

North Korea is flexing its nuclear muscle

The Middle East's \$240bn mystery company

### On the move Beijing opens tourist gates

A passenger is greeted by a friend in the international arrivals hall at Shanghai's Pudong Airport after China yesterday lifted quarantine requirements for inbound travellers.

The decision ended almost three years of the country's self-imposed iso-lation, even though it is battling a surge in Covid-19 cases.

in Covid-19 cases.
Beijing's relaxation of its previously strict zero-Covid policy also meant that the border between Hong Kong and the mainland could reopen. Tens of thousands of travellers flocked to cross in

sands of travellers flocked to cross in both directions yesterday. The reopening of China's borders is likely to trigger a surge in outbound tourism. Many popular destinations are preparing to receive an influx of visitors; around 155m Chinese residents travelled abroad in 2019, the year before the pandemic struck. Tourism revival page 2



## US bolsters military ties with Japan to counter Pacific threat from China

Top general says operations scaling up ◆ Security summit this week ◆ Ukraine offers model for action

The US and Japan rapidly integrating their command structure and scaling up combined operations as Washington and its Asian allies prepare for a possible conflict with allies prepare for a possible conflict with China such as a war over Taiwan, according to the top Marine Corps gen-

according to the opportunities and in Japan.

The two militaries have "seen exponential increases . . . just over the last year" in their operations on the territory they would have to defend in case of a war, Lieutenant-General James Bierman, commanding general of the Third Marine Expeditionary Force (III MEF) and of Marine Forces Japan, told the Sinancial Times in an interview.

Financial Times in an interview. Japan and the Philippines are intensi

fying defence co-operation with the US in the face of mounting Chinese assert-iveness. Beijing has dramatically increased the scale and sophistication of

s military manoeuvres near Taiwan. Japan and the US are set to discuss strengthening their alliance at security talks between the foreign and defence ministers on Wednesday and a summit between US president Joe Biden and Japan's prime minister Fumio Kishida on Friday in Washington.

'We are setting the theatre in Japan, in the Philippines, in other locations'

The summit comes as Tokyo embarks on a radical security policy shift that will include increasing defence spending and deploying missiles capable of hit-ting chippes territory.

in a series of recent exercises, the US Marines for the first time set up bilateral ground tactical co-ordination centres rather than exchanging liaisons with

rather than exchanging liaisons with allies' command points. In another sign of deepening co-operation, specific Japanese millitary units have been designated as part of the "stand-in force" alongside III MEF and US Navy and Air Force units.

Meanwhile, the Philippines plan to allow US forces to position weapons and other supplies on fire more bases in addition to five where the US already has acress.

"You gain a leverage point, a base of operations, which allows you to have a tremendous head start in different

operational plans," Bierman said.
In preparing for scenarios such as a
Chinese invasion of Taiwan, the US and

Chinese invasion of Talwan, the US and its allies in Asia are emulating groundwork that has enabled western countries to support Ukraine's resistance to Russia's invasion, Bierman said.

"Why have we achieved the level of success we've achieved in Ukraine'? A big part of that has been because after Russian aggression in 2014 and 2015, earnestly got after preparing for future conflict: training for the Ukrainians, pre-positioning of supplies, identification of sites from which we could operate support, sustain operations," he said.

"We call that setting the theatre. And we are setting the theatre in Japan, in the Philippines, in other locations." The Marine Corps is undergoing a sweeping reform that aims to shift its focus from fighting counter-insurgency in the Middle East to operating quickly and clandestinely in the islands and straits of east Asia and the western peoffic

Pacific.

III MEF is the Marine Corps' only crisis response force permanently stationed outside the US. It operates within the range of Chinese medium- and long-range missiles.

are tanged telescent enterior and one range missiles.

Bierman said that while the US mili-tary was paying attention to China's behaviour around Taïwan, the People's Liberation Army should not be per-ceived as being "10 feet tall".

### Briefing

- Republicans threaten ► Republicans threaten new battle with McCarthy Rebels within his own Republica party say they may vote down measures new US House Speake Kevin McCarthy agreed with the rightwing to win election.— PAGE
- ▶ Netanyahu defends curbs Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's prime minister, has defended his government's move to take more
- ▶ Sweden accuses Turkey Sweden has said Turkey is demanding impossible conditions on deportation of alleged Kurdish terror suspects in exchange for allowing it to join Nato.— PAGE 2
- ▶ Rush to issue bonds Businesses dashed to tap the US corporate bond market during the first week of the year as
- Apple plans India stores ail staff in India as it gets set to open its first flagship stores in the world's second-biggest smartphone market.— PAGE 9
- Gender imbalance There has been slow progress in increasing the proportion of women on the boards of European financial services anies, says a report.— PAGE 8

Shrinking minimum wage Annual % change in real minimum wages, Sep 2022



#### Battle to keep the heating and lights on in Ukraine

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## EY earmarks \$2.5bn for consulting arm acquisitions after planned split

STEPHEN FOLEY — NEW YORK
MICHAEL O'DWYER — LONDON

EY is setting aside \$2.5bn to fund an acquisition spree for its consulting arm following its planned separation from the Big Four firm's audit business, as it presses ahead with preparations for the historic split.

the historic split.

The war chest will allow the new company, which EY aims to float in New York, to double the pace of dealmaking as it battlest to win market share, according to people familiar with the plan. Bosses have also earmarked a budget of up to \$400mn to be ploughed into building a new brand for the consulting business, which will no longer use the EY name after the split.

EY's global leaders are trying to persuade its 15,000 partners worldwide

suade its 13,000 partners worldwide that the consulting arm and the remain-

ing audit business can both grow faster apart, freed from conflict of interest rules that restrict accounting firms when advising companies they audit. Andy Baldwin, EY's global managing partner for client service, said: "f(on] every potential acquisition, on average 25 per cent of the revenue we have to say goodbye to on day two because we audit it. We won't have that conflict any more."

more."
EY has done 200 deals in the past nine years, bringing in about \$1.5bn of annual revenue. The firm had revenue of \$45bn in the past fiscal year. In the current year it expects to buy companies with about \$400mn in annual reve

nies with about \$400mn in annual reve-nue, roughly three-quarters of which will be in the consulting business. Financial plans for the consulting business after it is floated – potentially as soon as this year, if partners vote in

favour of the proposal — include a \$2.5bn cash war chest, with a target of acquiring an extra \$1.5bn in annual revenue over the next two years, said people familiar with the preparations.

Targets would include firms that offer advice on corporate strategy, technology or environmental, social and governance (ESG) issues, as well as niche law firms outside the US.

"When we mead out this law firms that

law firms outside the US.

"When we spoke with law firms that
wanted to join us, conversations
stopped when they learned about our
independence rules, which would have
meant a cut of 20 per cent of their business," said Cornelius Grossmann, EYS
global law leader. "Now we can have
these discussions."

(Other investment plane affect the prin-

Other investment plans after the spin-off include a surge in senior recruitment and a boost to technology investments for the tax advisory busin

## World Markets

CK MARKETS				CURRENC	IES					GOVERNMENT BON
	Jan 6	Prev	%chg		Jan 6	Dec 30		Jan 6	Dec 30	Yield (%)
500	3876.92	3808.10	1.81	\$/€	1.060	1.067	€/\$	0.943	0.937	US 2 yr
daq Composite	10489.35	10305.24	1.79	\$/£	1.205	1.203	£/\$	0.830	0.831	US 10 yr
Jones Ind	33525.93	32930.08	1.81	£/€	0.880	0.887	€/£	1.136	1.127	US 30 yr
urofirst 300	1756.77	1737.03	1.14	¥/\$	132.420	131.945	¥/€	140.399	140.818	UK 2 yr
Stoxx 50	4014.69	3959.48	1.39	¥/£	159.519	158.718	£ index	77.259	77.981	UK 10 yr
100	7699.49	7633.45	0.87	SFr/€	0.987	0.987	SFr/£	1.122	1.113	UK 30 yr
All-Share	4210.58	4178.67	0.76	CRYPTO						JPN 2 yr
40	6860.95	6761.50	1.47			Jai	n 6	Prev	%chq	JPN 10 yr
a Dax	14610.02	14436.31	1.20	Bitcoin (\$)		16809.	.00 1	6824.64	-0.09	JPN 30 yr
ei	25973.85	25820.80	0.59	Ethereum		1260.		1250.87	0.74	GER 2 yr

## BAIN & COMPANY (4) NEW RECESSION. **NEW** RULES.

#### INTERNATIONAL

## Netanyahu defends plan to rein in judiciary

Critics brand overhaul an assault on Israel's checks and balances

JAMES SHOTTER - JERUSALEM

s "without foundation".

Thousands took to the streets in the

I nousands took to the streets in the liberal bastion of Tel Aviv on Saturday to protest against Netanyahu's govern-ment, which took office last month and has made reining in the judiciary one of its priorities.

At a cabinet meeting yesterday,

Netanyahu defended the plans, which were unveiled last week and would give the government and its allies control over the appointment of judges, and allow a simple majority in parliament to override decisions by Israel's top court to strike down laws.

"We received a clear and strong mandate from the public to carry out what we promised during the elections, and this is what we will do," he said. "This is the implementation of the will of the voters, and this is the essence of democracy."

Politicians from the extreme right and ultrareligious groups with whom Netanyahu has built his ruling coalition have long demanded an overhaul of the judiciary, arguing that it had gradually

ciary, arguing that it had gradually assumed powers it was never formerly

'We received a clear and strong mandate from the public to carry out what we promised'

them as an assault on Israel's checks and

In a series of interviews broadcast on Saturday, Aharon Barak, who headed Israel's Supreme Court from 1995 to 2006, likened the plans to the attacks

on judicial independence carried out by governments in Poland, Hungary and Turkey, and warned that the proposed changes were "fertiliser that will lead to the growth of tyranny of the majority."

lead to the growth of tyranny of the majority".

The plan to weaken the powers of Israel's top court has provoked particular criticism, since it is one of the main checks on the government. Parliament does not have a second chamber that can review or block legislation, the president has no veto powers and most laws can be changed with a simple majority. In an interview with Channel 12 News, Barak said that if the top court's power of judicial oversight were eroded, there was a risk that citizen's rights would be imperilled, adding that the proposals amounted to "a clear and tangible dan-

ger to Israeli democracy. If the Knesset passes a discriminatory, racial law . . . then you need to have someone with the power to say that you, the Knesset, have passed a racist law that contradicts the [principles of Israel's] Declaration of Independence, which says there will be no racism.' The plans have drawn criticism from Gali Baharav-Miara, Israel's attorney-general, who warned last month that if they were enacted, Israel would "be left with the principle of majority rule alone. That and nothing more, democracy in name only but not in substance".

Netanyahu said the proposed changes

Netanyahu said the proposed chan would be debated "seriously and depth", and "all opinions — with exception—will be heard".

people — to an arts, sports, culture or education project. Peter Fitzpatrick, a member of Ire-

land's Dáil parliament from Count Louth and a former Gaelic footballer

has raised almost €15mn from Chinese

IIP investors to build the first Gaelic

games stadium in his county in 60 years

games stadium in his county in 60 years.
"We got an agent who had contacts in
Asia and got 37 applicants willing to
invest 6400,000," he said. "We probably
could have raised the money [without
IIP] but not as quickly. It's a dream come

Both George, who has been managing

his environmental monitoring business in China remotely, and Helen, a lawyer

who also asked not to use her real name and who invested €500,000 to the same fund, say education was a big motiva-tion. George has a son in high school and

Helen has one at university in Ireland. Walsh said "a huge benefit" was that

investors had to spend only one day a year in Ireland. They did not lose resi-

investors had to spend only one day a year in Ireland. They did not lose residency in their home countries. But the IIP programme does not grant investors the right to a passport.

Investors needed to maintain the investment for at least three years. After that they could sell their investment far deep residency status, but had no further obligation to invest, said the hospitality-focused fund chief executive. Although Chinese demand is driving III, applications from the US have also increased. "It has surprised everyone." asid Hartshorn. "The main reason I have heard is to do with the political situation in the US. [Former president where they are going. There are huge historical connections between Ireland and the US so It allows Americans to get back to their roots," he said.

The number of US applicants more than doubled to 11 so far last year. The programme has had 31 successful Us applicants since 2012 and 1,511 from China, with a sizeable number also from Vietnam, Saudi Arabia and South Africa.

Chinese investors, coming from a

Alliance application

### Sweden cannot meet demands of Ankara over Nato bid

RICHARD MILNE — NORDIC AND BALTIC CORRESPONDENT HENRY FOY — BRUSSELS

Sweden has said Turkey is demanding concessions that Stockholm cannot give to approve its application to join Nato as the Scandinavian country's prime minister insisted it had done all

Ulf Kristersson, the new centre-right Ulf Kristersson, the new centre-right Swedish prime minister, threw down the gauntlet to Turkey yesterday in the clearest language yet from Stockholm that it could do no more to help per-suade Turkey to drop its opposition to Sweden and neighbouring Finland join-

Sweden and neighbouring Finland join-ing the western military alliance. "Turkey confirms that we have done what we said we would do. But they also say that they want things that we can't and won't give them. So the decision is now with Turkey," Kristersson told a Swedish defence conference.

