himself that he is in illustrious company. Rishi Sunak championed Brexit before Boris Johnson did. He subsidised people to dine out during a viral pandemic for which there was no vaccine. His reputation among populists? Company man.

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# Scary reality of the Credit Suisse horror story



he 1996 slasher movie

Scream sets out three rules
to survive a horror movie:
you can never have sex, you
can never drink or do drugs
and you can never, under any circumstances, say "I'll be right back". Among
recent bank failures, Silvergate did the
deed, Signature Bank got wasted on its
parents' Tia Maria and Silicon Valley
Bank did both before popping outside to
check the strange noise in the garden.
Having all committed obvious banking
sins, all were duly punished.

International bankers and regulators, observing the recent fiasco in US banking, are scornful. "Poor management, poor supervision, poor regulation. The Fed has acknowledged as much," one told me recently. They are not unduly worried about the same thing happening on their patch. But there is one collapse the banking community takes differently; one that has everyone worried, because it casts doubt on the fundamentals of financial regulation. The failure of Credit Suisse really is a

What happened to Silicon Valley Bank – the most symbolic of this round of US bank failures – is well understood. It is a tale as old as banking. SVB gathered billions of dollars in uninsured, short-term deposits from start-up companies. It invested them in highly rated, long-term securities. Interest rates went up. The value of the long-term securities went down. Depositors realised and demanded their money back. Borrow short, lend long, see you in hell. The only wonder is how sophisticated people let it happen. Silvergate, Signature and First Republic are variations on the theme, with added crypto.

Credit Suisse — forcibly sold to UBS,

its fierce local rival, a week after Silicon Valley Bank's trip to banking Valhalla – was different. Yes, the Swiss lender got involved with all sorts of questionable characters, from Lex Greensill, the financier of hypothetical invoices, to Bill Hwang of Archegos, who was as long and wrong as any trader in recent history. Yes, it needed painful changes to its business model, with profitability under strain for some years to come. But Credit Suisse did not make a mad bet on interest rates. There was no read-across from SVB. It had a solid balance sheet and a valuable core business franchise. In horror movie terms, Credit Suisse might not be the heroine, but it was a clumsy best friend who had followed the rules and done nothing to tempt the killer's attention.

Yet even though events in the US offered no new information about the state of Credit Suisse, the Zurich bank's depositors still ran, which is what has got every thoughtful banker and regulator in the world looking over their shoulder. The post-2009 banking settlement involved high levels of capital, to



protect against losses, and rules on liquidity, to deal with sudden demands for cash. Silicon Valley Bank did dumb stuff and its depositors were at risk. But if Credit Suisse can suffer a run even though it was liquid and well capitalised, then the same thing can happen to any other bank, anywhere, at any time.

The bank runs in March and April were unusually fast. Silicon Valley Bank lost 25 per cent of its deposits in a day and was due to lose another 62 per cent the next day, if it did not close. Silvergate and First Republic lost half their deposits in a couple of weeks. Several factors have been put forward to explain this—new technology making it easy to withdraw electronically; the presence of large, uninsured corporate depositors; and the spread of rumour and misinfor-

If it can suffer a run even though it was liquid and well capitalised, then the same can happen to anyone

 $\label{eq:mation} \mbox{mation on social media} - \mbox{but none is} \\ \mbox{wholly satisfactory.}$ 

According to Jonathan Rose, a historian at the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, rapid electronic withdrawals were an issue as early as the run on Continental Illinois in 1984. Rose quotes an account by regulator Irvine Sprague, who wrote that the banking halls were quiet, but in the back office "the employees knew what was happening as withdrawal order after order moved on the wire, bleeding Continental to death". Perhaps ultra-rich clients moving cash on their mobile phones helped to kill Credit Suisse, but this cannot be the

whole story.

Banks with large volumes of uninsured deposits are not new either, notes Rose. Only 6 per cent of SVB's deposits were insured, which is very low, but comparable with 15 per cent at Continental Illinois. Most of Credit Suisse's private banking deposits were outside insurance, but they always have been. The concentration of deposits from the tech industry at SVB, Silvergate and Signature was somewhat

unusual, but that did not apply to Credit

Social media is one new force in a banking crisis. Facebook began in 2004 and Twitter in 2006, but they were not yet global and all pervasive during the 2008-09 financial crisis. Social media connections clearly fuelled the run on SVB, but a crucial topic for regulators to understand is how Credit Suisse's private banking clients around the world got the message to flee. What if, in the future, a similar run starts based on complete falsehoods about a solvent bank?

