

The Ivy League, Wall St and the war in Gaza

The perils of banks' latest financial alchemy

# Oil states face outrage as fossil fuel phaseout dropped from COP draft

▶ Push to harden deal's final text
 ◆ Saudis accused of diverting focus
 ◆ Anger in small Pacific nations

A draft agreement from the UN's COP28 climate summit has dropped references to the phaseout of fossil fuels, triggering a backlash from countries that have accused Saudi Arabia and other  $petrostates\ of\ thwarting\ efforts\ to\ tackle$ global warming.

The document, which will have to be agreed by almost 200 countries at the summit in Dubai, sets out a range of actions countries "could" take to cut greenhouse gas emissions to net zero by 2050. They include reducing "consumption and production of fossil fuels, in a just, orderly and equitable manner". But a large number of countries are

hoping the final text will go further by striking a landmark agreement to phase out fossil fuels, rather than just present $ing \, the \, choice \, to \, cut \, their \, consumption.$ 

#### We 'did not come here to sign our death warrant'

Marshall Islands representative

The draft text faces fierce opposition from countries in the EU and small island states. Brussels' climate commissioner Wopke Hoekstra said it was "clearly insufficient", adding: "For the vast majority of our emissions we have no alternative than to drive them down and out ASAP."

António Guterres, secretary-general of the UN, said a "central aspect of the success" of COP28 would be for the summit to "reach a consensus on the need to phase out fossil fuels".

Negotiators and ministers from countries around the world at the weekend accused Saudi Arabia of piling pressure on Sultan al-Jaber, COP28 president and head of the Abu Dhabi National Oil Company, to shift the focus of any agreement away from fossil fuels.

"Clearly there is an emerging proactive fossil coalition," said one senior EU negotiator after the text was released. "In the past we had more silent resistance and now it seems more con-



Backlash: an Indigenous climate activist from India protests at the meeting yesterday - Thomas Mukoya/Reuters

scious and more focused and more

co-ordinated."
Fossil fuel burning is the biggest contributor to climate change, accounting for about three-quarters of emissions

Jaber said after releasing the draft "We have made progress but we still have a lot to do ... I want you to develop the highest ambition on all items, including on fossil fuel language.

The UK said the draft was "disappointing and does not go far enough . . . There must be a phase out of unabated  $fossil\,fuels\,to\,meet\,our\,climate\,goals."$ 

German foreign minister Annalena Baerbock said it was misleading to say fossil fuels could play an essential role. It also contradicted EU energy policy and allowed for new coal power plants.

The US state department said the wording on fossil fuels "needs to be substantially strengthened"

If agreed, the text would nevertheless mark the first plan set out by a COP summit — the world's most important  ${\it climate forum-to shift away from all}$ fossil fuels. Previously, only the phase down of unabated coal was referenced.

Under the Paris accord of 2015, countries agreed to limit temperature rises to well below 2C and ideally 1.5C above pre-industrial levels. But Toeolesulusulu Cedric Schuster, Samoa's minister of natural resources, speaking for a group of small island countries vulnerable to climate change, said they were 'not being heard".

"It is our very survival that is at stake. Our negotiators have been pushing tirelessly for decisions that align with stay $ing\,under\,1.5\,degrees, "Schuster\,said.$ 

John Silk, minister of natural resources for the Marshall Islands, said his country "did not come here to sign our death warrant".

The Union of Concerned Scientists said the draft text was "extremely disappointing, concerning and nowhere close to the level of ambition people around the world deserve".

Others welcomed the text. Mohamed Adow, director of Powershift Africa, a think-tank, said: "This is the beginning of the end of the fossil-fuel era." Lex page 24

#### Briefing

right over Rwanda bill seek to face down rightwing critics of the legislation as it faces

▶ Sunak to take on Tory

its first vote in the Commons, despite calls for him to pulp the proposal and return with a more ► Covid dining defended

Rishi Sunak has denied his

£849mn Eat Out to Help Out scheme drove a second wave of Covid infections in 2020 when he was chancellor. It was the "right thing to do" to save jobs .- PAGE 2

► Gunvor to buy BP plant

The commodities house has agreed to buy the gas-fired energy plant in Bilbao in the latest sign of Europe's independent groups seeking to expand gas and power trading activities .- PAGE 12

Macron bill blocked

France's president has suffered a humiliating defeat as opposition parties blocked his government's long-promised immigration reform from being debated in the National Assembly.— PAGE 4

Vote clears way for Tusk Poland's parliament has rejected a last-ditch bid by the rightwing Law and Justice party to remain in office, paving the way for Donald Tusk to return as premier. - PAGE 4; JAROSŁAW KUISZ, PAGE 23

Central banks crunch

The Fed, European Central Bank and Bank of England are set to defy investor predictions of how quickly interest rates will fall, as they hold year-end meetings. - PAGE 6; MARKETS INSIGHT, PAGE 14

German football shift

Clubs, which have ownership structures that guard against big work with private equity to try to boost broadcast revenues and build a global audience.- PAGE 13

▶ Brookfield attacks FDIC

The investor has complained about the US regulator's auction of \$33bn of loans from Signature Bank after the lender's collapse. It said it had heard that the winning bid was "lower than ours".- PAGE 8

#### Bid to house India's tech workers hits social buffers

India's hopes of joining China in serving as the 'workshop of the world' for the likes of Apple iPhone maker Foxconn the armies of workers needed for the vast new factories. In China, millions of migrant wage earners were willing to leave home to live in dormitories. India has begun a drive to build similar living quarters, but sceptics say attachments to family life and social constraints on women's work may stunt its ambitions India's gamble ► PAGE 6

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# 'Vaccine prince' advances to Mayfair in £138mn deal for the year's priciest home

JOSHUA OLIVER — LONDON
GEORGE HAMMOND — SAN FRANCISCO

Billionaire "vaccine prince" Adar Poonawalla has agreed to pay £138mn for a Mayfair mansion, London's most expensive home sold this year and the second highest price tag ever for a house in the capital.

Aberconway House, a 25,000 sq ft 1920s home near Hyde Park, will change Dominika Kulczyk, daughter of the late businessman Jan Kulczyk, who was Poland's richest man.

The property will be acquired by Serum Life Sciences, a UK subsidiary of the Poonawalla family's Serum Institute of India, people familiar with the transaction said. The institute manufactured hundreds of millions of doses of the Oxford/AstraZeneca Covid vaccine.

The top end of London's property market is insulated from the impact of higher borrowing costs, since few buyers need mortgages, while trophy properties remain attractive to international buyers. That is despite transparency measures brought in to help target Russian money after the war in Ukraine and the prospect of tax changes if Labour were to win the next general election.

A person close to Serum Life Sciences the Poonawalla family had ' plans" to move to the UK permanently but that "the house will serve as a base for the company and family when they are in the UK".