Sweden's government has said joining Nato is its top priority, and its applica-tion has been approved by 28 of the alli-ance's 30 members. But Hungary, whose parliament is expected to ratify Sweden and Finland's membership bids within weeks, and Turkey have yet to do so

Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has accused Sweden of har-bouring Kurdish terrorists and alleged members of an Islamic sect blamed fo an abortive 2016 coup. He also singled out journalist Bülent Keneş and demanded his deportation over his demanded his deportation over his alleged role in the coup attempt. Swe-den's supreme Court in December rejected the extradition request, ruling the journalist risked persecution. Stockholm has made a number of concessions to Ankara, including dis-

tancing itself from a Kurdish militia, lift ing an embargo on weapons exports to Turkey and stressing it would work to

ing an embargo on weapone exports to Turkey and stressing it would work to combat terrorism. Kristerson said yesterday Stockholm was meeting commitments made at Nato's Madrid summit in July but that it had to follow the law on deportations, which is a judicial process in Sweden with no governmentrole.

Opinion polls have shown Swedes do not favour offering too many concessions to Turkey, with 79 per cent in a survey for daily newspaper Dagens Nyheter last week saying they want Sweden to stand up for the rule of law even if that delays its Nato membership. Asked if Turkey would ratify Sweden's membership before its presidential elections in June, Kristerson said it was "impossible to know". Pekka Haavisto, Finland's foreign minister, said it looked unlikely that Turkey would ratify membership for the two countries before the elections, leaving the Nato summit in Vinlins in July as the next possible deadline. Speaking at the same event yesterday, Nato secretary-general Jens Stoltenberg did not directly reference Turkey's block on the process, but said he was "happy that the agreement [with Ankara] has been followed through" and was "confident that we will soon be able to warmly welcome [Sweden and Finland] as full members of Nato". Turkey's foreign ministry did not immediately return a request for comment.

Additional reporting by Ayla Jean Yackley

pare. Expedia, the travel website, said searches for flights from China to the US climbed 40 per cent following Beijing's decision two weeks ago to remove

decision two weeks ago to remove inbound quarantine rules. The speed of the policy reversal, which came even as China is engulfed in its worst outbreak of the pandemic, sur-prised onlookers. Michael Yu, a 30-year-old office worker in Shanghai, was

year-old office worker in Shanghai, was already arranging a September trip to Italy for a wedding, despite the restric-tions then in place. "At that time, [I] predicted that the reopening would happen in the first half of 2023, but I didn't

expectit to be so soon, "Yu said.

In many cases, enforcement of zeroCovid rules was effectively dropped
after the relaxation was announced,
long before the Sunday deadline.

dent in Zurich, flew back to Shanghai

Investment, Residency deals

## Ireland's cash-for-visa scheme proves a magnet

Opportunity seized by well-off Chinese anxious

over prospects at home

JUDE WEBBER - DUBLIN

George grins broadly as he sips his pint of Guinness in a cosy Dublin pub, bask-ing in the famous warmth of the land of céad míle fáilte (100,000 welcomes). As one of a fast-rising number of Chinese citizens investing in Ireland in exchange for residency, he has every reason to feel

George, who asked not to give his real name, has invested CImn in Ireland and said China's uncertain economic out-look had spurred wealthy individuals like him to look for additional residency options abroad. "I'm worried about the future in China," he said. Ireland's decade-old immigrant

investor programme (IIP) soared in popularity in 2022, with the number of would-be investors from China more than tripling to 785 in the nine months to September, from 243 in the whole of

to September, from 245 in the whole of 2021. Applications from all countries hit a record 812, nearly twice the annual record set in 2019. Since the scheme began in 2012, Chinese investors, including those from Hong Kong, have accounted for more than 90 per cent of successful applicants and C1.18bn has been invested in total. At past Chinese Community party's national congresses, 'the keyword has been 'economic growth'. But the buzzword of the 20th Congress [in October] was 'struggle'', said the head of an Irish-based fund focused on the hospitality sector, in which George has invested Clinm. The fund chief executive asked not to be identified. "The middle class and above worry."

sector, in which George has invested Chunn. The fund chief executive asked not to be identified. "The middle class and above worry what that means for them, for their wealth, career and family," he added. Ireland has become an increasingly alluring choice in part because of problems with similar schemes elsewhere. Brexit made the UK a less attractive option even before London in Perburary halted its own immigrant investor programme over security concerns. The US scheme was also on hold for months. "We've seen a huge jump [in IIP investments in Ireland] since 2017," said Niamh Walsh, who runs TDL Horizons, which focuses on hotel and tourism

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FINANCIAL TIMES

by Beijing only last month — were another factor in wealthy Chinese seeking overseas residency. "You can definitely draw a correlation there," said James Hartshorn, chief executive and co-founder of Bartra Wealth Advisors, an IIP fund whose portfolio includes social housing and nursing homes. Many countries have schemes offering residency or even passports in exchange for investment, but Ireland's success has been to make IIP investment "a tool to channel investment into areas of the economy that really need it', said Hartshorn. "Because of the cost of goods going up [which could slow investment in those sectors]... the programme is more important now than it was," he added.

Applicants have four routes available: they can invest £1mn in an approved investment fund or invest £2mn in a listed real estate investment rust — all for a minimum of three years. Or they can donate £300,000 — or £400,000 if

ninimum of three years. nate €500,000 — or €40 made jointly by fiv 'Buzzword of the party and above

congress was struggle. The middle class worry what that means

for them'

## Hotel, airline and luxury sectors set for China tourism revival

As China reopens to the world for the first time in almost three years, 24year-old May Liang is wasting no time in planning her first trip.

The student, based in the city of Nanjing, hopes to travel to Hong Kong as soon as this month and has already budgeted Rmb5,000 (\$730) for high-

Since early 2020, the world's largest tourism population has been cut off from the world by China's apparatus of

zero-Covid restrictions.

Over the weekend, as Beijing finally dismantled the last of those measures, that looked set to change. Around the world, airlines, hotels and luxury busises are bracing for the return of tens ns of tourists and their hun dreds of billions of dollars – though

The earliest impact is likely to be felt in Hong Kong, where tourism accounted for 4.5 per cent of the economy in 2018. The city's government has unveiled a quota of about 60,000 daily arrivals in each direction when it reopened the border yesterday. For major global destinations such as Europe and the US, limited flights and a backlog of visa applications mean the impact of China's reopening could take some time to materialise. The China Outbound Tourism Research Institute estimates 18m Chinese tourists will estimates 18mn Chinese tourists will travel abroad in the first half of the year, followed by 40mn in the second

"There is a lot of pent-up demand from the Chinese to travel but the prob-lem is how agile are we going to be in accommodating them by issuing visas and creating extra flight connectivity," said Eduardo Santander, chief executive

In Japan, where Chinese tourists accounted for 30 per cent of overseas arrivals before Covid, their return will be critical to hitting a \$37bn annual tar-

Africa.
Chinese investors, coming from a country with no Google, no Facebook and news largely from official sources, "really appreciate the freedom" that Ireland offered, said the hospitality-focused fund chief executive. He added "Ireland used to be a hidden secret in Europe . . . now it has been discovered."

get for the industry.

But with Japan joining countries including the US, UK, France, Italy and Spain in imposing border controls and compulsory testing on visitors from China, analysts said it could take up to two years for arrivals to regain pre-pan-In the US, where China was one of the

pandemic, companies also need to pre-



https://digital.olivesoftware.com/olive/odn/ftasia/printpages.aspx?doc=FTA%2F2023%2F01%2F09&ts=20230108204811&uq=20221117085301

### 3/20

#### INTERNATIONAL

## Kyiv battles to keep lights and heat on as Russia targets grid

Engineers try to predict the air strikes and learn from those that succeed

On New Year's eve, Andrii Touinda looked out of the window of his Kyiv apartment at the Russian cruise missiles flying overhead and wondered if he would have to spend another night repairing damaged electricity stations to keep the Ukrainian capital's lights and heating on.

to keep the University and heatingon.

"I've got all my team ready at the other end of my phone," said the maintenance engineer at DTEK, Ukraine's biggest private energy company. "It's burjo to bring light to people, doing the invessible."

impossible."
For the past three months, since Ukrainian counteroffensives pushed back Russia's ground forces in the north-east and south, Moscow has opened a deadly second front; relentless olleys of cruise missiles and drones that aim to destroy Ukraine's electricity grid and plunge millions of civilians into freezing winter darkness.

General Valery Zaluzhnyi, com-mander of Ukraine's armed forces, said in an interview with The Economist in December that destruction of the power grid could erode public morale and Ukraine's ability to keep fighting. One intense wave of air strikes on November 23, when Russia dispatched 70 cruise missiles, even led to rolling blackouts in neighbouring Moldova, which is connected to Ukraine's grid.

"The attacks are planned and implemented not only by the Russian military but also by Russian energy specialists," said Volodymyr Kudrytskiy, chief exec-

owned power company.

Russian engineers knew Ukraine's grid "like the back of their hands" because it was connected to their counbecause it was connected to their coun-try's system before last February's inva-sion, Kudrytskiy said. But Ukrainian engineers now better understand the Russian strategy and could take meas-ures "aimed at minimising the conse-quences" of the attacks, he added.

Quences" of the attacks, ne auto-Ukrainian officials say Russia has pur sued a systematic campaign, focused on destroying the transformers that sit at key nodes of the electricity grid's distribution system, rather than power plants themselves. The aim was to break the grid into isolated islands and prevent

power from flowing between regions, energy experts said.

"All the equipment is located in the open air, so it's quite easy to hit," said Maxim Timchenko, DTEK's chief executive. "If there is a direct hit, there is no

chance the equipment can be saved."

Moscow claims Kyiv has targeted infrastructure in occupied regions. As Russia ended a self-declared ceasefire to observe Orthodox Christmas on Sunday, the Kremlin said Ukrainian mis siles had hit two power plants in the eastern Donetsk region.

Keeping the system going as winter sets in has become a race against time for Ukraine and its allies. The first step was to protect 50 crucial sites with west-ern-supplied air defence systems, such

as Nasams surface-to-air-missiles.

The strategy is a trade-off, as the resources could otherwise be deployed



40 per cent of Ukraine's energy infrastructure has been success in shunting power around disabled

parts of the grid

defence system but it can be effective against slow-flying drones," one Ukrain ian defence adviser said. The second prong of Ukraine's strat-egy is anticipating the attacks and learn-ing from those that succeed. Industry executives hold daily video calls with the energy ministry and other govern ment counterparts to keep abreast of

To reduce the system's vulnerability, the grace period of up to 60 minutes provided by Ukraine's warning systems are used to power down the system with temporary blackouts, Timchenko said. If any missiles get through, "we adjust the system and air defences . . . so that we are more protected".

The third dimension is repair. Much of Ukraine's grid uses the old Soviet sys-tem. This operates at higher voltages than the EU's, making it incompatible

Nuclear power Thermal power station

The shortages are most severe with 200 tonnes each. Although some replacements have been sourced from formerly communist countries such as Lithuania, most of those destroyed have to be rebuilt. "For the first eight months of the war, Ukraine didn't suffer so much as we had a big stock of [spare] transformers," Kudrytskiy said. "Now they are a crucial need."

More than 40 per cent of the country's energy infrastructure has been dam-aged in the Russian attacks. But despite blackouts, Ukraine's engineers have proven highly skilled at shunting power around disabled parts of the grid.

At night, those Kyiv restaurants that remain open throw pools of light across dark streets. Some industrial users in the centre of the country, such as iron ore producer Ferrexpo, have even par-tially restarted production.

"I've been uber impressed at how the

Assessed Russian advance 2,000 1,000 Russian-claimed control RUSSIA \*These regions and Crimea are not recognis
by the international commun
Crimea was appayed by Purel in 20

Reported Ukrainiar

'The electricity grid is like a body: it's all connected and if

one part is damaged that is felt everywhere'

country has been able to keep the sys tem running," said Denys Sakva, energy analyst at Kyiv-based Dragon Capital,

n investment management company. However, after a mild December, temperatures are dropping sharply. On Fri-day, Ukrenegro appealed to civilians to save electricity. With three months to go until winter officially ends on April 1, the government has said emergency blackouts may be reinstated.

Meanwhile, Moscow continues to adapt its strategy. Ukrainian president Volodymyr Zelenskyy has warned Russia may use swarms of drones to "exhaust" Ukraine's air defences, and it could also shift launch sites to bypass established defence lines. Western intelligence services have warned Iran could supply Russia with ballistic missiles and more Shahed drones to replenish Moscow's depleted stocks of precision

weaponry.

"If one part [of the grid] is damaged that is felt everywhere," Touinda said. "I am not afraid, but it's getting harder to



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#### INTERNATIONAL

## McCarthy faces backlash over concessions

Speaker under attack by fellow Republicans after deal with rightwing rebels

LAUREN FEDOR — WASHINGTON

Kevin McCarthy will face a tough first week in his new job as Speaker of the US House of Representatives with some members of his own party already threatening to vote against a deal he struck with rightwing rebels to gain their support.

McCarthy, a Republican, was elected Speaker of the House in dramatic fashion in the early hours of Saturday morning after several days of wheeling and dealing to win the backing of a small but

powerful group of conservative critics.

After four days and 15 rounds of voting, McCarthy seized the Speaker's gavel after six members of his own party voted "present" rather than voting against him. He became the first Speaker in 100 years to require more than one ballot to be elected.

Critics questioned whether McCarthy had severely weakened his own hand and traded away too much power in pursuit of the speakership after agreeing to a package of changes to House procedures demanded by the rebels.