Ultimately, the question Credit Suisse raises is whether any amount of capital and liquidity can make a risk-taking bank safe, boosting the case for narrow banking or wider access to central bank money. The momentum of innovation is already in that direction and it truly would be a horror story for commercial banks. As the heroine in *Scream* plaintively asks: "Why can't I be in a Meg Ryan movie?"

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#### Sweden has stepped up the fight against terrorism in its Nato bid

#### Ulf Kristersson

ith just over five weeks to go until the Nato summit in Vilnius, it is time to seriously consider Sweden's application for Nato membership. Since the organisation's meeting last year, 29 allies have approved Sweden's application. Turkey and Hungary remain. Sweden has entered into an agreement with Turkey in which the fight against terrorism is one of the key points.

Tomorrow, new legislation enters into force in Sweden that makes it illegal to participate in a terrorist organisation in any way that promotes, strengthens or supports it. We are thereby delivering on the last part of our agreement. Sweden fully supports Turkey against all threats to its national security and condemns all terrorist organisations,

including the PKK, that carry out attacks against it.

Terrorism is unquestionably a very serious threat to our societies. It must be fought using all means compatible with the rule of law and democracy.

We are living in an increasingly dangerous world. Alongside state actors, terrorists and violent extremists also pose a serious threat. Sweden has been under a heightened terrorism threat since 2010. Our security services also recently established that we have become a priority target for terrorism, not least due to Koran burnings and disinformation campaigns over Swedish social services taking Muslim children into care.

The legislation now entering into force will give Sweden new and powerful tools to prosecute those who support terrorism. This involves three elements.

First, the legislation closes a loophole in our anti-terrorism laws. Unlike some of its neighbours, Sweden has not previously prohibited participation in a terrorist organisation. This meant that there was a risk that those who were not

directly involved in perpetrating a specific terrorist act but actively supported such activities in some other way — by providing logistics or administration, for example — could evade punishment. This is no longer the case. We now have legislative parity with our neighbours.

The new legislation also targets individuals who financially support other people's participation in terrorist organisations, or who publicly encourage or

With new legislation, we are delivering on the last part of our agreement with Turkey

recruit others to join such organisations. Furthermore, it criminalises travel for the purpose of participating in terrorist activities outside Sweden.

Second, the penalties will be severe. The basic maximum sentence is four years in prison. For the most serious offences, the sentence is a minimum of

two and a maximum of eight years in prison. For leaders of terrorist organisations, the sentence is between two years

Examples of acts of participation that will be punishable include handling equipment, setting up camps, organising meeting venues, administering housing, providing childcare, organisna activities, preparing food and providing transportation. Financing these forms of participation will also be punishable.

Third, our enhanced anti-terrorism regulations will be significant when it comes to Sweden's international cooperation in the EU and Nato. Every year, there are numerous terrorist attacks around the world. Terrorism has become a serious international problem that severely tests those societies affected and threatens peace and security everywhere, both domestically and globally.

Tackling the threat it poses requires intensive national and international efforts. Sweden's new, enhanced legislation will facilitate our co-operation with Turkey, as well as with other Nato and EU countries.

Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine was a historic turning point for European and global security. Russia's actions are a brutal attack not just on Ukraine, but on international law and the principles that are the foundation of the European security order. The Kremlin's aggression has had repercussions beyond the war in Ukraine. It has led to strong unity in support of Ukraine and against Russia, but also to Sweden abandoning more than 200 years of military non-alignment and applying to join

Nato.

Sweden stands ready to be an active and loyal ally, and to contribute to the security of the entire alliance from day one. We have a strong defence and will contribute to Nato's enhanced forward presence in the Baltic Sea region, Baltic Air Policing and other operations. Ultimately, only Vladimir Putin has anything to gain from Sweden remaining

The writer is prime minister of Sweden

# Old industrial cities can be key to US economic future

#### Bruce Katz

ne of the tantalising questions about US president Joe Biden's muscular industrial policy is whether it can reverse decades of economic decline in cities and metropolitan areas that bore the brunt of deindustrialisation.

Older parts of the US, like much of Britain and Europe, are littered with hundreds of communities that collapsed under the weight of offshoring, outsourcing and globalisation at any cost. But today, America is undergoing a remarkable industrial transition. Market dynamics, geopolitical tensions and unprecedented federal investments are catalysing a reshoring of advanced manufacturing in the defence and civilian sectors, as well as an accelerated decarbonisation of the US economy.