The deal follows multimillion-pound investments in vaccine facilities near Oxford, the person added. In 2021 the family pledged £50mn to Oxford university for a new Poonawalla Vaccines Research Building.

Poonawalla, who took over leadership of the Serum Institute from his father in 2011, rented the grade II-listed property in 2021 for more than £50,000 a week, Bloomberg reported at the time.

Poonawalla and Kulczyk declined to comment.

The next largest sale of this year, according to agents, was the £113mn purchase of Hanover Lodge. Essar Group billionaire Ravi Ruia's family office which had been linked to Russian property investor Andrey Goncharenko.

London's most expensive house was sold in January 2020 by the estate of former Saudi Arabian crown prince Sultan bin Abdulaziz for £210mn.

The Financial Times revealed last year that the buyer of 2-8a Rutland Gate was Hui Ka Yan, the founder and chair of Evergrande.

# **World Markets**

#### STOCK MARKETS CURRENCIES GOVERNMENT BONDS S&P 500 4604.37 0.06 1.077 4.74 0.00 Nasdaq Composit Dow Jones Ind 36247.87 0.26 0.859 US 30 yı 146 425 144 510 FTSEurofirst 300 -0.13 UK 30 yı 4115.38 CRYPTO Dec 11 41707.08 (etra Dax 43790.92 Bitcoin (\$) Nikkei 32791.80 32307.86 2211.88 -5.97 Ethereum 2352.28 Hang Seng MSCI World \$ MSCI EM \$ COMMODITIES 3037.45 0.32 970.12 0.50 GER 30 y -0.01 %chg 695.95 5933.87 FT Wilshire 5000 46214.00 0.45 2008.10 2026.90



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#### NATIONAL

**Migration policy** 

# PM set to defy critics on right over Rwanda

Legislation is put to first Commons vote despite some Tory calls to pulp it

GEORGE PARKER, LUCY FISHER AND ANNA GROSS

Rishi Sunak will today seek to face down rightwing critics in his own party by pushing on with his Rwanda bill, despite calls for him to pulp the legislation and come back with a more robust plan.

Downing Street insiders said they were confident MPs would back the bill in principle in its first House of Commons vote, but opposition to the measure from some Tories is hardening.

Lawyers advising rightwing MPs claimed the prime minister's Safety of Rwanda bill provided only "a partial and incomplete solution" to preventing legal challenges to efforts to send migrants to Rwanda. A so-called "Star Chamber" of lawyers acting for the rightwing European Research Group criticised the bill for not restricting appeals from a sylum  $\,$ seekers sent to Rwanda based on their individual circumstances

Mark Francois, chair of the ERG, said he hoped Sunak would "pull the legislation and come back with something that

is fit for purpose", claiming the bill had "so many holes in it".

However, James Cleverly, home secretary, said the government was "determined to get it through". One MP who met the minister yesterday said: "It's not clear at this stage if they'll win.'

Sunak was to have breakfast with a number of rightwing Conservative MPs today, in the hope of cajoling them into the division lobbies later in the day.

Downing Street has launched an operation to win over rebels, taking the rare step of publishing a summary of official legal opinion that the legislation that designates Rwanda "safe" is "tough but

fair and lawful". The legal opinion defends the decision to let migrants bring individual appeals to court, making the point that "even in wartime the UK has maintained access to the

A person close to Sunak made it clear that while ministers were listening to critics and wanted to reassure them that the bill was sufficiently tough, there was no question of any significant rewrite.

We can try to give colleagues greater confidence but you can't move greatly in either direction," the person said. "It is as tough as it can be within the limits of international law." However, even if the

legislation passes its first Commons hurdle today - it is extremely rare for a government to lose a "second reading" on the principle of a bill — the parliamentary battle will only just be starting.

The moderate One Nation Tory group, which has 106 members, reluctantly agreed last night to back the legislation, which they regard as too tough. "The most important thing at this stage is to support the bill despite our real concerns," said Damian Green, the group's chair. But he warned Sunak not to bow to pressure to toughen it.

"We strongly urge the government to stand firm against any attempt to amend the bill in a way that would make it unacceptable to those who believe that support for the rule of law is a basic

Conservative principle," he said. If Sunak wins the vote, he should easily crush any future rightwing amendments to the bill, which most of his MPs and Labour would oppose, but the impression of dissent and disunity would be highly damaging.

In a sign that the vote could go down to the wire, the Conservatives, Labour and the Scottish National party have all pulled permission for their MPs - some on foreign trips - to be away from the

**Covid inquiry** 

# Sunak denies Eat Out to Help Out 'micro policy' was risky

LAURA HUGHES AND ANNA GROSS

Rishi Sunak called his £849mn Eat Out to Help Out discount scheme a "micro policy" yesterday in testimony to the Covid-19 inquiry, as he denied it drove a second wave of infections in 2020.

The prime minister, who was chancellor during the pandemic, said the policy of subsidising diners had been "the right thing to do" to "safeguard" millions of jobs held by "particularly vulnerable people" in the hospitality sector.

The scheme sought to boost the industry by subsidising the meals of  $consumers\,who\,dined\,out\,in\,restaurants$ and pubs. It has been partly blamed for triggering a fresh wave of the virus in the summer and autumn of 2020.

"This was a very reasonable, sensible policy intervention to help safeguard those jobs in that safe reopening,' Sunak told the inquiry. "I didn't believe that it was a risk. I believe it was the right thing to do."

Sunak's appearance at the inquiry followed weeks of revelations about the chaos in Boris Johnson's government as it faced the pandemic, including testimony of a "toxic" culture in Downing

As chancellor, Sunak made his political reputation during the pandemic by rolling out huge stimulus packages. But he has faced scrutiny at the inquiry over the Eat Out to Help Out scheme and his

The inquiry, which is due to run until the summer of 2026, has heard that senior scientific advisers were not consulted before Sunak launched his hospitality policy in August 2020, leading some in government to privately refer to him as "Dr Death" and the Treasury as the "pro-death squad".

Sunak said he was not aware of these  $characterisations\,which\,were\,not\,``fair".$ 

Chris Whitty, England's chief medical officer since 2019, privately characterised Sunak's programme as "Eat Out to Help Out the Virus", the inquiry has

Sunak told the inquiry: "This was a micro policy to make sure that that capacity which the scientists had already said was part of an overall package which could be safely delivered, was

"All the data, all the evidence, all the polling, all the input from those companies suggested that unless we did something, many of those jobs would have been at risk with devastating conse quences for those people and their fami-



Protesters outside the Covid-19 inquiry in London criticise the Eat Out to Help Out scheme –

Sunak also insisted that in the month between the policy being announced and implemented, there were three meetings in which scientific advisers and ministers could have raised con-

The "onus" should have been on the people who "now believe that it was a risk to have raised it at the time, when something could have been done about it", he said

He also defended Johnson's handling of the crisis despite damning testimony from others that has painted a picture of the then prime minister frequently changing his mind on policy decisions.