McCarthy will lead the lower chamber of congress with Republicans in control by an exceedingly narrow margin after eking out a victory in November's midterm elections. The situation means

that a handful of Republican rebels can stand in the way of any single piece of legislation. There were already concerns at the weekend that the sweeping rules package, which sets parameters for the newsession of congress, could be held up by a small number of objectors when it is put to a vote today.

Nancy Mace, a moderate Republican congresswoman from South Carolina, told CBS News yesterday that she was "on the fence" about whether to vote for the package.

the package.

Mace said she wanted to know n

Mace said she wanted to know more about any backdoor deals that McCa-rthy had struck with rightwing Republi-cans to secure their support in the Speaker vote. Tony Gonzales, a Republican con-

gressman from Texas, has also threatened to vote against the bill. He told CBS yesterday that he took issue with hawksis budget proposals that could result in big cuts to the US defence budget—something he called a "horrible idea". He said: "When you have aggressive Russia and Usraine, you've got a growing threat of China in the Pacific . . . how and say, I need you to increase your defence budget, but America is going to decrease ours?

But McCarthy allies projected confi-dence that they would secure enough votes to pass the rules package by a sim-ple majority.

Jem ajority.
Jim Jordan, a Republican congres
nan from Ohio poised to become cha

of the House judiciary committee, told Fox News yesterday: "We'll see tomorrow. But . . . . I think we'll get the 218 votes needed to pass the rules package." On Saturday, McCarthy demurred when a reporter on Capitol Hill asked him whether he had the votes to pass the rules package, saying only: "It's my day off, OK? Give me a break."

The White House said President Joe Biden, a Democrat, called McCarthy on Saturday afternoon to congratulate him on his election as Speaker.

In a statement released earlier in the day, Biden said he was ready to work with Republicans on legislation but warmed that he would oppose efforts to cut federal funding for social security, Medicare and the military.

India central

Growth outlook

### bank warns on South Asian debt distress

India's central bank governor has expressed concern over growing debt distress among regional trade partners and has said he is alert to possible risks to his country's economy from a global

with the Financial Times that he was optimistic about India's growth and financial stability despite the deteriorating global economic outlook. The IMF expects recession to affect one-third of the global economy this year, it said recently.

Analysts forecast that India will be a bright spot but the Reserve Bank of India governor said there was "no room

India governor sate there was for complacency".

"Net-net, India is far better placed than almost all other countries," he said.

than almost all other countries," he said. However, "the global challenges are building up," he added, saying they "will have their spillovers and will have their impact on India". Of India's regional neighbours, Das said: "We are quite concerned about the debt distress in all these countries because we have a lot of trade relations with these countries." with these countries. It's a matter which we are looking at with a lot of interest.

Das declined to specify which coun-tries he meant, but Sri Lanka last year became Asia's first country in decades to

Meanwhile Pakistan, India's nuclear armed western neighbour and tradi-tional foe, is down to \$5.6bn of foreign exchange reserves, equivalent to about one month's imports. Bangladesh's export-led economy has

been hit by slower demand, rising fuel prices and power cuts, leading its gov-ernment last year to seek IMF help. By contrast, regional power India was one of the world's fastest-growing large

economies over the past year. Das attributed India's resilience partly

Das attributed India's resilience partly to Narendra Modi's government's 'cali-brated, prudent' fiscal response to the Covid-19 pandemic and partly to the RBI's monetary policy response, which was time-limited and targeted to spe-cific sectors. India's substantial foreign exchange reserves boosted interna-tional investor confidence, he said. India's relatively conservative approach to Covid-19 stimulus spending

tional investor confidence, he said. India's relatively conservative approach to Covid-19 stimulus spending had helped to keep alid on inflation, Das said. Although the RBI forecasts india's inflation for the current fiscal year will be 6.7 per cent — above the 4-6 per cent band that the RBI targets — it is lower than in many other leading economies. Many economists expect New Delhi to increase spending in next month's annual budget, ahead of 2024's general election. But Das said he had "no reason to doubt" the government's commitment to curbing its fiscal defict. India's foreign exchange reserves, which peaked at \$642bn in 2021, have fallen to about S550b after spending to stabilise the rupee and revaluation because of the strengthening dollar. Das described this as a "very comfortable level", equivalent to nine months official septiment of the strengthening dollar. The rejected timports and 92 per cent offis external debt. Her rejected the idea that India "burnt up" reserves during 2022. The RBI gowernor was scathing about cryptocurrencies, arguing that the RBI had helped to shield investors from the recent meltdown in the sector by advising the government against regulating—and therefore legitimising — digital assets.

Regime resilience. Opposition disarray

## Maduro strengthens hand as Venezuela president

'Interim government' ends

along with Washington's

effort to maximise pressure

MICHAEL STOTT — BUENOS AIRES

Juan Guaidó proclaimed himself Vene zuela's rightful president to the cheers of crowds and the acclamation of the US. Europe and much of Latin America.

years later, the end came quietly behind closed doors and at the hands of

Members of Venezuela's opposition decided at an online session by 72 votes to 29 on December 30 to scrap Guaido's "interim government", belatedly recog-nising its failure to unseat the South American country's socialist president

On January 4, it appointed a new lead-ership triumvirate of exiled lawmakers. idó's political stunt, sponsored by the Trump administration and backed up with crippling economic sanctions on the Maduro government and Vene-zuela's once-mighty oil industry, instead

turned into a US foreign policy failure. The result was an exodus of refugees and the devastation of the South Ameri-

"This marks the end of the US strat-egy of 'maximum pressure' on Vene-zuela," said Francisco Rodríguez, pro-fessor of public affairs at the University of Denver. "The great majority of the opposition understood that it would lead nowhere. The interim government was clearly weakening with fewer and fewer countries supportingit." Now approaching a decade in power with continued backing from Russia, China, Cuba and tran, Maduro looks stronger than ever as he approaches the next presidential election, scheduled for 2024.

"It's time for . . . a new geopolitics to redistribute power in the world," Maduro proclaimed in a television interview at the start of the year. "That war in Ukraine is part of the birth pains of a [new] world which is rising. Have no doubt that we will be there . . . in the yappund!"

vanguard."

The US-backed opposition, meanwhile, is in disarray. "By overturning the Interim Presidency, those deputies have committed an unconstitutional historical mistake that only benefits the dictatorship," Carlos Vecchio, who must vacate the Venezuelan embassy residence in Washington after the demise of the interim government ended his role



President
Nicolás Madure
raises a fist as
he participates
in a rally
commemoratif
former leader
Hugo Chávez
Leorardo Fernández Vitori

as its ambassador to the US, said in a

Damaged by the failure of the interim government, most Venezuelan opposition leaders are polling worse than Maduro, whose popularity has recovered somewhat as the economy pulls out of a nosedive that destroyed about three-quarters of gross domestic product. The IMF estimates that Venezuela's GDP expanded 6 per cent last year and forecasts similar growth this year, although inflation is accelerating again. Washington is now trying to press Maduro to resume internationally sponsored talks in Mexico with the Venezuelan opposition to guarantee free and fair elections in 2024, offering the carrot of sanctions relief. The Maduro government left the talks in October 2021 and has yet to restart formal discussions, despite an agreement to do so last year. Some experts believe the Mexico talks could deliver significant change in Venezuela, particularly if the US, the EU and Latin America keep up pressure on Maduro.

"Since there is – finally – the poten-Damaged by the failure of the interim

Maduro.
"Since there is – finally – the potential of progress in Venezuela and greater focus on the negotiations and the 2024 presidential elections, now is the time to start to broaden the discussion among

House.

Sabatini said the private sector could help. "They are one of the few remaining sectors (with the exception of Cuba, China, Russia and Iran) with any pull with the Maduro government," he said. "The trick is to engage them now to use it for positive outcomes."

"The trick is to engage them now to use it for positive outcomes."

Tamara Taraciuk Broner, acting Americas chief for Human Rights Watch, added a note of caution. "The Maduro government has no incentive on its own to restart negotiations," she said. "It's extremely important that the governments who want to see a democratic transition support the opposition."

democratic transition support the opposition."

Among the few things that the Guaidó administration did control were Venezuelan oil industry assets in the US, central bank gold stored in the UK and diplomatic buildings in Washington.

Its demise leaves them in limbo amid legal battles on both sides of the Atlantic as the Maduro government seeks to reassert control. The opposition or nursed propriet de a commission to control the assets but it is unclear whether courts will recognise it.

Washington granted a six-month licence to Chevron last November to

ume pumping oil from its Venezuela operations, in an attempt to encourdeputies have

committed a historical mistake that benefits the

dictatorship

oil operations, in an attempt to encour-age political dialogue. Investors are hopeful that the move may herald a broader economic opening in Venezuela. It could also improve the chances of restructuring about \$50 in outstanding government and state oil company debt, currently trading at less than 10 cents on the dollar. But for now, the fear of falling foul of US sanctions act as a nowerful deterrent

than 10 cents on the dollar.

But for now, the fear of falling foul of US sanctions act as a powerful deterrent to foreign investors doing business in Caracas. "Anyone coming to Venezuela now will find great deals," one lawyer in Venezuela said. "But while the sanctions are in place, people will think twice about committing funds."

US officials insist that, following the Chevron move, no further sanctions will be lifted unless Maduro plays ball.

With the opposition weakened, the economy improving and the political idde in Latin America turning in his favour with the election of a new crop of leftist leaders, Maduro may feel little need to make concessions.

"Today, Maduro has no credible threats on the horizon," said Luis Vicente León, president of the Caracas-based polling and research firm Datanálisis. "I am not expecting Maduro's exit from power in 2024."

## Boss of South African state power monopoly says he survived murder attempt

JOSEPH COTTERILL — JOHANNESBURG

The chief executive of South Africa Eskom state power monopoly survived an alleged attempt to kill him with cya-nide-laced coffee last month, shortly after submitting his resignation.

The alleged plot to poison André de Ruyter took place before it was widely known that he had resigned, according to people familiar with the details. De Ruyter drank a cup of coffee laced with cyanide on December 12, they said. Pravin Gordhan, the minister over-seeing Eskom and other state compa-nies, said on Saturday that de Burder

nies, said on Saturday that de Ruyter had informed him of the alleged plot.

De Ruyter, who will stay as Eskom chief executive until the end of March while a replacement is found, did not

respond to a request for comment.

The timing of the incident indicates that those allegedly seeking to warn de Ruyter, or to kill him, may not have known he had already quit. The coffee machine at Eskom's Johannesburg headquarters was out of service, according to people briefed on the incident, but he was served the drink from a different source using his usual mug. He immediately felt nauseous and confused, forget-

ting familiar words.

De Ruyter had sought to turn round Eskom by taking on alleged criminal syndicates that have been draining the The alleged poisoning underscores the threat to the government's campaign to root out corruption from South Africa's state-owned companies. Ram-aphosa strengthened his grip on the rul-ing African National Congress in December with his re-election as leader despite a damaging scandal over a theft at his private game farm.

The main opposition Democratic Alli-ance said yesterday that "not only has de Ruyter been left out to dry amid ANC shenanigans but now criminal syndi-cates within Eskom are palpably hell-bent on cementing their stranglehold on Eskom that is destroying the econ-. . firm and decisive action needs

on January 5 2023, and the case can be med to be under investigation?

Eskom's crisis is seen as the biggest threat to South Africa's economy and to the ANC's decades-long grip on po ahead of national elections next year

In 2022 South Africans endu as many power outages as the year



before as breakdowns increased at before as breakdowns increased at Eskom's fleet of ageing coal power sta-tions. Newer coal-fired plants also con-stantly malfunction. The power cuts continued throughout South Africa's holiday season and into the new year. De Ruyter made many enemies after

his appointment in late 2019, as he launched investigations into alleged criminal syndicates that he accused of worsening the blackouts by pilfering supplies from coal power stations and sabotaging attempts to fix problems. He is protected at all times by a bodyguard, are other executives and some power

station operators at the company.

"Make no mistake Mpumalanga is a
gangster province," de Ruyter told the

battle between those who want South Africa to work and thrive, and those who want to corruptly enrich themselves", Gordhan said.

A plan to split Eskom, which is heavily in debt, into separate generation, trans-mission and distribution units has been opposed by some members of the ANC
who see it as a way of reducing state control and privatising the energy sector.

In delayed annual statements released last month, the company's released last month, the company s auditors warned of "significant control deficiencies" in the supply of coal, fuel and parts to power stations. In one inci-dent, they added, key documents that they had requested "were purposefully destroyed in a fire".

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Don't hold your breath Despite the FTX fallout, there is no guarantee of US regulatory action on the tech sector • OPINION

## Companies & Markets

## Race is on to tap US bond market's easier conditions

- Investors trim expectations for rates
- Credit Suisse and Ford among issuers

Companies have rushed to borrow money in the US corporate bond market in the first week of the year, taking advantage of easier financial conditions as investors scale back expectations for the path of future interest rates

In the first seven days of 2023, compa-nies ranging from Credit Suisse to Ford issued \$63.7bn worth of US-marketed debt, according to data from Dealogic compared with a total of \$36.6bn in the last five weeks of 2022.

than the \$73.1bn that it issued in the first

'If the 10-year Treasury stays at these levels for an extended period of time, you will see more issuance

week of January 2022, interest rates have jumped from near zero to a range of 4.25-4.5 per cent since then. This has raised the cost of borrowing with more

tightening yet to come from the Fed.