These macro forces have metro effects. Advanced manufacturing values places that can provide industry with the platforms and tools it needs. Large companies and smaller firms alike require suitable sites for production activity, properly assembled, prepared and zoned. They need access to a steady stream of qualified workers who can master the complex nature of advanced production; applied researchers who can continuously assist with product and process innovation; quality housing that is affordable to workers of all incomes; and infrastructure that enables the efficient movement of ideas, goods, services, workers and energy, within and across metropolitan areas.

Many older industrial cities and metropolitan areas retain legacy assets that are central to this manufacturing

#### Assets in these places have been dormant and undervalued for decades. But they did not disappear

future. These assets have been dormant and undervalued for decades. But they did not disappear and they are now available for industrial purposes.

Some lesser-known federal programmes are beginning to unlock this potential. Last autumn, the Biden administration announced winners of the \$1bn Build Back Better Regional Challenge, initially appropriated in the American Rescue Plan Act, to advance national competitiveness by scaling advanced industry clusters. The programme was flexibly structured, asking communities to define and then leverage their distinctive competitive advantages through an array of investments. It essentially challenged locations to embrace Dolly Parton's maxim, "Find out who you are and do it on purpose."

The results are promising. Manchester, New Hampshire, once home to the largest cotton mill in the world, received funds to scale its BioFabrication Cluster to produce and distribute regenerative tissues and organs. Buffalo, New York is expanding a highly regarded workforce development centre to serve a regional network of manufacturing firms. St Louis, Missouri is establishing an Advanced Manufacturing Innovation Center to serve the needs of Boeing and its suppliers in the defence aerospace sector, explicitly modelled on an applied research campus perfected in Sheffield, England.

Significantly, Buffalo and St Louis are locating their facilities in the most disadvantaged parts of their cities, ensuring that the benefits of re-industrialisation accrue to low-income residents and communities.

These and other efforts are being watched closely by cities and metropolitan areas from coast to coast. They are likely to become models that are adapted throughout the country as federal industrial policy takes full effect.

For decades, cities were told to plan the post-industrial city, driven by service rather than production economies. Now, almost overnight, they are being challenged, across sectors and jurisdictions, to deliver the industrial metropolis.

The stakes are high. Deindustrialisation in the US exacerbated persistent inequalities, roiled national politics and helped stoke populist outrage. The revival of older industrial locations is as much about restoring national cohesion as driving economic competitiveness.

The writer is director of the Nowak Metro Finance Lab at Drexel University

# Lex.

#### Labour/houses: crenellations for a nation

An Englishman's home is his castle. But too few Britons can afford a dwelling that would even rank as a sentry box. The opposition Labour party, which leads in opinion polls, therefore wants to cut the prices at which landowners are forced to sell sites to local authorities. It should think again.

Councils issue the requisitions when land is deemed essential to build homes or infrastructure. Councils have to adjust prices to reflect the value created by prospective planning permission, known as "hope value".

Labour has housebuilders such as Persimmon, Barratt and Taylor Wimpey in its sights. Local authorities accuse developers of hoarding land to benefit from rising prices, which they deny. Land with planning permission can be valued 275 times higher than farm land, according to the Centre for Progressive Policy think-tank.

Curbing property rights would be a bad look for the UK, which needs to attract foreign investment. Labour's plan smacks of the radical nationalisation programme that helped lose it the 2019 general election. The ruling Conservatives have sensibly steered away from the blanket abolition of hope value, preferring scheme-by-scheme assessment.

Labour has been trying to persuade investors that Britain would be "open for business" if it wins the next election. The proposal to abolish hope value paints a different picture.

Investors are treating the Labour plan as no more than kite-flying for the moment. For years, housebuilders reaped hefty profits from the UK's misguided help-to-buy subsidies scheme. Their shares have underperformed the wider FTSE 100 in the past 12 months because of its

Stocks have rallied lately, however. Shares in Persimmon and Taylor Wimpey are trading on forward earnings ratios of 14 times and 13  $\,$ times, respectively, above their fiveyear averages. But they remain sensitive to higher rates.

The debate over the real motives of housebuilders may never be resolved without fundamental tax reform. There is a good argument for taxing land held by developers to nudge them into building dwellings on it.

This might deter speculative investment. But it would avoid any uncompensated expropriation. And if the real business of housebuilders is building houses they would adapt.

#### Navan: travel to arrive

Few office activities are drearier than claiming expenses. All that remains of a dashing sales trip or ego-boosting conference speech is a pile of receipts.

US travel software group Navan aims to cut the misery. The universal appeal of that proposition — and the pixie dust of an OpenAI tie-in — might embolden Navan to revive the moribund market for US initial public offerings.