Sunak told the inquiry that he had not been aware of officials criticising the former prime minister for dithering. He said an "iterative" decision-making process was "not necessarily a bad thing" and that the atmosphere in Downing Street during the pandemic had "felt fine".

One of the most serious questions facing Sunak as he gives evidence is the suggestion that he argued against the

#### 'This was a reasonable, sensible policy to help safeguard jobs. I believe it was the right thing to do'

imposition of lockdown measures when the virus first hit in early 2020, and again during a second wave of infections in the autumn that year.

Sunak said he consistently urged Johnson to consider in "totality" the impact Covid restrictions would have on

"It wasn't - I didn't ever describe it as - a clash just between public health and economics," he said. "I think that's to  $think\,about\,it\,in\,far\,too\,narrow\,a\,way."$ Sunak began by saying he was "deeply

sorry" to people who lost loved ones in the pandemic and those who "suffered" as a result of government actions. He said he had thought a lot about the

policies enacted during the crisis and was giving evidence to the inquiry in the 'spirit of constructive candour

The inquiry has struggled to obtain a number of WhatsApp messages from key participants. Sunak said he had changed his phone multiple times and the messages from his phone during the pandemic "hadn't come across".

Hugo Keith KC, lead counsel for the inquiry, said that many of Sunak's exchanges had been obtained from other people's devices.

**Politics** 

### Farage rules out joining Tories under current leader

RAFE UDDIN - POLITICAL REPORTER

Nigel Farage yesterday dismissed suggestions that he would join the Conservative party under Rishi Sunak, but the Brexit campaigner did not dismiss the possibility of returning to politics

The former leader of rightwing Reform UK, previously the Brexit party, told ITV that the Tories were a "total shambles" and heading towards "total defeat" under Sunak in the general election, expected in 2024.

Farage, who was speaking shortly after appearing on television reality show I'm a Celebrity . . . Get Me Out of Here, said he would not stand as an MP for the Conservatives under its current leadership.

He said the Tories were "directly to blame" for falling living standards and high net immigration figures, adding that the party had "broken every promise" and "never believed in Brexit

However, he stopped short of ruling out joining the Conservatives under a different leadership. He also held open the possibility of rejoining Reform and when asked if he would stand for parliament next year, he replied: "Never say never."

Farage's return to politics would pose a challenge to Sunak, who is under intense pressure from the right wing of his party to deliver on the Rwanda asylum scheme, with a crucial vote on his key immigration legislation in parliament today.

"I'm looking at a Conservative government that is in total shambles, facing . . . effectively a confidence vote on [immigration]," Farage said.

With the Tories trailing Labour by  $20\,$ points in the opinion polls, Sunak risks being outflanked on the right by Reform, which has pledged to stand in every seat at the next election.

Reform is averaging about 8 per cent in recent polling, but has so far made limited inroads electorally and has 11 local councillors.

Richard Tice, Reform's leader, told the Financial Times vesterday that he would welcome back Farage should he "feel the need to get the shoulder behind the wheel", adding that any suggestion that Farage would join the Conservatives was "for the birds".

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# Letters to the editor

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#### Immigration, Constitutional powers

# 'Draconian' asylum bill pushes into new legal waters

Experts point to reputational ramifications for country of action seen as unprecedented

As Conservative MPs battled over Rishi Sunak's Rwanda bill ahead of a vote today, legal and other experts described the legislation as the most drastic response to immigration in decades.

The prime minister's efforts to restrict appeals by asylum seekers against being sent to Rwanda had echoes of the 1968 Labour government's overnight decision to prevent Kenyan Asians entering the UK, according to Tim Bale, professor of politics at Queen Mary University of London.

Even then the legal and reputational ramifications for Britain were nowhere near as great. "It is very difficult . . . to think of another government that has taken this kind of draconian action before," he said.

The legislation is a response to the Supreme Court's ruling last month that

the Rwanda policy was unlawful because it would put asylum seekers at risk of being sent to their home countries without their claims being

The bill deems Rwanda to be "safe" and limits the recourse of asylum seekers to appeal against removal under domestic and international human rights law, apart from in exceptional circumstances which, Sunak argued, would make successful claims "vanishingly rare".

The Home Office said the bill precluded "almost all grounds" for individuals to challenge being sent to Rwanda.

But a summary of the government's legal advice said a blanket prohibition on challenges would "mean that there would be no respectable argument that the bill is compatible with international

Nevertheless, rightwing factions in the Conservative party such as the European Research Group of MPs were yesterday pushing the prime minister to adopt even tougher measures, criticising avenues for appeal that remained.

Daniel Mulhall, Ireland's ambassador

to the UK during the Brexit referendum in 2016, said the debate within the Tory party had, at times, been alarming. He noted, in particular, comments by Robert Jenrick last week after he resigned as immigration minister. Jenrick said he would "always put the

vital national interests of this country and views and concerns of the British public above contested notions of international law". Mulhall said it was a "shock" to see

such a senior British figure talking about the whole notion of international and human rights laws as if they were 'gilded irrelevancies". Four senior barristers, including the

former Tory attorney-general Sir Geoffrey Cox, defended Sunak's bill in an open letter yesterday, arguing it goes "as far as it can within the law to oust legal challenges to removal".

To go further would not just put the policy at risk of unravelling, it could provoke a constitutional showdown with the courts, they warned.

Even as it stands, the bill has caused consternation among some legal

Nick Barber, professor of constitutional law at Trinity College Oxford called the bill "an outrageous abuse of parliament's constitutional powers". "It is hard not to think [the govern-

ment] want to send people to a place where they aren't safe to deter them from crossing the Channel," he said referring to the bill's statement that Rwanda is "safe".

While it was not uncommon to introduce clauses in legislation explicitly stating how something should be treated, the Rwanda bill also dealt with a factual issue on which the Supreme Court recently found otherwise, said Mark Elliott, chair of the law faculty at Cambridge university.
This was "an affront to the separation

of powers", he said, adding that there was a significant chance that lawvers would litigate against the bill on those

But a constitutional showdown could leave the judiciary worse off, he said.

"There is a real risk in the end that judges would have their wings clipped by parliament and the judiciary would

# Visa reforms will force thousands of families to leave their lives in Britain

The doubling in salary requirements also means many citizens must give up on plans for spouses to join them

ANNA GROSS AND RAFE UDDIN

Andrew Bean is doing one of the most prestigious doctorates in artificial intelligence in the UK but changes to Britain's migration system have forced the 28-year-old American citizen to consider returning to the US.

His wife Stephanie, 28, who is British and works at a church in Oxfordshire, was able to sponsor his entry into the UK on a spousal visa as her salary met the criteria when they moved to England two years ago to both take up PhDs at Oxford university.