Although the cost of borrowing is far higher than it was a year ago, it has dropped since peaking in October as cooling inflation has tempered expectations of how long the Fed will have to

tions of how long the Fed will have to keep interest rates high.

This is despite the central bank's insistence that it will keep interest rates elevated until it reaches its target 2 per cent inflation rate. Treasury yields have fallen as investors bet that interest rates will peak at about 5 per cent in June.

"If the 10-year Treasury stays at these levels for an extended period of time, you will see more issuance come to market," said will smith, director of US high-yield credit at AllianceBernstein.
"And it's not just lower levels, it is lower volatility. The more volatility there is in rates, the less corporate issuance."

Issuance is typically high in January because demand is lower in December as many investors go on vacation. December was particularly slow in 2022 because the holidays were immediately preceded by a high-stakes Fed meeting at which the central bank changed the

pace of its monetary tightening.
In the minutes from its December
meeting released this week, Fed officials warned that "unwarranted easing in financial conditions, especially if driven by a misperception by the public of the committee's reaction function, would complicate the committee's effort to restore price stability".

Several issuers this week, including Société Générale and UBS, had initially begun to feel out interest at the begin ning of December only to find a very slow market, according to an investor who wished to remain anonymous because of the confidential nature of the discussions. The majority of issuance this week was investment grade, with offerings from foreign banks with big businesses in the US and just one high-yield offering from Ford, which ranks

high on the spectrum of junk ratings.

Corporate yields have fallen further than those on Treasuries, with the dif-ference between the two — the premium that investors demand to hold riskier corporate bonds over risk-free Treasur-

corporate bonds over risk-free Treasuries — also shrinking since October. That is typically an indication that investors see lower risk of default, suggesting some have scaled back expectations for the magnitude of the slowdown in the US economy this year.

But some investors who are persuaded that a recession is coming safe the lower premiums companies were paying to borrow were not enticing enough for investors. "Spreads are very tight for where we are in the economic cycle so you need to be selective," said Monica Erickson, head of investment grade credit at DoubleLine Capital.

in the same of the

### Gas quest Europe takes lead in LNG imports to replace dwindling Russia pipeline supply



EU countries imported 101mn tonnes of LNG last year, 58 per cent more than 2021-Loc



Europe was the largest customer in the global liquefied natural gas mar-ket in 2022, with the region importing substantially higher volumes than rival buyers as it seeks to replace dwindling Russian pipeline gas supplies

In previous years, the EU lagged behind Japan and China on LNG imports, but Russia's weaponisation of energy since its invasion of Ukraine has forced the bloc to seek alternative

fuel supplies. With Europe's need to import greater volumes to fill up its storage facilities in 2025, the LNG market set to remain tight, potentially pushing up prices for gas users worldwide. EU nations imported 10 lum tonnes of LNG in 2022, 58 per cent more than the previous year, data from Refinitiveshow. The bloc accounted for 24 per cent of global LNG imports during the period.

Europe's quest was aided by a

rope's quest was aided by a

Namit Sharma, global co-leader of oil and gas at consultancy McKinsey. Bei-jing's strict zero-Covid policy led to a deceleration in the economy and reduced demand for energy. "Had China purchased more LNG, it would have been difficult for Europe to actu-

lly source that gas," Sharma said. China's LNG imports in 2022 totalled 64.5mn tonnes; in 2021 it was the largest importer globally with 79mn tonnes. The country also re-exported some excess LNG to Europe this year, helping to top up the bloc's

this year, helping to top up the blue's gas storage.

The EU's LiNG import last year is equivalent to 137bn cubic metres worth of natural gas, close to the about 140bn cm of pipeline gas it received from Russian 12021.

Analysts warn, however, that Europe will need to import more LiNG in 2025, as it starts the year largely void of Russian pipeline gas, as Moscow moved to halt supplies.

Meanwhile, China has also dropped



as 2021, as Beijing has deployed huge amounts of renewable energy and is building its domestic gas supply. LNG now makes up about 35 per

LING now makes up about 35 per cent of Europe's gas supply, up from 20 per cent last year, according to data from think-tank Bruegel.

The International Energy Agency warned in December that the EU could face a potential gas supply-demand gap of 27bn cm in 2023 in a scenario where Russian pipeline gas deliveries drop to zero and China's LNG imports rebound to 2021 levels. Improvements in energy efficiency and a more rapid development of renewables would help to fill the gap, the IEA said. These shifts will be needed "to satisfy the conditions of refilling gas storage levels to 95 per cent and maintaining gas supply security through to the spring of 2024 without excessive strains on markets and European consumers".

### Ma gives up control of Ant after Xi crackdown

Chinese billionaire Jack Ma is to relin-quish control of Ant Group, the fintech company revealed on Saturday, as its founder continues his withdrawal from his online businesses following Bei-jing's tech crackdown.

Ma will see his voting rights shrink from above 50 per cent to 6.2 per cent, according to calculations based on a statement from the online payments and loans provider. The planned change of control, first reported last puly, would help release the company from the limbo It has experienced since an intended IPO was pulled at the last minute in November 2020.

A change in control starts the clock on

A change in control starts the clock on Ant having to wait a year before it can attempt a fresh listing in Hong Kong, or two years for the high-tech Star board in Shanghai. But the timeline could be delayed if other regulatory require ments are not met.

Ma also co-founded leading ecom merce company Alibaba and separated the Ant payments business from it in 2011. Ma's status in the companies has been in jeopardy since he gave an ill-timed speech criticising Chinese regula-tors and the country's state-owned banks on the eve of Ant's IPO. The speech led President Xi Jinping to

force the abandonment of Ant's listing and triggered a regulatory crackdown on the country's largest tech groups. Ma was compelled to retreat from the limelight. He has increasingly spent his time outside China, most recently living in Tokyo for many months

The changes mean Ant will have no ultimate controller, the company said, adding that independent directors — who include Laura Cha, the Hong Kong

who include Laura Cha, the Hong Kong stock exchange chair — would make up more than half of the board.

"As a result of the adjustment, the shareholding structure of Ant Group will be more transparent and diversi-fied, which will facilitate the steady development of the company, it said, adding the changes would not affect its daily operations.

adding the changes was adding the changes was adding operations.

Duncan Clark, founder of the Beijing-based BDA Consultancy, said the government had been working to reassert control over the sector. "Jack ceding control is likely the culmination of the campaign," he said. "The need to restore investor confidence and stimulate growth will now outweigh everything."



so beloved is Tiramisu tha

### Financials. Soured bet

## Apollo and rivals set for Carvana showdown

Pandemic darling with a

model billed as revolutionary now faces fight for survival

The last time Apollo made a big bet on the US car sector, it walked away with hundreds of millions in profits, courtesy of Hertz. This time it is forced to band together with Wall Street rivals as they brace for a showdown with Carvana, the pandemic darling that promised to revolutionise how Americans bought cars but now faces a fight for survival.

but now laces a fight for survival. The group last April bought just over \$800mm of junk bonds issued by Carvana, betting it could regain some of the \$50bm equity valuation it reached in 2021 before crashing as interest rates rose and consumers cut spending. Apollo believed in Carvana's plan to sell cars online and thometh the 10.25 could be sell cars online and thometh the 10.25 could be sell cars online and thometh the 10.25 could be sell cars online and thometh the 10.25 could be sell cars on the could be selled by the could be selled by

sell cars online and thought the 10.25 per cent annual coupon on offer in the \$3bn bond issuance offered plenty of protection. The firm was reassured by a study into Carvana's model it, with other investors, had commissioned from Bain in early 2022. Apollo, considered by many to be the canniest credit investor, had been a longtime investor

"Apollo was drunk on the Manheim

the dollar. The paper losses imply a \$400mn loss for Apollo, but that had been mitigated by coupon payments and hedging activities, said a person familiar with the position. Apollo and other bondholders are gearing up for a potential clash with the company and the founding García fam-ily, which holds shares controlling 84 per cent of votes.

per cent of votes.

Carvana was built out of DriveTime, an Arizona used-car business owned by Ernie Garcia II, and pitched itself as the disrupter of used-vehicle dealerships. The group, which went public in 2017, sells hundreds of thousands of vehicles each year and is run by Ernie Garcia III. Apollo, Carvana and the Garcia family declined to comment.

In December, Apollo and at least six other firms that together hold 80 per cent of Carvana's more than \$5bn in debt formed a pact to pre-empt the company from leaning on individual bondholders and pitting them against each other. The "co-operation agree-ment" rules outside deals and stands for at least six months. The group of bond-holders "locking arms", as one member put it, includes Ares Management, Pimco, BlackRock, Knighthead Capital, Davidson Kempner and Oaktree. All of the firms declined to comment. The bondholders had chosen to

organise after they learned that Carvana was working with law firm Kirkland &

was also part of Apollo's foray into the US vehicle sector when the former co-led an equity investment to successfully buy Hertz out ob bankrupts; in the sum-mer of 2021. Apollo had purchased 1.5bn of Hertz preferred stock, paying a 9 per cent annual dividend. Late in 2021, months after emerging from bankruptcy, the car rental group decided to repay the pricey Apollo stock for a contractually agreed 25 per cent premium, or \$1.875bn.

premium, or \$1.8750n.

Like Hertz, Carvana had found itself propelled by consumers flush with stimulus cash and a dearth of vehicles, which sent rental car rates and used car prices sent rental car rates and used car prices soaring. Carvana had never turned a net profit. By early 2022 it was not only facing plummeting demand but was weighed down by the \$2bn acquisition of Adesa, a company with a network of physical care and the state of the st of Adesa, a company with a network of physical car auction sites. Carvana which bought at the top of the market, had struggled to raise financing to close the deal. When it sold bonds in the spring, in part to fund the Adesa deal, it also sold \$1.3bn of stock, a third of



which went to the Garcia family. Since then, the stock has fallen 94 per cent from the \$80 stock price offering and Carvana's market cap has shrunk to about \$1bn. Even while having the capacity to issue secured bonds, it is labouring under hundreds of millions of dollars in annual interest payments.

In the third quarter of last year, Carvana announced its first year-on-year decline in vehicle unit sales. Despite the headwinds, Garcia III sald it had enough near-term liquidity between \$500mm in cash, \$2bn of revolving credit capacity, as well as \$2bn worth of property it could borrow against. People involved in the organised debt group said the bondholders had not yet formed any specific strategies nor had seriously engaged with Carvana. They said options include committing more capital in the form of debt or equity that the company had little ability to pay more interest or issue new shares at its current valuation.

Several Carvana creditors said they hought the commany with fresh cani-

Several Carvana creditors said they thought the company, with fresh capi-tal, could further slash costs and turn cash-flow-positive. The Garcia family remains a wild card. The elder Garcia has no official role at the company but has sold billions of dollars in Carvana stock in recent years.

John Colantuoni, at Jefferies, said

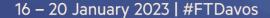
"access to capital over the next five to 10

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#### COMPANIES & MARKETS

## UAE group worth \$240bn rises out of the blue

Bankers baffled by growth of IHC, an Abu Dhabi-listed group whose share price has gone up 42,000% since 2019

ABU DHABI
Three years ago, International Holding
Company was a little known enterprise
that ran fish farms and food and real
estate businesses. It employed just 40
people. Today, the Abu Dhabi-listed
group's market capitalisation of \$240bn
is more than double that of global giants
Siemens and GE and it has a headcount
of 150000.

of 150,000.

It is an extraordinary transformation that has largely gone unnoticed outside the United Arab Emirates and is little understood, even by bankers based in the region. "Nobody knows," said one Gulf-based international banker when asked to explain IHC's dramatic growth. It is a common response to question about the conglomerate, despite it accounting for a third of the FADN 15, the benchmark index of the ADN Abu

the benchmark index of the ADX Abi Dhabi Securities Exchange. As its share price has soared more than 42,000 pe cent since 2019, it has become the sec ond largest listed company in the Mid-dle East after Saudi Aramco, the state oil

over as IHC's chief executive in mid-2019, acknowledged that "it's amazing".

In an interview with the Financial Times, he insisted there were simple explanations for the company's growth
— the transfer of more than 40 companies, which combined were worth
\$4.7bn according to IHC, from Royal Group, another Abu Dhabi conglomer-ate. The majority of the businesses were transferred at nominal value of one dirham each, Shueb said.

Yet that explains only part of the story: IHC's assets rose from \$215mn at the end of 2018 to \$54bn in the third quarter of 2022, to trade at 21 times ook value, according to Refinitiv. IHC says this is due to the growth of the busi-nesses it now controls. "We don't give any dividend, the profits we made in 2020, 2021 are mainly . . . invested back," Shueb said. "We are trying to create a giant here . . . a global giant."

Others view IHC as an example of the

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increasingly blurred relationship between business and power in Abu Dhabi, the UAE capital and wealthiest member of the federation.