The Palo Alto-based company survived the collapse in travel during the pandemic. It is growing quickly as trips return and has filed to go public. Business travel is forecast to reach prepandemic levels by the end of next year, according to Deloitte estimates.

Navan's name is an odd combination of the words navigate and avant. It is the result of a recent, pointless rebrand from the previous name. TripActions.

Navan has struck a deal with artificial intelligence start-up OpenAI that is supposed to make it more personal, with tailored itineraries. It could also cut employee costs one day by replacing agents with chatbots.

Right now, costs are high. To date, Navan has raised more than \$1.4bn from investors including Andreessen Horowitz. It has secured more than \$400mn in credit facilities, helping cover the acquisition of five companies in two years, including Tripeur in India.

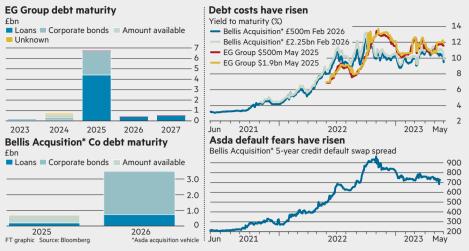
The headcount has doubled over the same period. Navan has expanded into different types of expenses and services that provide a funding facility for customers.

Last October, the company was valued at \$9.2bn. Revenues were \$300mn last year, pointing to a steep trailing sales multiple of 31 times. The expense software market is led by SAP Concur, owned by German software group SAP. SAP's equivalent multiple is five times. Peer Booking Holdings is worth six times sales.

Navan was aiming for a \$12bn valuation according to reports last year. But this growth-focused, lossmaking

#### Asda/EG Group: Issa does it

The Issa's two main businesses have many billions of pounds of debts. These will need to be repaid or refinanced in the next few years. Yields have risen with interest rates and pushed variable debt costs higher. Deleveraging plans have eased default fears.



Roll up, roll up for the incredible Issa brothers! Rising rates make the financial high-wire act of the billionaires from Blackburn even more daring. See them juggle key assets Asda and EG Group in an effort to keep their balance!

The brothers own the supermarket chain and petrol station operator in partnership with buyout group TDR. Asda is buying the UK and Irish assets of EG Group for £2.3bn (\$2.8bn). The move should generate cost savings for Asda while reducing EG's debts.

EG has net financial borrowings of some £8bn, compared with forecast earnings before interest, tax, depreciation and amortisation of \$1.6bn for the current year. It needs

to bring down its debt tally to a safer level. EG has been selling property in the US to do so.

Asda, meanwhile, plans to keep its financial leverage at 4.3 times ebitda, despite the cost of the acquisition. It will do so by selling real estate of its own and tapping the Issas and TDR for

Asda will pay with £450mn of new equity, £770mn of new debt and £1.1bn from property deals. The new business will contribute £200mn of ebitda and deliver £100mn of so-called "scale benefits" within three years.

EG will use £2.3bn in proceeds alongside the \$1.4bn from US property deals to get its financial leverage down to five times. It is targeting leverage in the mid-four times in the medium

bonds maturing in 2025, according to Bloomberg.

The market appears to approve of the deleveraging plan. Spreads on the debt of Asda and EG have been falling. But the Issas are unlikely to have lost their appetite for risk. They want Asda to expand.

Grocery peers have most to lose. High debt costs had been expected to restrain Asda, the UK's price-leading supermarket. That is not happening, despite a cost of living crisis. Asda's ebitda fell a quarter last year. The Issas sacrificed margins to maintain market share.

term. EG has some £7bn of loans and

With £9.5bn of property still on the books, Asda and the Issas have plenty in reserve to keep wowing the crowd.

order CACC aircraft instead. State-

their part, in simply growing their asset bases and gross management fee revenues. They may also be able to sell limited partners bundles of funds. The challenge is to ensure that they

Alternatives M&A:

try to concentrate

US competition regulators are

tightening scrutiny of private equity portfolio companies mergers. Could

That question is prompted by the plan of buyout titan Texas Pacific

Group to spend \$2.7bn in cash and

estate manager Angelo Gordon.

stock on the specialist credit and real

Assets managed by the listed private

capital stalwart will go from \$135bn to just over \$200bn. It said pensions and

sovereign wealth funds increasingly

wanted one-stop shopping when

a taste for insurance affiliates.

allocating capital between buyouts

fixed income, real estate and the like.

In particular, investors have developed

TPG is implicitly admitting that the

deal is a way of keeping up with the

likes of Blackstone and Apollo, whose

asset bases are approaching \$1tn each.