The Beans are among tens of thousands of people living in Britain who are set to no longer be eligible for a family visa this spring, after the government announced this week that the salary threshold would more than double.

Home secretary James Cleverly on Thursday set out reforms to the points-based migration system, including increasing the earnings threshold for skilled workers and prohibiting care workers from bringing over dependants. But the biggest surprise was a sharp increase — from £18,600 to £38,700 — in the minimum salary that British citizens or migrants already settled in the UK must earn in order for immediate relatives to join them.

Prime Minister Rishi Sunak has pledged to slash net migration by 300,000, after levels reached a record high last year, and is specifically trying to reduce the number of people who come to the UK on low salaries or as dependants.

Downing Street said on Friday the threshold would apply to visa renewals as well as initial applications, but its message conflicted with that of the Home Office

The Home Office said Sunak "has made clear current levels of migration to the UK are far too high".

"We have a longstanding principle that anyone bringing dependants to live in the UK must be able to financially support them," the Home Office said. "The minimum income requirement ensures that families are self-sufficient instead of relying on public funds, with the ability to integrate if they are to play a full part in British life."

The government's family immigration rules do contain a provision for "exceptional circumstances" where there would be unjustifiably harsh consequences for family members involved, although it is unclear how this will be applied.

When the Beans' family visa renewal comes up in six months, they said their combined income would not be enough to meet the requirements.

"It's very difficult for us to reconcile the UK's push for research into AI with the fact [Andrew] may be sent home because I don't make enough money," said Stephanie, who is a Yale university graduate and whose baby was born in Britain. "It feels like a kick in the teeth."

The decision to double the earnings threshold for sponsors is likely to make limited difference to overall net migration. Unpublished Home Office estimates put the reduction in the "low tens of thousands".



Priced apart: Stephanie and Andrew Bean, at their home in Abingdon, Oxfordshire and, below, Elinor Dodgson with her son When the government introduced a salary threshold in 2012, it was subject to a lawsuit. In 2016 the Supreme Court overruled the challenge, partly on the basis that the threshold had been determined by the government's independent Migration Advisory Committee. The MAC was asked to assess the level at which a person could become a "burden on the state" by relying on benefits.

The Conservative government has discarded the methodology developed by the MAC, according to the committee's chair Brian Bell, and set a higher



threshold, the basis for which has not been disclosed. Bell said he believed the decision would also be subject to a legal challenge.

challenge.

"The largest impacts will fall on low-er-income British citizens, and particularly women and younger people who tend to earn lower wages," said Madeleine Sumption, director of Oxford university's Migration Observatory think-tank.

Elinor Dodgson is a case in point. The British-born 27-year-old met her partner Miguel in Tenerife four and a half years ago. But after struggling for some time with low wages and high living costs on the island, she moved to Suffolk with her baby son in August. Taking a part-time job as a receptionist, she has been trying to build up her hours to reach the salary threshold of £18,600 so Miguel can join her. Now she fears these plans have been snatched away.

"We want to work, we don't want to be funded by the state," she said. "This situation is already so difficult for families. They are about to make it impossible for most."

Dodgson is desperate to find a betterpaid job before the changes come into effect in the spring. But her efforts are likely to be in vain as the Home Office requires a sponsor's income to be conTam being punished punished The for having the audacity to love sistent six mo The for having to bring onstratings for the audacity to love sistent six mo The punished punish

to love someone from a different place'

Zac Hill and wife Pham



sistently above the threshold for at least six months at the time of applying. The other option for sponsors looking

The other option for sponsors looking to bring over a foreign partner is to demonstrate they have held £62,500 in savings for six months.

For 32-year-old Zac Hill and his wife Pham from Vietnam, who moved together to Yorkshire this year, reaching the savings target is unimaginable. Hill is due to begin training as a police officer in January, earning roughly £23,000 a year. Pham, 28, will return to Hanoi in January when her tourist visa runs out. The plan had been to return to the UK in summer next year, sponsored by Zac, but she now sees no viable route to returning to Britain.

The earning potential of Pham, who has a masters degree in hotel management from Seville in Spain, is irrelevant because the Home Office does not take into account the prospective earnings of a non-UK citizen.

Hill is contemplating packing up and moving to Vietnam despite the fact that the UK is facing a shortage of police officers.

"I am being punished for having the audacity to love someone from a different place. Everything we have planned and worked towards has been shattered "Hill said **Economic output** 

### Productivity growth driven by small group of companies

VALENTINA ROMEI FCONOMICS CORRESPONDENT

The drive to improve productivity is increasingly reliant on a narrow group of high-performing companies, underscoring the fragile foundations on which the country is building its economic future.

The most efficient 10 per cent of businesses were responsible for 63 per cent of the annual growth in labour productivity between 2011 and 2019, up from 49 per cent from 1998-2007, according to data published by the Office for National Statistics yesterday.

The data helps shed light on the pro-

The data helps shed light on the productivity puzzle, in which output per hour worked rose 2.2 per cent annually between 1971 and 2007, but only 0.6 per cent between 2011 and 2022.

Most of the slowdown in productivity was driven by companies with average levels of output per worker.

"There appears to be something of a middle malaise, with a big number of 'middle' firms having become significantly less productive," said Paul Dales, economist at consultancy Capital Economics.

This problem was hard to solve

because it entailed changing the behaviour of a large swath of businesses, he added. "That's a mammoth task for whoever wins the next general election."

Productivity is a driver of living standards over the long term and increasing it is at the heart of the economic challenges facing the UK.

In the Autumn Statement last month, chancellor Jeremy Hunt made permanent tax breaks for business investment. He described the move as "a decisive step towards closing the productivity gap with other big economies and the most effective way we can raise wages and living standards".

The measures were "in the right direction, but unlikely to move the needle much", according to Bart van Ark, head of the Productivity Institute, a research organisation.

Many big economies have had a productivity slowdown since the financial crisis but it was sharper in the UK. Separate data by the OECD shows that between 2007 and 2022 labour productivity improved less in Britain than in the US and below the OECD average.

In 2021, the most efficient 10 per cent of companies – dubbed "frontier" businesses by the ONS – produced nearly four times as much output compared with those of average productivity. This translated into more market power, or the ability to influence the price of the

goods and services.

The ONS data showed that the mark-up, or the difference between the retail price and production costs, for frontier businesses rose from 147 per centin 1997 to 182 per centin 2021.

"This has implications for business dynamism, as market power makes it difficult for new businesses to enter the market successfully," said the ONS.

Profit margins also rose from 12.9 per cent in 1997 to 14.9 per cent in 2021 across the economy and from 38 per cent to 49 per cent in frontier businesses.

Security forum

## Business leaders receive first MI5 briefing

LUCY FISHER — WHITEHALL EDITOR

The domestic security agency briefed senior executives on declassified intelligence yesterday, as part of a government initiative to deepen co-operation with business on countering threats to national security.