It has also sparked questions about transparency. "It's probably the biggest threat to the ADX because we don't know what's happening," said the banker. "There's a lot of great things happening on the ADX, and then there's this thing that nobody knows."

ular growth of IHC's market capitalisa-tion that officials in neighbouring Dubai no longer consider the possibility of of its stock market with the ADX, people

Ernst & Young said its review of IHC's latest financial statement, for the third quarter of last year, was "substantially less in scope" than an audit along inter-national standards and therefore it was unable to obtain assurance "of all signif-

IHC said: "Due to the limited amount of information that is required to be pre-sented in an interim financial statement . . . external auditors typically do not conduct a full-fledged audit of these

'We don't give any dividend. We are trying to create a giant here.

a global

financial statements." The comp transformation can be timed to the period Sheikh Tahnoon bin Zayed al-Nahyan, one of the most powerful fig-ures in Abu Dhabi, took over as chair in 2020. As well as being the UAE's national security adviser, he is the full brother of its president, Sheikh Moham med bin Zayed al-Nahyan, and he over

bin Zayed Al Nahyan, left,

sees an expanding business empire. In addition to his role at IHC, he chairs ADQ, a new and increasingly active state investment vehicle, First Abu Dhabi Bank, the UAE's largest lender, and Group42, an Abu Dhabi-based arti-ficial intelligence and cloud computing company. He also controls Royal Group, a holding company that owns 62 per cent of IHC. About 24 per cent of IHC's cent of IHC. About 24 per cent of IHC's shares are freely floated, with more than

90 per cent of investors from the Gulf. Shueb said Sheikh Tahnoon's vision

Shueb said sheikh Tahnoon's vision for HHC "was limited to creating value for the shareholders". He dismissed scepticism about what had driven the rapid share price growth, saying it was a "little bit of ignorance of the bankers who are not looking at it properly". He added: "The investor who is willing to invest at this market cap, it is only because they have done their homework well because they can see those assets have a significant value. I believe people are anticipating that those certain assets that are still outside [with Royal Group] will come to the IHC



group . . . which I'm not denying, it's likely they will come."
Shueb sought to explain the group's goal as "one simple thing — [to] create value for our shareholders by investing indifferent portfolios, not one stream of investment". For example, he said if IHC bought a telecoms company it would integrate it on the services side of IHC, and expand into 'Soultions' and 'hardware sales''. In agriculture, the plan was to supply food from 'farm to table'. He added that the company had a \$100n war cheet for investments and was targetting group revenue growth from \$770n in 2021 to \$270n in 2023, largely through acquisitions. 'Our five-

largely through acquisitions."Our five-year plan is to reach 1tn dirham [\$272bn] in revenue at least, in acquisins and our own busines vell." Shueb said.

rery well," Shueb said.

Deals by IHC in 2022 include investnig \$20n in three Mumbai-listed companies that are part of the empire of Gautam Adani, Asia's richest man, \$500mr to buy a 50 per cent stake in a Turkish clean energy company and a \$2bn offer to buy up to 31.25 per cent of Colombian

food group Grupo Nutresa. Shueb attributed IHC profits of \$6.5bn in the first nine months of 2022, a 236 per cent rise compared with the same period in 2021, largely to investments, including in the Adani companies.

Shueb said IHC's focus was on tech althcare, real estate, construction food and agribusiness and general investment. Geographically, its atten it was looking for deals in markets as diverse as Turkey and Indonesia.

"These are progressing economies; they have population; they have reasonable systems to support all this growth and at the end of the day, because we are from Abu Dhabi and UAE population is only 10mn, I cannot . . . reach 100mn population but I can reach 100mn through these companies," he said.

through these companies," he said. He added that IHC was also "looking at certain deals" in the US, where it already had some holdings, including a stake in Elon Musk's SpaceX. But he viewed Europe as "a very uncertain market right now", adding: "We are get-ting a lot of very good deals [in Europe], but [we] don't know if these good deals

research on the group despite its size and dominance of the ADX, Shueb said "it's up to them if they want to do it or not. When I go to the market for any IPO for

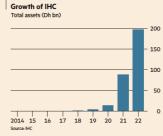
wnen igo to the market for any IPO for my companies, I get enough questions from the local investor base... they have enough research on our financials. Our books are very open.

IHC has had discussions with a credit agency about a rating, but that process hit a stumbling block when the agency asked what to compare the group with, Shueb said.

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asked what to compare the goury with, Shueb said.

He said IHC had debt of about 10bn dirham, excluding operating debt at portfolio companies, and would look to increase borrowing as it expanded. He said the group was developing relations with international banks, including securing a loan of "several billion dollars" from Standard Chartered and was engaging with Goldman Sachs and UBS. Others still need convincing of the group's strategy, "I don't understand it because it's a \$200bn market cap company that files less disclosure than entities significantly smaller than that, and whole complex of listed and unlisted subsidies that are highly active," said another Gulf-based banker. However, "it's such an important source of deal flow that I'm sure some banks are examining what they can do," to get involved, what they can do," to get involved,



Financial services

### Women still under-represented at board level

SIDDHARTH VENKATARAMAKRISHNAN

Europe's financial services companies are making slow progress on gender diversity, with women still accounting for little over 40 per cent of board seats despite filling half of the appointments made at that level in 2022.

The data, in a report released by EY, underline the significant road ahead for employers seeking to improve female representation, which campaigners said was only part of the process for a more equitable financial sector.

"While having half of board seats

filled by women last year is a notable milestone . . . quotas by themselves do

groups in the second half of the year, up from 37 per cent when the same research was completed for the first time in June. Across the FTSE 100, the was nearly 40 per cent in 2022, g to previous research by EY according to previous research and Cranfield School of Managem

There was a divergence in perform ance between sectors, with wealth and wards in contrast to banks and insurers



dra Soobiah, co-chair of the 30% Club, a campaign aimed at helping more women reach board level positions, women reach board rever positions, said: "Low female representation across leading financial organisations is con-cerning and the lack of progress in improving the situation is hugely frus-

which increased their numbers. Dian-

"While new policies and recruitment practices are welcome, more needs to be done to shake off legacy issues that have long hindered the industry from pro-

ressing on diversity." Gender diversity in boardroom appointments rose significantly in 2022, with 50 per cent of roles taken by female candidates — an 8 percentage point



#### COMPANIES & MARKETS

## Apple to open first flagship stores in India

Expansion effort comes as part of drive to diversify manufacturing operations

PATRICK MCGEE - SAN FRANCISCO

Apple has started hiring retail store workers in India and posted plans to fill many other roles as it prepares to open tis first flagship locations in the world's second biggest smartphone market as soon as this quarter.

On Priday, Apple's career page listed openings for 21 different job functions it seeks to fill in "various locations within called" in buddies technical east-fill its description.

India", including technical specialist,

business expert, senior manager, store leader and 'genius'.

Many of the job descriptions refer directly to flagship retail operations. "The Apple Store is a retail environment like no other — uniquely focused on delivering amazing customer experiences," says one.

Apple, which did not immediately comment, has not confirmed plans to open its first stores in the country, But in February 2020 CEO Tim Cook told investors Apple Store would expand to India the following year, saying he was not content to leave retail sales to franchise partners. hise partners.
"I don't want somebody else to run

the brand for us," Cook said at the 2020 annual shareholders meeting.

The expansion would be important for Apple as it attempts to diversify manufacturing from China and give momentum to its nascent production operations in India. Supply chain experts say Apple hasa "siliconto storefront" ambittion of controlling all aspects of the customer experience from Apple-designed chips in its phones to Apple Store retail clerks. "The stars are finally aligning for Apple in India," said Neil Shah, analyst at Counterpoint, amarket intelligence group.

Cook personally visited and met prime minister Narendra Modi in 2015,

reportedly lobbying to open an Apple Store in the country. But protectionist rules require that foreign companies selling goods directly to consumers must source 30 per cent of components leadly.

ever, the rules have been relaxed in recent years, and in 2017 Apple sup-pliers began assembling iPhones in India. This allowed it to avoid 22 per India. This allowed it to avoid 22 per cent tariffs, which helped to buoy sales. New Delhi has since given incentives to smartphone makers to shift more pro-duction to the country, resulting in major investments from Taiwanese contract manufacturers Foxconn, Wis-tron and Peatron. India's Tata Group, which makes casings for iPhones in the southern state of Tamil Nadu, plans to scale up its operations to provide a broader range of components for Apple, according to three people familiar with its plans, on which the Indian industrial group has no commented.

the Indian industrial group has not commented.

Last year, about 200mn smartphones were made in India, 10 times the number assembled in 2014, according to Counterpoint. And while Apple's market share in India is just 5 per cent it is growing quickly and leads the premium segment with two-fifths of all sales.

onal reporting by John Reed

### Week ahead. Market Questions

## Investors bet on slower US consumer price growth

Investors and economists are betting that the Federal Reserve's aggressive monetary campaign will have slowed

The Bureau of Labor Statistics will release its consumer price index data for last month on Thursday, with market participants surveyed by Refinitiv expecting prices to have risen 6.6 per cent year-on-year in December, down from an increase of 7.1 per cent in November. That would mark the slow est pace since October 2021.

Month over month, consumer prices are expected to have remained flat, compared with an increase of 0.1 per

The drop is expected to have been driven in part by a fall in energy prices, which included petrol that was 13 per cent lower in December, said Jon Hill, a

strategist at Barclays. Core CPI, which strips out the volatile food and energy components, is expected to have risen 5.7 per cent year-on-year, versus 6 per cent in November. These moves would come at the end of a year in which the Fed lifted interest rates from near zero to a range of

4.25-4.5 per cent.

The effects of the historic pace of increases were somewhat slow to take hold: inflation peaked in June, but continued to run above 8 per cent until

September.

December's inflation data will be a crucial piece of information for the Fed when it meets from Jan 31 to Feb 1, and could help decide whether the central bank will lift interest rates by 0.5 percentage points, matching last month's increase, or slow the pace further.

Kate Duguid

#### What will production data reveal about Europe's factories?

about Europe's factories?

Last year was tough for many European manufacturers, and conditions were unlikely to have improved much in November, when industrial production was expected to have suffered its second consecutive monthly decline.

The energy crisis caused by Russia's invasion of Ukraine, on top of continued disruption to global supply chains and weakening economic growth, contributed to make 2022 a difficult one for many industrial groups in Europe.

l to make 2022 a university ny industrial groups in Europe conomists polled by Reuters rall eurozone industrial prod



In a spin: the energy crisis, plus further disruption to global supply chains, made last year challenging for many Europear factories, such as this one in Ditzingen, Germany

o have fallen 0.2 per cent when those gures are released on Friday. Earlier in many, France and Italy — the bloc's three largest economies — are also expected to reveal slight contractions in industrial extent

three largest economies – are also expected to reveal slight contractions in industrial output.

The gloomy outbook for the German industrial sector was underlined last week, when factory order data for November revealed a much bigger than expected drop of 5.3 per cent from the previous month.

Economists, however, believe it will take some time before the sharp fall in demand hits production because of the large backlogs of orders built up since the coronavirus pandemic hit in 2020. Underlining this, turnover in German manufacturing remained buoyant in November, rising 2.1 per cent.

"Weaker demand is only likely to have a muted impact on production," said Ralph Solveen, an economist at German bank Commerzbank. "After all, most industrial companies have a

#### Has the UK economy contracted further?

further?

The UK economy is expected to have continued to struggle at the end of last year under the weight of high inflation and rising borrowing costs. Economists polled by Reuters forecast UK GDP to have slipped 0.5 per cent between October and November, when data is released on Friday.

Sandra Horsfield, economist at Investee, noted that the UK economy has trended lower since May 2022, when inflation started surging. The government has offered help to households and businesses facing a cost of living crists, which may have supported the economy in November.

The reversal from November

The reversal from November onwards of the national insurance rise that took effect in April 2022 left post-tax pay cheques a little higher than in October, and should also have supDecember's inflation data will help decide whether the Fed will lift interest

rates by 0.5 percentage points or reduce increases

further

ners' ability to sper

ported consumers' ability to spend. Moreover, power generation looks likely to have rebounded to some extent after weakness in October, as higher than normal wind speeds should have fed through to industrial production. But Horsfield said those factors and other government help have absorbed only part of the hit. "Add to this the restraining impact on activity of higher interest rates, and the likelihood is that GDP will trend lower for some time further — all the more so at a time when widespread [industrial] strikes cause some additional disruption," she said.

The economy contracted in the third

tion," she said.
The economy contracted in the third quarter of 2022 and November data will provide more information about the final quarter. Many economists expect the UK to have already entered a recession that will last for most of 2023.
"The silver lining to this particular cloud is that we expect it to help in quelling price pressures," said Horsfield.
Valentina Romei

Pharmaceuticals

### Korea vaccine maker plays down prospect of jab supply to China

South Korea's leading vaccine producer says it is unlikely to supply Covid Jabs to China due to Beijing's "national pride" and insistence on using domestic shots, even as the country is hit by its biggest outbreak of the pandemic.

In a Financial Times interview, Jaeyong Ahn, chief executive of SK Bioscience, said it was "unrealistic" to supply Covid vaccines to China in the near future.

vaccines to China in the near nume.

"China is now at the heart of the pandemic. It is a matter of speed, but it won't be easy for us to supply vaccines there unless dramatic talks take place." there unless dramatic talks take place," he said, adding that it was "about [China's] national pride and justifica-tion as well as science". He said SK, which produces Covid vaccines for AstraZeneca and Novavax,

vaccines of Astrazeneca and Povava, is monitoring whether any variants are emerging from the country. The World Health Organization has

accused China of underrepresenting the severity of its outbreak and the real number of deaths. Beijing has not approved the use of foreign-made vac-cines, saying it has "ample" supply of domestically produced jabs. SK Bioscience developed its own

Covid vaccines last year and won domestic approval in June for their use. It is now awaiting approval from the WHO and the EU, which it expects to receive in the first half of this ye

The company, one of the world's lead

'It is a matter of speed, but it won't be easy for us to supply vaccines there unless dramatic talks take place'

ing contract manufacturers, has produced a large volume of vaccines for glo-bal customers. It is keen to accelerate its overseas expansion on the back of rapid growth during the pandemic, with sales quintupling between 2019 and 2021 to Won929bn (\$732mn).

won929bn (\$732mn).
It is now in acquisition talks with several foreign companies, Ahn said, as it tries to sustain growth in the postpandemic era by developing new vaccines and expanding into cell and gene therapies.

times and expanding mo ten and gene
therapies.