It is understandable why external

capabilities prefer to engage with few

diversified alternative asset managers.

Consolidators, particularly ones that

are publicly traded, have incentives, for

investors with limited monitoring

antitrust regulators soon be coming for

alternative asset managers themselves?

do not overpay for growth and similarly, that incoming executives remain motivated.

Firms seeking to grow do not have to rely on full acquisitions. They can hire small teams or redeploy employees to build strategies organically. But such efforts are time-consuming and difficult. Some asset classes require specialist backgrounds or records.

Huge growth in the alternative asset industry has created demand among traditional asset managers looking to get their slice of the action. Even TPG or Carlyle Group with \$400bn in assets under management could be a target for the likes of BlackRock, Fidelity or a sovereign wealth fund. As alternative asset managers grow, so will concerns about concentrations of power.



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software company needs to remember the prosaic character of expense claims and settle for less.

#### Chinese jet: patriot express

Some people avoid buying a new model of car on the basis that it may be unreliable. But Chinese air passengers clamoured for seats in the first commercial flight of the homegrown C919 airliner on Sunday. It augurs well for sales of the jet. Beijing hopes it will challenge Airbus and Boeing.

It took the state-backed Commercial Aviation Corp of China 15 years to bring the 164-seater jet into service. China Eastern was the first buyer and is using the aircraft to fly between Beijing and Shanghai. China has long needed an alternative

to US manufacturer Boeing, which has close links to the US government. No Chinese airline has bought a Boeing commercial passenger plane for six years, reflecting escalating geopolitical tensions with Washington.

a full self-sufficiency test. The C919 relies heavily on components made in Europe and the US, including engines and electronic equipment. Suppliers include French aviation group Safran and General Electric of the US.

China's unofficial boycott of Boeing means Chinese airlines have been putting in record orders for Airbus planes. Increasingly, they will

backed China Eastern has C919 deliveries set to arrive this year. CACC has a fat pipeline of local customer orders exceeding 1,200 jets. The group is not listed but is accessible to investors via its corporate bonds. For now, the home market is enough

for the C919. Strong demand from local passengers means Chinese carriers increased international capacity by more than a fifth this month.

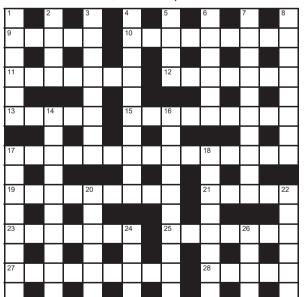
In the next 20 years, China's air traffic is expected to grow more than 5 per cent a year, 50 per cent faster than the global average. Chinese airlines will account for more than a fifth of world demand, according to Airbus. As production capacity of the C919 grows the Chinese sales of the Franco German aviation group will diminish.

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No 17,430 Set by MONK



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Solution 17,429



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#### **ACROSS**

- 9 Behind award for cycling (5) 10 Papal ambassador backing revision of
- Catholic union (9)
- 11 Extol Anglo-Albanian singer, one succumbing to pressure, making a
- 12 Finding this newspaper outside shelter.
- journalist moved rapidly (7)

  13 Test case essentially linked to Express
- 15 Ireland, e.g. after Reformation, divided
- on a new basis (9)

  17 Apparel taken by old foe unexpectedly
- depressed Puck (5,10) 19 Chicken today went badly (9) 21 Shiatsu techniques holding back stellar
- 23 Inauspicious and ordinary, diminished
- by stifling love (7) 25 Second onlooker losing specs when
- changing in Tube? (7)
- 27 Conductor's back to work line before broadcast of Mikado? (9)
- 28 Composer left mobbed by crowd (5)

- 1 Fruit and nuts, for the most part (6)
- 2 Rob and Mike dividing blame (4)3 Keep calm partner heading towards something (6,2)
- 4 Plant and wider rocks in pool, perhaps (10)
- 5 Hang around block (4) 6 Partially exhume rib bones (6)
- Tax lost by country delaying last of fiscal books (4.3.3)
- 8 Yard gatecrashes rank party with hubbub (8) 14 Run into general absorbed by puzzle
- about Captain Nemo? (10) 16 Speakers in sideboard included in
- promotions (10) 17 Startles, pressing hooter such as crew might use? (8)
- 18 Electrician extremely reluctant to break cover of cassette deck (8)
- 20 Loose excrement picked up in flat (6)
  22 Leaves seaport north of Sweden (6)
- 24 Agile agent crossing river (4)26 Terms of special licence overseen by state channel (4)\*

The narrow-bodied jets, however, fail

Airbus should be worried, regardless.

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