Officials described the meeting as a "first of its kind" briefing involving the Security Service, also known as MI5, and almost a dozen companies and trade bodies in the "most strategically important" sectors of the economy, including artificial intelligence, communications and defence.

Attendees at the first meeting of the economic security public-private forum at the Cabinet Office were given a presentation by one of the most senior officials at the National Protective Security Authority, a branch of MI5 established this year.

The forum was chaired by deputy prime minister Oliver Dowden alongside business secretary Kemi Badenoch with senior executives from Babcock, BlueSkeye AI, Vodafone, Rio Tinto, BT, Arm, Tesco and EY among those

The briefing covered topics ranging from the diverse threats from hostile states, including their involvement in a growing number of operations focused

on intellectual property theft, to the risks posed by terrorist organisations.

Dowden told the Financial Times that economic security was a "critical part of the UK's overall national security" and crucial to Britain's "ability to compete globally".

Sharing the state's understanding of potential risks to the economy would help ensure the country remained a "safe and dynamic place to invest", he added.

#### The deputy PM said economic security was a 'critical part of the UK's overall national security'

The forum was "one of the ways we are co-designing solutions to shared challenges with business, providing intelligence that will allow them to make informed decisions and encourage further co-operation on national security matters", Dowden added.

The forum was created as a result of the refresh of the so-called integrated review of defence, development, security and foreign policy, which was published in March and committed the government to forge closer links with business so as to mitigate hostile threats. The policy review also recommended the creation of MI5's NPSA unit as a successor organisation to the Centre for the Protection of National Infrastructure.

The forum is scheduled to meet quar-

terly using a similar format with broadly the same cast of attendees receiving briefings on economic threats. The establishment of the economic security public-private forum is the lat-

step up engagement with business on security issues this year. Last month Dowden announced his intention to pare back the government's investment screening powers, less than

two years after they were introduced, to

est in a series of moves by ministers to

make them "more business friendly". He launched a review, set to close next month, aimed at "narrowing and refining" the scope of the National Security and Investment Act, which allows the government to scrutinise and ultimately block takeovers.

Meanwhile, ministers this year unveiled a delayed £1bn semiconductor strategy designed to boost the resilience of the sector.

The government also updated its first critical raw minerals strategy, published last year, following increased international competition for resources after Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine

#### Stormont

# NI parties in talks over £2.5bn funding

JUDE WEBBER IRELAND CORRESPONDENT

Northern Ireland's political parties have been offered a more than £2.5th package of measures over five years to stabilise the region's finances, conditional on the return of the Stormont executive.

However, party leaders, who met Chris Heaton-Harris, Northern Ireland secretary, at Hillsborough yesterday, all said it did not go far enough. Heaton-Harris said London was "will-

Heaton-Harris said London was "willing to help" with the worsening financia crunch in the region, which has been exacerbated by nearly two years of political deadlock since the power-sharing executive collapsed.

That crisis was triggered by the Democratic Unionist party, which has been holding months of talks with London to secure changes to the post-Brexit tradeal for Northern Ireland in an effort to reinforce the region's place in the UK and its ability to trade with Britain.

Westminster's offer includes cash to stabilise the Northern Ireland administration's finances and overhaul strained services, as well as money to boost public sector pay this year. It also proposes a fresh assessment of the needs-based formula for the region's funding.

The UK government might also write

off a budgetary overspend standing at £559mn but this would be conditional on Stormont introducing revenue-raising measures, according to people familiar with the details.

Technical talks on the offer are set to continue today, with party leaders expected to return to Hillsborough tomorrow. But any hopes London had of securing a deal to restore the powersharing executive by Christmas looked set to be dashed after DUP leader Sir Jeffrey Donaldson said he did not see the process being "corralled into a few days" and that his party was "not afraid to stand our ground".

"There's still a way to go," Donaldson said after the first all-party talks with Heaton-Harris since July.

Sinn Féin, the nationalist party that is



Stormont currently receives a £15bn annual grant from UK government the largest in the region, said the offer "doesn't even touch the surface of what is required". Naomi Long, whose Alliance Party is

the third force in the region, said it was "not about dangling baubles before us before Christmas", adding: "The quantum of it [the offer] is not sufficient."

Nearly two years of political crisis in

Nearly two years of political crisis in the region has led to catastrophic overspending, prompting swingeing budget cuts imposed by London that parties say have left available funding well below what is needed.

Northern Ireland receives a £15bn annual grant from London. Heaton-Harris said that it received funding per head 21 per cent higher than other parts of the UK but spent it inefficiently.

He has launched public consultations on traditionally unpopular ways to raise more revenue, such as introducing water rates.

A group of workers from the Unison union protested outside Hillsborough castle as the politicians met yesterday. "We have the lowest paid NHS, social care and teaching staff in the UK," said Deborah Yapicioz, joint-chair of the union's health committee.

The union had been forced to set up food banks for some workers and others were leaving to earn better wages working in shops, she added.

#### INTERNATIONAL

# Polish parliament paves way for Tusk return

Outgoing rightwing administration defeated in vote of confidence

RAPHAEL MINDER AND BARBARA ERLING

Poland's parliament has rejected a lastditch attempt by the rightwing Law and Justice (PiS) party to remain in office, paving the way for the return to power of Donald Tusk as premier.

Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki yesterday lost a vote of confidence by 266 to 190 in the Sejm, the Polish parliament's lower house. The vote ended eight years of PiS government marked by repeated clashes with Brussels over Poland's erosion of the rule of law.

another vote late last night to nominate Tusk as premier, two months after he and his coalition partners secured a pro-European majority in parliamentary elections in October.

However, Tusk will have to wait until tomorrow to be signed into office by President Andrzei Duda, who is a PiS appointee and has played along with the rightwing party's stalling tactics since the elections. He embarked yesterday on a two-day visit to Switzerland and, according to Polish law, needs to be physically present when presiding over a government changeover in Warsaw.

Tusk will present his government and its programme in parliament today and later this week he is expected to attend an EU summit in Brussels that will be

dominated by talks over Ukraine. Morawiecki told lawmakers yesterday that PiS had demonstrated during its two terms in office that Poland was "not doomed to poverty and backward-

ness" and vowed to fight future EU legis-Prime minister is expected

to help reposition Warsaw closer to the heart of EU decision-making

lation that could encroach on Polish sov-

PiS party leader Jarosław Kaczyński delivered a similar message, saying his party was standing firm against "the concept of changing the Polish state into

from outside, from Brussels and in fact from Berlin".

Tusk was first elected prime minister in 2007 at the helm of the centre-right Civic Platform party he co-founded. Between 2014 and 2019, he was the first  $president\ of\ the\ European\ Council\ from$ a former communist country and was re-elected midterm despite opposition from the PiS-led government.