"We are seeing the best M&A environment in 14 years in terms of valuations,
although financing conditions have
deteriorated," he said. "We have the
financial firepower and investing well is
our most important agenda [Item] to
boost our corporate value."

SK's share price dropped 67 per cent
last year over concern about its postpandemic growth prospects. The fall
was partly due to a global blottech rout
after sector stocks soared to record
highs in 2021 during the coronavirus
outbreak.

ngis in 2021 during the coronavirus outbreak.

Its operating profit has more than halved to Won106bn in the first nine months of 2022 compared with Won220bn a year earlier, with sales down 34 per cent year on year at Won316bn, due to vaccination programmes maturing in many parts of the developed world.

With its Won1.5tn cash pile, SK is hunting for vaccine companies with technologies that can overcome mRNA's weaknesses, such as the need for storing at ultra-low temperatures.

Technology, About-turn

## Investors wary of Beijing's charm offensive for luring digital funds

Scepticism over pledge to

support internet groups after brutal regulatory crackdown

ELEANOR OLCOTT — TOKYO QIANER LIU — HONG KONG

Investors are sceptical about Beijing's recent pledge to support China's bigges technology companies in the coming year, following a bruising regulatory campaign that has tamed internet titans such as Alibaba and Tencent.

such as Alibaba and Tencent.
During an annual policy meeting that
set out the agenda for 2023, China's
leaders pledged last month to support
digital companies to "fully display their capabilities" in promoting economic growth, according to a readout of the

ing hours and nearly wiped out the edtech sector when it banned for-profit tutoring for core curriculum subjects. Allbaba's market capitalisation has fallen by about 70 per cent and Ten-ent's by about 50 per cent since both companies' share prices peaked, in October 2020 and February 2021 respectively.

respectively.

The lingering concerns were validated last week when China's securities regulator took aim at two Nasdaq-listed online brokerages, Futh Holdings and Up Fintech, which allowed Chinese investors to buy overseas stocks and operated in a regulatory grey area.

The China Securities Regulatory (Comprission banned the companies)

Commission banned the companies from signing up new Chinese users and said it would place supervisory teams in their offices, sending both groups' from the same period in 2021, despite government efforts to bolster investor confidence in recent months. "The regulatory crackdown has shaved hundreds of billions off the mar-

snaved nundreds of billions of the mar-ket capitalisation of China's internet giants," said Duncan Clark, founder of the Beijing-based BDA Consultancy. "Investors will not forget this in a

A Hong Kong-based tech investor at a large international bank said foreign capital was reluctant to dive back into the internet space, with the near-total annihilation of the edtech sector last

year proving to be particularly scarring.

That culminated in the collapse of several smaller tutoring groups and sent valuations of larger groups such as New Oriental tumbling more than 90 per cent. "The sense of gloom is hard to disInstead, officials emphasise the impor tance of stimulating growth to counter rising unemployment.

ng, the new provincial party Alibaba to "unleash innovation" during a visit to its headquarters in Hangzhou,

the first such meeting in two years.

"The visit signals that officials are recommitted to growing the economy,"



said Clark. But he added that investors remained nervous because the shift appeared to be driven by the weakening short-term economic outlook. "To what extent is the regulation over, or is the change being driven by the need to do CPR on the economy?" he asked.

Some industry insiders argue that Beijing's campaign has tamed its inter-net giants. After being hit with a record \$2.8bn anti-monopoly fine, Alibaba was forced to stop strong-arming some mer-chants into exclusively selling products on its platform, a tactic it used to cement

The Hangzhou regulator said conditions for merchants had improved since taking action against Alibaba. "Alibaba had turned into the bully rather than the helper. The situation has improved w," the regulator said.

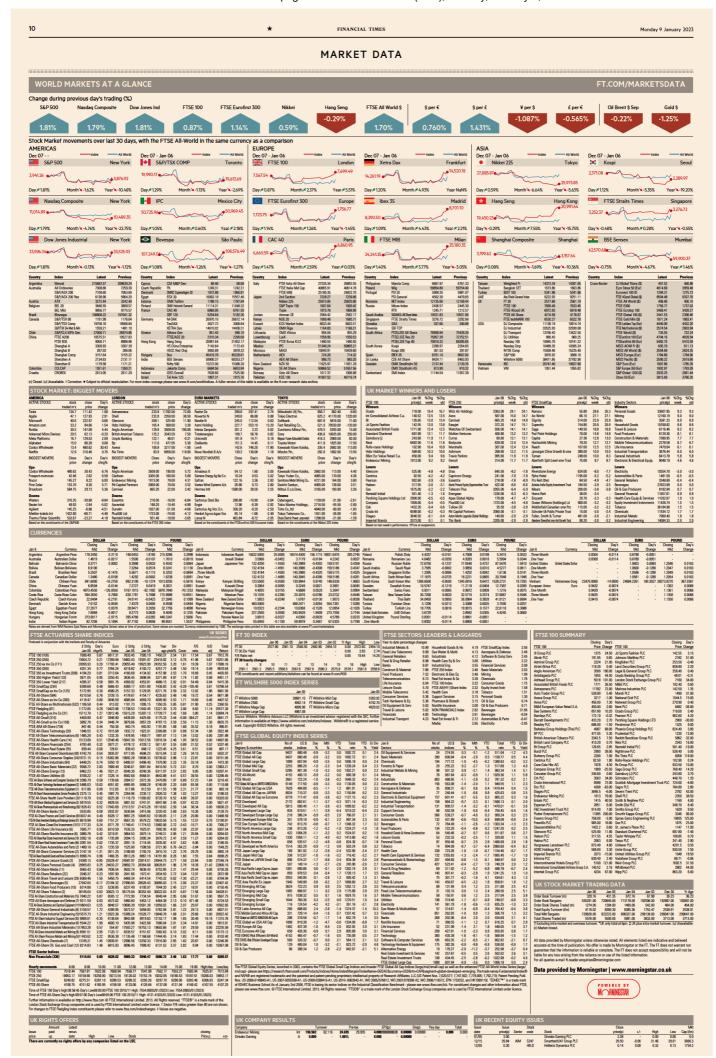
40 per cent more merchandise in Octo r and November compared with the me period in 2021.

same period in 2021.

But the campaign also triggered a sharp slowdown in financing, which has prevented the growth of new start-ups. Shaun Rein, managing director of the China Market Research Group, said

venture capital and private equity funds were wary of diving back into internet companies. "They see China becoming more socialist," he said. "Entrepreneurs are worried the government won't let companies make fat margins, so the pool of potential deals is smaller

But Rein added that hedge funds, with their shorter investment horizons, were "getting interested again", following recent news that the US audit regulators had gained sufficient access to the financial books of Chinese tech groups listed



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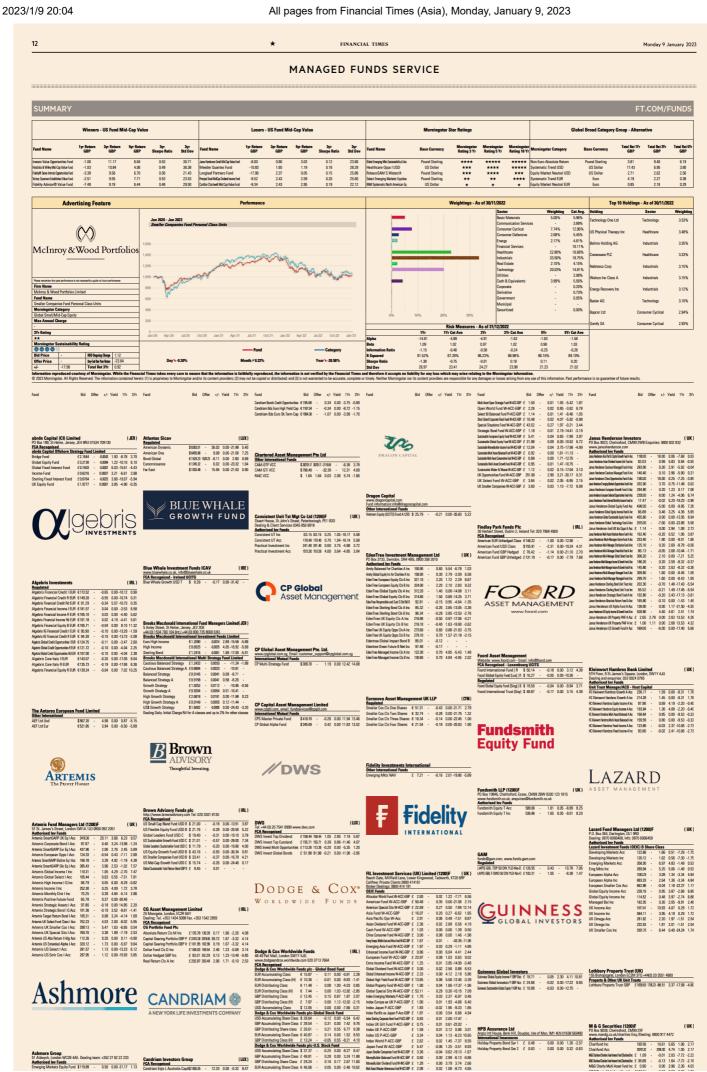
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### **WORK & CAREERS**

## How to be a better authority figure

Good management is a balancing act between firm leadership and providing support, writes Naomi Shragai

elationships between bosses and employees are often fraught with tensions and misunderstandings, and not only because of the intrinsic

power imbalance.
Workers expect their managers to be
empathetic, while having the authority
to lead and look after the staff's inter-ests. Team leaders, on the other hand,
expect underlings to be self-motivated

expect underlings to be self-motivated while doing what is asked.

To add to the complexity, we all have hidden motivations we bring to the workplace as we unconsciously seek to resolve early conflicts with authority figures in childhood through our relationality with wannames.

tionship with managers.

So how can leaders find the right bal-So how can leaders find the right bal-ance between exerting enough author-ity to help people feel well led, while allowing enough autonomy to obtain the best from people? Understanding the basic dynamics between those in

authority and their employees is a start. We all carry an internal authority figure – someone we relied on in early life, usually our parents, and then project uspecting figures at work Our current experience of dependency evokes feelings of the original one. The imagined is then combined with the real, to create a reality of sorts that can at best boost one's career and the success of one's company, but at worst can undermine both if situations are misin-

terpreted and confused with the past.

Mark C Crowley, author of Lead From the Heart, was in his thirties when he was confronted by a critical and erratic boss who evoked painful memories of his abusive father. Although Crowley was doing precisely what was asked of him, his boss criticised him endlessly. He says: "The charge was profoundly painful. I was re-experiencing the same 'what the hell is going on here?' [as with



his father]. When your father finds fault it directly affects your heart and soul. Many days, I would go to work with

tears in my eyes."

Crowley found that his colleagues Crowley found that his colleagues found the boss just as volatile as he did but none had experienced the same emotional charge. "If you didn't have my upbringing and you were working for an unpredictable person you might say, 'that's just how it is,' right?! was simply unable to do that. I suddenly faced the father I [had] felt I was

We need to face reality acknowledge everyone is imperfect - and take responsibility for ourselves

is to believe that leaders are on It relieves our dread of uncertainty and catastrophe. It makes us feel protected, fortunate and optimistic. Being close to them makes us feel great by association.

Yet such idealisation distorts what a leader is actually capable of. Their failings, or even mis nduct, can be con veniently ignored. It can be a mutual dance with distortions on both sides - a leader's demand for excessive admira-tion, and followers who have an unreasonable need to see people with power over them as perfect.

As children, seeing our parents as per-fect helps to cushion us against life's blows. As we mature, however, we need to face reality, acknowledge that every-one is imperfect — and take responsibil-

ity for ourselves.

But for those who experienced

neglect, chaos or abuse in their early years, shedding these fantasies exposes the truth that their parents have harmed them. The unconscious holds repressed memories of the actual par

projected on to the boss.

Ironically, the idealised leader can have similar psychological injuries from early neglect and/or abuse. Both worker and boss attempt to distance them-selves from painful memories differ-ently — one by believing they are perfectly protected and the other by ensur-ing a continuous flow of admiration

Those who experienced only fleeting love in their early years are often left craving more. The desire to capture the boss's attention in order to attain that lost love can be compelling. And, more worryingly, it can make one an easy target for a narcissistic boss who will make you feel special — as long as you follow their every whim. Paradoxically, having loving parents

can sometimes leave one longing for more. One woman working in a London hedge fund was disappointed to dis-cover that no boss would be as interested in her success as her mother had been. The woman's craving for her ultimately she saw that it was infantilis ing. "You want it so much you become too rigid," she says. "It prevents me thinking that I should go for something

else, rather than pleasing my boss."
This woman's parents were from eastern Europe and survived extreme economic hardship during the communist
era. They stressed the value of becoming financially secure. The mother structured her daughter's time and

ensured she was successful in school. As a result, the woman came to rely on praise from her family as an expression of love.