His return to power is expected to help reposition Warsaw closer to the heart of EU decision-making, including on the green transition where PiS fought for longer phasing-out periods for coal. One of Tusk's priorities is to persuade the European Commission to unlock billions of euros of EU pandemic recovery funds frozen over PiS reforms that Tusk also faces other challenges, such as working alongside PiS members, including Duda, who holds veto powers over legislation and whose term in office ends in 2025.

Adam Glapiński, governor of the National Bank of Poland, has called on the European Central Bank to defend his position against any attempt by Tusk to remove him early, by claiming this would undermine the central bank's independence and break EU law.

Mending relations with Kyiv is likely to become one of Tusk's thorniest foreign policy tasks, as he will seek not to antagonise sectors that want to main tain protectionist measures against cheaper Ukrainian competition. See Opinion

Reform plan

**Opposition** unites to hand Macron defeat on immigration

LEILA ABBOUD AND ADRIENNE KLASA

Emmanuel Macron's government was dealt a humiliating defeat in the National Assembly as opposition parties united to block its long-promised immigration reform from coming to debate on the floor.

Lawmakers who usually have little in common – from the far-right Rassemblement National to the far-left France Insoumise - banded together and used a last-minute parliamentary tactic to stop the draft law in its tracks just as its two-week long examination was to

The result does not kill outright the proposed immigration reform, but it is another reminder of how legislating has become much more difficult since Macron lost his parliamentary majority

It is also a setback for his interior minister Gérald Darmanin, who has made no secret of his ambitions to win higher office and spent months trying to rally enough votes from the conservative Les Republicains (LR) party to pass the law.

Darmanin defended the proposal as necessary and fair and said it would be incoherent for opposition parties to prevent a debate about a topic that the French public saw as a national priority.

"Debating and legislating on immigration is a response to the strong, legiti-mate and repeated demand of our fellow citizens," he said. "Who's afraid of debate? Not the presidential majority."

Barely an hour later, the motion to preemptively dismiss the draft law without debate passed by 270 to 265 votes. Marine Le Pen's far-right RN party and the LR opposed it on grounds that the proposal was too soft and would encourage people to come to France illegally, while the leftwing parties opposed it on grounds it was too harsh.

Macron's government, under pres sure from Le Pen's resurgent far-right and a hardening of public opinion on immigration, had touted the reform as a fix for longstanding problems. It would tighten the asylum system, reduce the number of appeals applicants can make from 12 to two, require proficiency in French and aim to improve France's relatively poor record of removals.

But it also includes proposals, criticised by those on the right, to give work permits to undocumented people employed in sectors with labour shortages, such as construction and healthcare. It is an example of Macron's en même temps (at the same time) policymaking catchphrase, and a reflection of how the French president has sought to borrow ideas from the left and right.

The government will now have to decide whether to abandon the reform or to try other avenues, such as reverting to an earlier, and much harsher, version of the law passed by the French senate, or trying to hash out a new one.

Éric Ciotti, LR leader, said his party would support the senate version: "We want to debate and adopt in its entirety without additions and changes, the Senate draft law.

Le Pen cast the vote as a much broader message to Macron's government that should remind them they do

Ukraine war. Propaganda

# Kyiv's 'rose-tinted' messages begin to lose power

Strict censorship of bad news from the front risks damaging trust of population and allies

ISOBEL KOSHIW - KYIV

For more than 650 days in a row, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy has given at least one video address to the nation — praising his troops, celebrating advances along the front lines and reaffirming resolve in the face of Russian aggression.

The message is always "we're moving forward", with the aim of maintaining optimism at home and abroad, accord ing to three people familiar with the communications strategy. It is applied at all state levels, from ministries and local administrations to military commanders and includes strict censorship of bad news, such as Ukrainian casualties or successful Russian strikes.

But with Ukraine enjoying few military achievements this year and western support faltering, the communications strategy is creating a rift between the presidential administration and military leadership, say officials from the armed forces, former presidential staff and communication strategists.

"We need to add more realism . . and we have to be as courageous about it as we were on February 24 [2022]," said a person connected to the presidential communications strategy in reference to the day Russia began its full-scale invasion of Ukraine.

Political rivals have begun to openly criticise Zelenskyy, with Kyiv mayor Vitali Klitschko recently accusing him of authoritarianism and even comparing him to Russia's Vladimir Putin.

Military leaders have argued that the gap between official messaging and the situation on the ground is no longer convincing, and therefore not motivating Ukrainians or western partners.

But Zelenskyy sees an optimistic mes  $sage \, as \, the \, only \, way \, to \, reassure \, Ukraine$ doubters in the west and shore up the confidence of Ukrainian businesses, a  $vital \, source \, of \, taxes \, for \, the \, war \, effort.$ 

"If we are pessimistic, we can expect [people] to stop developing their businesses in Ukraine and stop paying taxes, and we will not have enough money to keep fighting," said an official.

The differences burst into the open



Digging in: a Ukrainian soldier shows how he has prepared his  $Christmas\ and$ new year in the Bakhmut region. Ukraine's top general, Valeriy Zaluzhnyi, has said the land 'stalemate'

last month, when Ukraine's top general, Valeriy Zaluzhnyi, told The Economist that the land war was at a "stalemate" a taboo word in Kyiv, despite the fact the front lines in eastern Ukraine have barely moved since the country's counteroffensive began in June.

Zaluzhnyi's candour surprised many Ukrainians, and some western leaders even called Kyiv to ask what it meant and whether negotiations were now a priority, according to the official.

Iryna Zolotar, adviser and head of communications for Ukraine's former defence minister Oleksii Reznikov, said the optimism strategy initially worked, helping Ukrainians believe in themselves and their ability to resist.

But it had now created a confusing narrative where "expectations are overstated and do not correspond to the real state of affairs", Zolotar said. Media articles describing things as "not as good" as the official line were viewed as false, she said. Instead, the government needed to demonstrate "balanced realism".

"In order for society not to build castles in the air, and to take off its

rose-tinted glasses . . . it is necessary to stop being afraid to speak the truth," she said. "That victory will come with difficulty, that it is a marathon and is long and exhausting."

Zolotar said the current strategy had left the west asking why it should contribute taxpayers' money if Ukraine was always "about to win".

Other communications advisers say the strategy shields Ukrainians and the western public from the urgency of the situation and undermines trust.