"There was pride in how my parents spoke about me to their acquaintances and our relatives. It [then] became exceptionally important for me to have my boss's approval, that they see me as their right hand. I feel intense professional jealousy towards other people occupying the second-in-command position."

position.
Understanding how she attempts to recapture her mother's love through her boss, and inhibiting her tendency to please, has helped this woman move

rward. With the balance of authority tilting away from managers to employees post-Covid, some managers I see in my prac-tice have expressed their confusion about how to assert their authority.

about how to assert their authority.
One important aspect of leadership is managing people's anxieties—too much control and people feel infantilised, but if you do not project enough authority, they become anxious.
So how should bosses respond to the

longings, fears and fantasies that employees project on to them? Manfred Kets de Vries, a psychoana-lyst and Insead business school profeslyst and Insead business school profes-sor, agrees that leaders can become emotional dumping grounds for peo-ple's unresolved feelings towards their parents, both positive and negative, and often flipping between both. He sugs should listen with empathy and avoid knee-jerk reactions if they think they are being maligned. He says: "If you strongly believe in something, keep saying it — repetition is important. Even when things are bad, it is impor-tant to see some light in the tunnel."

Leaders need to remember how spe-cial they can be to people and that what

they say sticks.

As for employees who struggle with confused feelings towards authority, perhaps the best advice is to remember that at work, you want a good boss, not a read-spead.

Naomi Shragai is a business psychothera-pist and author of 'Work Therapy'





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IT ALL STARTS HERE

BERLIN I LONDON I MADRID I PARIS I TURIN I WARSAW

#### ARTS

Works from cosmetics heir Ronald Lauder's collection, on show in New York, reflect his idiosyncratic taste. writes Ariella Budick

ou have unlimited funds and an equally expansive desire to accumulate one of the world's great art collections. how do you choose what to buy? Do you acquire what the market boosts or fashion promotes – one each of Koons, Warhol, Richter and Twombly, say? Not! fyour Ronald Lauder.

The '78-year-old cosmetics heir, diplomat and philanthropist has spent almost his entire life (since he was an early teenager) desiring, lurking, walting and pouncing with the single-mindedness of a panther. Two decades ago he founded the Neue Galerie in New York, an institutional reflection of his taste for the art of Vienna and central Europe. Now, the museum has tempo Europe. Now, the museum has tempo-rarily turned itself into an extension of rarily turned itself into an extension of his domestic life, presenting the treasures he's amassed in roughly the same way they're displayed in his assorted homes. (Alas, the museum couldn't accommodate his car collection.)
The show, he has said, provides the ordinary non-billionaire viewer with "near the collection of the contraction of the contraction

glimpse into my world". And what you see when you look through the keyhole is a collector with a gift: an immense confidence in his consistently idiosyn cratic taste. Ever since he used his bar mitzvah money to buy a drawing by Egon Schiele in 1957, he has known what he likes: the unidealised, the unfinished,

He likes' the uniceaused, the dramanical, the vaguely grotesque.

Yet there's room for beauty in his schema, especially if it's hard to come by. Carl Moll's "White Interior", painted in 1905 and last exhibited in 1908, dis appeared into a private collection for more than a century; art historians knew it existed but not where it was When it finally came up for sale in 2021, Lauder swooped.

You can see why. The light-filled can-vas depicts the saloniste Berta Zuckerkandl dressed in a columnar white gown, standing with her back to the viewer in a glowing white dining room in the most advanced turn-of-the-century Viennese style. We get a glimpse into her exquisite world, too, and it is filled



## Through the eyes of a billionaire



acquisition, you see the collector as sub-ject, spirit and guiding hand, immersed in an environment of her own creation. Lauder has referred to the Neue Galerie as a Gesamtkunstwerk — a total work of art. He might have been referring to

Zuckerkandl's home. He is a virtuoso of patience. Utterly seduced as a 15-year-old by Klimt's gilded portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer, he finally managed to acquire it in 2006 for a record-setting \$135mm. It is the show's presiding muse. And yet the sheen and swish of those early 20th-century

women are not always representative of a sensibility that gravitates to the per-fectly imperfect, a mixture of sublimity and gnarled realism that transcends period or style. Since the mid-1990s, Lauder has nur

tured an affinity for quattrocento Italian paintings with gold backgrounds, and of paintings with gold backgrounds, and of course he has snaged some of the best. Two tiny panels by the Sienese painter Giovanni dl Paolo (ct440-82) sem be-peel away from the wall and hover before our eyes. They depict miracles from the life of St Clare, a 15th-century disciple of St Francis, but in their surreal abstraction they look almost contempa-rary. In one, St Clare glides above a stormy sea to rescue a boatful of fisher-men. With one arms he crass, the torm rary. In one, St Clare glides above a stormy sea to rescue a boatful of fishermen. With one arm she grasps the torn sail and flailing mast, while the other reaches out to the terrified sailors, whose noses poke timidly above the gunwale. The waves that crash around the vessel look more like hairy hummocks, so that the boat seems adrift on a sea of mounds, as if it were stranded in the desert outside siena. In his "surreal", "visionary" manner, di Paolo "arbitrarily warps the mathematical, perspectival space of Renaissance painting to evoke an emotional or otherworldly experience", observes Metropolitan Museum emeritus curator Keith Christiansen in a catalogue essay. Lauder warms to just that sort of expressive idiom, even when — or because — it violates clichés of beauty. Early in his collecting career, he acquired Carlo Ceresa's 17th-century

portrait of a dour, double-chinned mother with her two doleful daughters. Her Scrooge-like demeanour, combined with the painter's decided obscurity, entranced him then, and its radiant weirdness beguiles me now.

Lauder has always had a weakness for portraits of the elderly, the frail and the not-quite-right. Quinten Massys gives his nameless "Old Man" a whole arsenal of distinctive traits: an aquiline nose with a bulbous tip, sensual lips, hooded eyes and furling ear, all rendered in mes-meric detail. The man's floppy pancake hat, elongated and slightly crooked fig-ure and hint of a grin make him the sort

steel, and if the thick nostrils and cruel lips are anything to go by, the warrior who wore it was a murderous type. A visored 1sth-century basinet from Ger-many flaunts a beaklike mouth and a pointy peak, giving it the air of a bionic beast engineered to intimidate. A thread of temperament leads from the Old Masters and master craftsmen

of the north to the German and Austrian expressionists who have been Lauder's abiding love. Only a show such as this would allow us to savour the affinities between that unattributed "Portrait of an Abbot" and Max Beckmann's exquian Abbot" and Max Beckmann's exqui-site 1915 drawing of "Senior Medical Officer Prof Dr Kuhn" – the same pol-ished head, angular nose and aura of incandescent absorption. The scathing realism of the Renais-sance evolves before our eyes into the

of person you might avoid on the street, but never forget.

Another early purchase, the 16th-century "Four-tait of an Abbot", directs us to the man's irreducible specificity. Despite all his gorgeously rendered accoutrements — a filigreed golden croiser and a bejewelled mitre — it's bersonality that holds our scrutiny. Along with the resolute frown, sagging flesh and bald pate, which make him ringingly un-generic, he demands attention through the intense authority of

riesin and baid pate, which make him ringingly un-generic, he demands atten-tion through the intense authority of his stare.

hisstare.

The same qualities – ferocity and a gruff impatience with languid Mediterranean graces – cling to Lauder's astonishing collection of arms and armour (much of which he has promised to the Metropolitan Museum). A 16th-century Austrian helmet mimes a human face in

steel, and if the thick nostrils and cruel

pitiless grotesques of the early 20th cen-tury: Otto Dix's flushed and kohl-eyed nude from 1926, halfheartedly trying to cover herself; Oskar Kokoschka's luridly lit Peter Altenberg, with his wild whisk-ers and mangled hands; George Grosz's hypnotic portrait of the glass-eyed John Förste, his artificial gaze boring into a book. Here, these expressionist exem-plars seem less like icons of an artistic revolution than images from a life-long hyper-real dream, a glimpse not just into the collector's rooms but into his



'White Interior' (1905)



### UPCOMING 2023 ISSUES

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FEBRUARY MARCH 04 11 25

SEPTEMBER

HTSI – Won HTSI – Men HTSI – Arts HTSI

OCTOBER

02 HTSI - Philanth

# When football is a matter of life and death episode is about Sahar Khodayari, who was arrested in 2019 and faced a possible six-month prison sentence after sneaking into a football match. Rather than doing so, she set herself on fire in protest. But there is also joy and optimism in the stories of women finding ingenious ways to subvert the system. To understand the 40-year battle over football stadiums, Oliaee tells us, is to understand the 40-year battle over football stadiums, Oliaee tells us, is to understand the struggles of irrantian women. Discussing her love of football, Sahafy captures the defiance of female fans as she observes how "even in the weakest moments, there is always that silver of hope and possibility that we

PODCASTS Fiona Sturges

hen Zeinab Sahafy was a child in tran, she would go to her grandmother's bouse to watch football on television. One day, her uncle asked if she would like to see the players in person. Since women were banned from live matches, he instead took her to see the national team as they took her to see the national team as they arrived at Tehran airport and followed them in a car all the way to the stadium. Witnessing the excitement at the gates, Sahafy resolved she would watch the next game from inside the stadium. In Pink Card, a new four-part series about the Iranian women fighting for

their freedom through football, we learn how Sahafy disguised herself as a man in order to attend matches, and

documented it on social media. She now lives in exile in Turkey after the Iranian government declared her an enemy of the state. Asked what would happen to her if she returned to Iran, Sahafy says she would likely be hanged.

Seamlessly blending mer sporting history and geopolitics, Pink

months of anti-government
demonstrations in Iran, triggered by the
death of the Kurdish woman Mahsa
Amini in September 2022 in police
custody. More recently, protesters have
been executed.
For Oliace, this is also a personal
story. Her mother, a keen footballer,
grew up in Iran and was on the front line
of protests in the run-up to the 1979
revolution. Fearing for her safety
following the establishment of a
theocratic regime, her family put her on
a flight to Ren, Nevada. Now, between
making cups of coffee, her mother
shares her experiences as a college
freshman in Tehran before her
university was shut down, and adapting
to her new life in the US. university was shut dow to her new life in the US.

There is tragedy in *Pink Card*'s tales of individuals standing up against their oppressors: the devastating final

sliver of hope and possibility that we could win the match . . . There are times when we feel like the game is over,

but in fact it's just getting started." 30for30podcasts.com/pinkcard

football fan Zeinab Sahafy between Iran and Cambodia in a café in Istanbul

Exiled Iranian





Card comes with an impressive pedigree. It is written and presented by the American-Iranian producer Shima Oilaee, who co-created Dolly Parton's America and The Vanishing of Harry Pace, two of Radiolab's finest mini-series. The timing is also striking: three years in the making, the series arrives in the wake of



### The FT View



FINANCIAL TIMES

ft.com/opinion

### First lesson: learning the value of maths

Britain is belatedly waking up to the central role of numeracy in modern life

Not bad, but must try harder is probably how UK prime minister Rishi Sunak reads the country's mathematics report card, lust half of England's 16 to 19 year-olds study the subject at some level. And while competence in arithmetic is seen as marker of academic rigour in a lot of countries, the English often wear their struggles with algebra, times tables and trigonometry as a badge of honour. To get more serious, Sunak last week called for maths education to be compulsory until 18 — which is what most developed nations already do. Indeed, a thorough grounding in mathematics is critical to equiptoday's students for the future.

grounding in mathematics is critical to equip today's students for the future. Numerical dexterity is an essential skill for adult life. Everyday routines from managing budgets, bills and taxes through to dieting, fitness and time-

keeping require an understanding of basic arithmetical concepts. Employment and salary outcomes are also closely linked to mathematical proficiency. Even beyond well-paid occupations with a direct requirement for higher-level numeracy skills, such as accountancy and engineering, most jobs require some ability to analyse data, assess trends and make measured decisions, for which a low level of numeracy is a poor starting point. A tits core, a solid grasp of mathematics inculcates skills in problem-solving, systems learning and abstract thinking: Albert Einstein described the discipline as "the poetry of logical ideas". Such skills are vital to navigate the new challenges and opportunities wrought by rapid economic and technological change—which will continue to transform working practices and jobs. Research by McKinsey identifies logical reasoning, data literacy and computational thinking among the key foundational skills citizens will need to thrive

in the future of work. Developments in big data, artificial intelligence and quantum computing, and the surge in demand for coders, quants and data analysts reflect this.

So Sunak's announcement is a step forward for England — even if the timing, amid a collapsing health service and strikes, was odd. The country performs respectably on international rankings of primary and secondary school numeracy but greater challenges come in sustaining confidence in numerical skills through to adulthood. Extending maths learning to 18 is one way towards changing that — though it will require rapidly finding more maths teachers. Another is to consider how the subject is taught, including through the use of technology in classrooms. Many countries look to emulate the highly numerate east Asian nations — such as Japan, Singapore and china — where the development of high-quality teachers, hands-on and pictorial learning, and class-wide maths mastery play a part.

in lockstep with ensure students and financial

A lot also comes down to culture and mindset. Attitudes towards learning in general can be shaped by upbringing and experiences in early life. Some studies suggest cultures with a greater focus on effort and long-term values, which may for example place less emphasis on the role of innate ability, perform better at maths. Others point to the role of placing pupils into sets based on ability from an early age—which is more common in the UK—as possibly fomenting negative feelings towards the subject in later life.