"Sometimes the fight - communicating what's happening in real life - tells more than just a beautiful photo of the fight," said one former senior staff member. An example was Ukraine's "counterpropaganda" during the 10month battle for the town of Bakhmut, the former staff member said. This mirrored Russian tactics in trying to maintain an image of success, while western partners were telling Kyiv that Bakhmut was not worth the enormous losses. Official channels on social media branded the fight with slogans such as "Fortress Bakhmut" and "unbreakable'

'We need to add more realism . . . and we have to be as courageous about it as we were [when Russia

invaded]'

Bakhmut - which vanished in the days before Russia declared victory in May. Zelenskyy never officially acknowl edged Ukraine's retreat from Bakhmut, and in June the defence ministry pre-

from the edge of the town as evidence it had not lost the battle. The communications package covered up "the incredible levels of exhaustion, the suffering of thousands of families, enormous numbers of daily deaths, the tension and doubt", said the former staff member. By glossing over bad news, the

sented continued Ukrainian attacks

 $dists\,fighting\,propaganda\,narratives".$ News about the war seeped through to the Ukrainian public via social media and word-of-mouth, despite censorship, said Oksana Romaniuk, director at Ukraine's Institute for Mass Information, a media monitoring organisation.

view from abroad was of "two propagan-

"Almost everybody has relatives or friends fighting or who have suffered directly from the war," she said. "If there is no negative information, it will kill the trust towards the government.'

See The FT View

not have a majority in parliament and had to negotiate with lawmakers.

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# Austria gives Romania and Bulgaria hope on Schengen entry

ANDY BOUNDS — BRUSSELS MARTON DUNAI — BUDAPEST

Austria is ready to consider a staged rollback of its veto on Bulgaria and Romania's accession to the border-free Schengen area, if Brussels steps in to support stronger policing at the bloc's

Gerhard Karner, interior minister, said yesterday that Vienna had communicated "clear conditions" to the European Commission, which needed to be met in order for it to consider allowing passport-free travel to and from airports in Romania and Bulgaria in a first stage. Land border checks would remain in place for the time being.

"The point is that we need progress in the area of EU external border protection," said Karner, calling for "massive" adaptations. "It is now the commission's

The two countries have been waiting to join Schengen for more than a decade, with Austria sparking anger in Sofia and Bucharest last December, when it blocked their accession to the EU freemovement area. The dispute has rum-

bled on for months, with Bucharest even threatening to sue Vienna for billions in compensation and expanding the dispute to an offshore gasfield project.

The Netherlands also exercised a veto but only against Bulgaria. Phased-in accession, with airports first and land borders later, had been touted as a compromise before but both Austria and the Netherlands balked at the idea.

Austria told the commission it would back down if three measures were implemented, its interior ministry told the Financial Times. First, Vienna has demanded that funding is provided to triple the Frontex border force deployment in Bulgaria and Romania. Austrian officials would also need to be deployed to both countries.

Second, it is insisting that Bulgaria and Romania upgrade their external borders with an uninterrupted fence that would seal the countries off from non-EU nations, specifically Serbia and

Third, the two south-eastern EU countries would have to accept people who were declined asylum in Austria and first entered the bloc via Romania or Bulgaria. That condition enforces rules under the so-called Dublin treaty, requiring asylum seekers to lodge their claims in the first EU country they reach.

Vienna has highlighted Syrian and Afghan migrants it wishes to send back. Bucharest and Sofia argue that only a small minority of people who cross into the bloc via Turkey transit their territory, and that it is rather via Greece. Serbia and Hungary that those asylum seekers reach Austria.

Greece and Hungary are members of Schengen and the EU while Serbia is not. No timetable has been given by Aus



**Bucharest airport: Romania wants** Schengen membership quickly

tria for the measures to be met but they are unlikely to be in place this year.

Austria's conservative People's party, which governs in coalition with the Greens, has toughened its stance on immigration in recent months as its position in the polls has slipped ahead of elections in October.

The commission welcomed Austria's announcement as "positive", adding that it was standing ready to provide support, including by reinforcing Frontex deployments at borders.

"Bulgaria and Romania are ready to join the Schengen area," said commission spokesman Christian Wigand.

The Netherlands has said it needs further assessment about the readiness of Bulgaria but that it is prepared to accept Romania. But Wigand said the two countries had always been dealt with together.

Romania and Bulgaria both welcomed the Austrian move and said they wanted to achieve full membership quickly. Marcel Ciolacu, Romanian premier, said it was important that Austria had become "more flexible" and expressed confidence that talks would continue next year about land borders.



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#### INTERNATIONAL

**Neuromorphic technology** 

# Scientists use brain-like tissue in advance for 'biocomputing'

Organoid helps system recognise speech and solve maths problems

MICHAEL PEEL

Scientists have combined brain-like tissue with electronic hardware to create a speech-recognition and calculation system, advancing research into the creation of high-powered biological computers.

The work boosts efforts to build socalled neuromorphic computing devices powered by human brain cells that have the potential to learn faster and be more energy-efficient than traditional silicon-based machines. A breakthrough in the field could improve artificial intelligence applications, enabling advances in fields such as medical science and treatment, researchers say.

"Brain-inspired computing hardware aims to emulate the structure and working principles of the brain and could be used to address current limitations in AI technologies," wrote the authors of a paper on the hybrid creation published in Nature Electronics yesterday.

Researchers from Indiana University

Researchers from Indiana University Bloomington, the universities of Florida and Cincinnati, and Cincinnati Children's Hospital Medical Center built the "Brainoware" system using a brain organoid — a three-dimensional neural structure grown from human stem cells.

The team connected computer hardware to send electrical stimulation to the organoid and read the neural activity it produced in response. The system recognised Japanese vowel sounds and predicted a mathematical map.

In a language test, the scientists gave Brainoware the task of distinguishing between eight different male Japanese speakers recorded on 240 audio clips. The system got significantly better after training of its underlying algorithm, improving from about 51 per cent accuracy to about 78 per cent.

In a maths test, the researchers tried to get the system to predict a Hénon map, which represents chaotic activity. Brainoware was slightly less accurate than silicon-based neural networks, but its training time was 90 per cent lower.

The research comes after the launch in February by an international team, led by scientists from Johns Hopkins University in the US, of a detailed road map towards "organoid intelligence". The plan promises discoveries in computing, neuroscience and other areas of medical research.

While researchers admit that generaluse biological computers could be decades away, the Brainoware experiments highlight the field's potential.

The advances also raise ethical questions about creating brain-like "intelligence in a dish" with the potential even

to acquire basic consciousness.

"As the sophistication of these organoid systems increases, it is critical for the community to examine the myriad of neuroethical issues that surround biocomputing systems incorporating human neural tissue," the researchers said

Manufacturing. Workforce housing



# India bets on worker dormitories as businesses pivot from China

Cultural norms such as living close to families complicate

the ambitions of producers

JOHN REED — CHENNAI KATHRIN HILLE — TAIPE

India's appeal to the likes of Apple as a "China plus one" manufacturing hub may depend on how the country and foreign investors resolve one glaring issue: how and where to get enough workers in the right place.

In China, hundreds of millions of migrant workers played a crucial role in the country's rise as the "workshop of the world". Executives hoping India will emerge as a parallel manufacturing centre as geopolitical tensions rise are waiting to see whether its workers will prove equally willing to leave their homes and families for a job that includes spending long periods with a dormitory bed as their enly universe research.

their only private space.