Changing education systems and attitudes overnight is not easy. And even the most numerate nations cannot rest on their laurels. Teaching will need to evolve in lockstep with innovation to ensure students have the right arithmetic and financial literacy tools to thrive. Government, employers and society also have a key role in reinforcing numeracy skills in adulthood. Rather than having a single solution, this maths problem will be terative. than having a single solution, this maths problem will be iterative.

**Opinion Society** 

## Japan's reckoning with religious threats







place on Santa's naughty list. Abduction and worse

place on Santa's naughty

List. Abduction and worse
by Black Annis, El Cuco,
An eternity of torture in
the fires of hell.
Childhood misbehaviour is universal, and so is the parental uuge to conjure up a consequence fearsome
enough to stop it. But how far should
hat go and how far is all of it protected
by freedom of religion?
The sudden questioning of the legal
limits of invisible terror has pitched
Japan more deeply than it perhaps
intended into a debate about faith,
imagination and coercion.
The issue is among the still-raw collection of legislative and political ramfications of the assassination last July
of the former prime minister, Shinzo
Abe. Under any circumstances Abe's
murder — the gunning-down of the
country's longest-serving leader in
front of TV cameras.

The political backlash could be more severe than the one it was meant to head off

and bodyguards — would have reverberated powerfully.

But the subsequent allegations that the killer was motivated by a need for revenge against the Unification church, or "Moonies", and its connections with Abe's ruling Liberal Democratic party, ensured even greater repercussions and a rush to react. The killer claimed his mother had been bankrupted by her outsized donations to the church, and the family codemned to generational penury.

to the church, and the family con-demned to generational penury.

As public shock at the killing morphed rapidly into revulsion at the tolerated excesses of coercive fund-raising and the revealed extent of the Unification Church's connections with senior leadership of the LDP, prime minister Fumio Kishida moved quickly. Within months, as more vicquickly. Within months, as more vic-tims came forward with stories of financial ruin, new legislation was bustled through parliament. The new law, passed after a brisk debate in mid-December, took effect last Thursday and is intended both to

excesses of "spiritual sales" – religious items presented as indispensable and

items presented as indispensable and sold for exorbitant sums.

But there are other prongs to the government's attack. The deadline has just passed for the Unification Church to respond to a second round of government questions over how the organisation runs its finances, based

to respond to a second round or government questions over how the organisation runs its finances, based on a large number of civil court rulings that found it had acted illegally in fundraising operations. Utilimately, the inquiry could see the Unification Church stripped of its tax-efficient status as a religious corporation.

A more intriguing corollary of the affair arose at the very end of last month when the welfare ministry sent a new set of guidelines to local governments around the country clarifying where religious doctrine could be justifying child abuse. It urged them not use freedom of religion arguments to look the other way.

Using religious threats to forbid a child from reading manga comics or playing video games, under the new guidelines, could be considered psychological abuse. Critically, that could also now include a parent warning their child that they will go to hell (or similar) if they do not do as instructed. Various faiths will argue that parents have the right to warn their children of any unprovable threat — from the agonising torments of Naraka, the Buddhist version of hell, to navel-stealing ogres — in which they themselves believe. And evenifthey do not.

Clearly, the new legislation, inquiry and guidelines have the triffication Church squarely in their sights. The tone throughout has been that it represents a specific concentration of alleged coercion, brainwashing and financial sharp practice, and that there are straightforward ways of breaking that down.

breaking that down.

However well intentioned the project, the risk is that in its rush to enact something, Japan has skipped some nuanced theological questions and created potential trouble for a larger circle of organisations and activities than it has bargained for. If these troubles come to include, becomes the bidney for the control of the property of the pro

however obliquely, Japan's mainstay religions of Shinto and Buddhism, and even the substantial Christian pres-ence here, the political backlash could be more severe than the one it was meant to head off. The concept of fair realue, for example, in the sale of any spiritual goods — from the lucky wooden arrows sold on New Year's Day to the Omamori charms used to ward off car accidents — is meaning-less if their worth to the buyer lies in

### Letters

### Russia must also end its occupation of Donbas and Crimea

the tide in Russia's war on Ukraine" (FT View, January 3) contained much

robust good sense. But it did not follow through its

You started by saying: "The goal for 2023 must be to give Kyiv all the aid it needs to bring the conflict to an end on its terms.

By the end, however, you state that the objective should be to push Russia back at least to pre-February 24 lines" President Volodymyr Zelenskyy,

with overwhelming support from the brave people of Ukraine, has been very clear that Ukraine's goal is to over all of its territory within its As you say, the conflict has, in truth,

run since 2014. There is no logic, no justice, in arguing that Ukraine should recover the areas occupied since February 24, but not those occupied The Ukrainians of the Donbas and

Crimea should not be abandoned to suffer further misery and horrors under Russian occupation. I have no doubt about the continuing

determination of Ukraine and its people to win this war, which Russia

has visited upon them.

I wish I could be as sure about the determination of Ukraine's international supporters to see this grim business through to the end. Robert Brinkley British Ambassador to Ukraine 2002-

2006, Bankfoot, Perth and Kinross, UK



nucependence (Soudan can no longer rely on Westminster's economic stewardship", Opinion, November 16). There are, however, surely several important other ways in which concern in Scotland about the union with England and the rest of the UK could be addressed and a real sense of

in Scotland about the union with England and the rest of the UK could be addressed and a real sense of partnership could be enhanced.

First, we need to reverse an underlying fallure in the way devolution works. This was not of course intended. But devolution from an existing polity can imply that someone is the donor and someone is the supplicants any more than the supplicants. Scots don't like being seen as supplicants any more than the English like being seen as fonces, so why not admit that this aspect of the union is not working as it should and start a conversation between Scots and English — Weblish too — on improvements, and in ways which would remove the charges made of imperialistic condescension against the English, and unflattering comments against the Scots?

Recent initiatives here suggest grounds for hope-both Gordon Brown's constitutional convention idea, and the statements by Sir Keir Starmer that the future policy of the Labour party would be informed by this A purposeful start in the direction of meaningful change would certainly help.

Second, there is Brexit, Perhaps the

rould certainly help.
Second, there is Brexit. Perhaps the Second, there is Brexit. Perhaps the Conservative party might remember that it used to be known as the Conservative and Unionist party. However, the refusal so far to go over ideological red lines drawn by hardlin Frexiters is in reality giving oxygen to Scots who want to break that union. Few people across the UK are going to demand that we should apply now to rejoin the EU. But many are asking why we cannot enjoy closer relations, which would undo some of the post-referendum economic nain and

post-referendum economic pain and sense of isolation from our neighbours

Is it too much to ask our go o move in that direction, and soon?
Otherwise the Scots really could
un out of patience and separate: pain and all

Sir Andrew Large Talybont-on-Usk, Powys, UK

### Taiwan 'has never been a part of communist China'

While Rana Foroohar's views about how the US should deal with the rise of China in her article "We need to talk about Taiwan" (FT Swamp Notes, FT.com, January 2) might be debatable, her claim that Taiwan is "a tiny, Asian country that has done almost



Cryptos have a role when dollars dry up, as happened in Egypt last month

member of the G20 by all criteria.
Furthermore, it is an objective fact that Taiwan has never been a part of communist China. Taiwan's success in progressing into a mature democracy and a free and liberal economy is also indisputable and internationally recognised.

Taiwan has always been committed to bolstering its defence capabilities in order to deter China's military aggression and safeguard its values and way of life. Over the past seven decades, Taiwan's dedication to strengthening its defence has been proportional to the growing threat from China. proportiona from China

from China.
The conscription extension recently determined by the government of Taiwan provides yet another clear example of its resolute commitment. Foroohar says she hopes the year of 2023 will see less talk about any

2023 will see less talk about any possible military ventures in Taiwan. Taiwan shares her hope more than any other country in the world.

I am sure she also shares Taiwan's hope that 2023 will see less, or no, military, political and economic coercion from authoritarian China. Kelly Wu-China Hsieh

Representative. Tained Representative Representative, Taipei Representative Office in the United Kingdom London SW1. UK

#### The office 'meeting bloat' has a simple solution

One reason for this so-called meeting bloat that Emma Jacobs describes ("The great meeting bloat deserves this Shopify purge", Work & Careers, January 5) is that when people work remotely, every single contact, remotely, every single contact, question or what would otherwise have en a casual corridor conversation turns into a meeting

You wait five days for a gap in everyone's schedule, five additional

#### Cryptos serve useful social role, particularly in EMs

Fabio Panetta of the ECB is correct that unbacked crypto assets will not disappear and should be regulated to protect investors and society just like any other financial asset (Markets Insight, January 5). But his comment that cryptos do not perform any coidly or commissible useful socially or economically useful function — they are rarely used for payments and do not fund sumption or investment – is

consumption or investment — is incorrect.

Particularly in emerging markets where a large percentage of the population is unbanked, crypto wallets facilitate transactions via mobile phones both in and between countries. Frequently, there is little trust in the local currency due to inappropriate monetary policy.

Formerly transactions typically took place in US dollars. But what happens when the supply of US dollars dries up as in Egypt last month? cryptos provide an alternative. Think only of the Ukrainians who fled to the EU with crypto wallets rather than hryvnia. Certainly they found their cryptos socially useful as they were able to sell them to house and feed their families. Nigel Williams Partners.

#### Comparing hospital bed data by country is tricky

data by country is tricky

In "Multiple maladies leave NHS in
critical condition" (Report, January 4)
you use OECD international
comparisons of total hospital bed
numbers as part of the explanation for
the NHS's woes. This appears to show
that the UK has two beds per 1,000
people, four times fewer than Germany
and six times fewer than Japan!
Ask yourself, is this plausible? As
someone who has studied in hospitals
in both the UK and Japan, I can tell you
it is certainly not.
Japan does not have six times as
many hospitals, nor are they six times
as large, and the number of doctors per
capita is actually lower than in the UK.
What the data reflect is very different
ways of counting hospital beds.
The UK only counts the number of
beds that could all be in use at once—
ie that are fully staffed—and it clearly
separate hospital beds from

beds that could all be in use at once— ie that are fully staffed—and it clearly separates hospital beds from residential social care. Equivalent standards are not followed in all countries included in the chart. This is acknowledged by the OECD but not by acknowledged by the OECD but not by everyone who reuses this information. While too few hospital beds is indeed an issue, these dodgy data may lead to an unfortunate misdiagnosis of the key problem. As noted by Adrian

Boyle, president of the Royal Control of Emergency Medicine (quoted in

### University philanthropy is increasingly cross-border

While it is true to say that philanthropy represents a tiny proportion of higher education funding both in the UK and

education funding both in the UK and internationally, it is set to increase in step with the rise of high net worth wealth and the boom in the global foundation sector (Report, January 4). As philanthropy becomes more institutionalised and professionalised, the rise in giving should be welcomed by universities. Viewed as key to both individual opportunity and national development, education scores highly in giving preferences.

development, education scores highly in giving preferences. Perhaps the longer-term challenge for UK universities is that philanthropy is increasingly cross-border, meaning that donors are giving more internationally, including to regions such as Africa where the financial and social impact of a donation is greater and far reaching. For instance, over half of the students at the University of Cape Town are drawn from extremely poor households and need full bursaries. Poverty and Inequality are South Africa's biggest challenges and the transformative power of education is a potent philanthropic investment. Sarah Archer Executive Director, Development and Alumni, University of Cape Town Cape Town, South Africa

#### Title sums up quandary faced by Murdoch heirs

The elegant review by Andrew
Edgecliffe-Johnson of Paddy Manning's
book The Successor: The High-Stakes Life
of Lachlan Mundoch (Life & Arts,
November 19) refers to an idea that
Lachlan Mundoch's siblings might steer
the company "in a way that enhances
democracies around the world rather
than undermining them", should they
and not him inherit the business.

and not him inherit the business. May I recommend to your readers a book by David Colon, with a title that faces at once the problem of the Murdoch empire: Rupert Murdoch. Lempereur des médias qui manipule le monde (Paris: Tallandier, 2022). The gins with an account of how work begins with an account of how Donald Trump after his election waited nervously for a visit from Rupert Murdoch, who was several hours late. From what Edgecliffe-Johnson says, an English translation of Colon's work for areas of the globe where Murdoch Sr has most influence might not be unwelcome to some parts of the family. Rowan Watson London N7, UK

### Defining an average year

Given the prognoses of the economists polled (Report, January 3), it seems as if 2022 was about an average year. By this, of course, we understand that it



allow victums to recoup money from religious organisations and to restrict various practices such as insisting that followers take out loans or sell property to fund donations. In particular, the law seeks to codify whether donors are under "mind control" at the point of donation and to clamp down on the

nothing to boister its own minitary position . . . [and] used to be part of China" is factually wrong. Albeit small in size, Taiwan has a population of 24mn and ranks as among the world's largest economies. A common sense perspective would suggest that Taiwan is eligible to be a

peopie snow up and it takes rive times as long.

The simple innovation of having most people, most of the time, in physical proximity during the working day would go a long way to solving this.

Jonny King

Tokyo, Japan

was worse tnan 2021 but not as bad as 2023 threatens. And, of course, "2022 an average year" would have made a better headline.