"When we started manufacturing in [the Chinese city of] Shenzhen all workers came from far away, so there was the necessity to build accommodation for them from the very start," said a person close to Foxconn, the biggest manufacturer of Apple's iPhone, which has said its manufacturing ambitions for India extend to new products such as electric

"In India, the main model so far was bringing workers from their hometowns with shuttle buses, but as things get scaled up that is just not sustainable."

Foxconn declined to comment.
The numbers involved can be vast:
Foxconn's iPhone plant in the Chinese
city of Zhengzhou, the world's largest,
has at peak times employed up to
500,000 people.

The issue of worker accommodation is of special urgency because of the role women play in the electronics industry. They account for the bulk of the workforce in electronics in longer-established manufacturing hubs such as China and Vietnam, where workers' dormitories are a central part of companies' focus, alongside regulatory issues such as trade tariffs and labour law.

India has fewer women in factory work than most other Asian countries because of safety issues around commuting and the social stigmatisation of women's work, making the issue of worker accommodation particularly pressing.

"There's a whole range of regressive social and cultural norms that constrain women from working in industry," said Radhicka Kapoor, a professor at the Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations. "But that also means there's a tremendous opportunity here to engage women."

As the likes of Apple and Foxconn

As the likes of Apple and Foxconn shift more production to southern India, companies and local officials are making plans for dormitories that between them will accommodate tens of thousands of beds.

In Tamil Nadu, a hub of India's electronics industry where Foxconn has its main factory assembling iPhones for Apple, a government agency is building

#### 'People in India expect to commute to work from their homes and, when their shift is over, go home'

multiple blocks to accommodate about 18,000 women, local officials told the Financial Times. Foxconn is expected to take up all of this capacity, according to people close to the Taiwanese company. It expects to finish another dorm in Tamil Nadu in the coming months that can accommodate 20,000 more workers.

"Affordability at scale is something where the state needs to step in rather than leaving it to market forces," Vishnu Venugopalan, chief executive of Guidance Tamil Nadu, the state's investment promotion agency, told the FT.

promotion agency, told the F1.

In Karnataka, home to India's IT capital Bengaluru, where Foxconn has broken ground on another plant, the state has formulated a draft policy to build dormitories. "The investors are reviewing the policy and shall come up with feedback for the government," said Priyank Kharge, the state's IT minister.

In Telangana, the local government allows investors to devote 20 per cent of the land where they are building factories to dormitories, sparing them the cost of acquiring additional property.

Foxconn is building a factory to make

Foxconn is building a factory to make Apple's wireless AirPod earphones through its subsidiary FIT from next year. Its factory site at Kongara Kalan near Hyderabad's airport is expected to include a dormitory.

include a dormitory.

Foxconn's plans to build more housing in India highlight its expansion in the world's most populous country and the potential hurdles ahead. As of June, the company's total workforce in India was just 50,000, compared with 700,000 to Imn employees in China.

Last week Foxconn said it would spend about Rs128bn (\$1.5bn) to build additional factory capacity in India — in line with chair Young Liu's statement at an investor conference in August that the company would invest "several billions of US dollars" in India.

But some industry observers have voiced scepticism that Apple and its main supplier will be able to scale up in India, in part because of the challenges around worker accommodation and securing women's work.

"A crucial condition for managing the scale-up in India is providing enough accommodation for workers," said a person familiar with Foxconn's plans.

Executives at Foxconn and Taiwan's other contract manufacturers have repeatedly said it would be impossible to replicate in India or Vietnam the mass production structures they built in China, mainly because workers there are less willing to leave their families.

"Generally, people in India expect to commute to work from their homes and, when their shift is over, go home and have dinner with their family," said an executive at Pegatron, another iPhone supplier.

# Contracts & Tenders

CONSTRUCTION AND POSSIBLE MANAGEMENT OF THE WORK

SEA PARK 5.0



# EXPLORATORY NOTICE FOR THE ACQUISITION OF EXPRESSIONS OF INTEREST

With resolution no. 21 / CC of 15 September 2023, the Council of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry, Crafts and Agriculture Venezia Giulia - Trieste Gorizia decided to include the work "Parco del Mare 5.0 - Nautaverso" in the three-year program of public works, as described in the planning documents approved pursuant to art. 37 Legislative Decree 31 March 2023, n. 36 and the related Annex I.7, which can be consulted on the institutional website of the Chamber of Commerce at the address: https://www.vg.camcom.gov.it/ and of the company Venezia Giulia Sviluppo Plus srl at the address: https://www.vgsplus.it/

With this notice, economic operators are invited to express their interest in the construction and possible management of the "Parco del Mare 5.0 - Nautaverso" according to the design alternatives envisaged and detailed in the Design Alternatives Feasibility Document, approved with the aforementioned resolution of the Chamber of Commerce Council.

The expression of interest must be sent to the certified email address vgsplus@pec.vg.camcom.it no later than 60 (sixty) days from the publication of this notice in the newspapers II Piccolo, Messaggero Veneto, Corriere della Sera, Il Sole 24 Ore and Financial Times.

This notice and the expressions of interest that will be received do not commit the Venezia Giulia Chamber of Commerce and its in-house company Venezia Giulia Sviluppo Plus in any way to take any subsequent measures aimed at carrying out the work or examining and/or evaluating the expressions of interest or the applications received.

This notice does not constitute a pre-information notice and is not aimed at identifying economic operators to be invited to a subsequent procedure.

The expressions of interest and any proposed Design solutions in any case can not give rise to a reimbursement of the expenses incurred by the economic operators.

PROCEDURE MANAGER: Mr. Pierluigi Medeot

Trieste, 12<sup>th</sup> December 2023



CONTACT DETAILS: Venezia Giulia Sviluppo Plus Srl

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#### Monetary policy

## Central banks set to dash investors' rate hopes

SAM FLEMING — LONDON COLBY SMITH — WASHINGTON MARTIN ARNOLD — FRANKFURT

Leading central banks are preparing to defy investor predictions of how quickly interest rates will fall, as they meet for the final time this year amid strong employment numbers.

Investors have been betting that policymakers in the US, the eurozone and the UK will start loosening monetary policy early in the new year as they focus on falling headline inflation readings.

But those expectations will be tested this week at separate meetings of the US Federal Reserve, the European Central Bank and the Bank of England, all three of which have signalled that they want clearer evidence of weakening labour markets before cutting rates.

"They can't declare victory [over inflation] and the data is actually quite helpful to push back against the market narrative," said James Knightley, chief international economist at ING. "They will be very, very reluctant to give the market the green light."

The Fed, which gathers ahead of the ECB and BoE this week, faces a particularly challenging task amid investor speculation that it will lower borrowing costs earlier than officials had suggested would be necessary to bring inflation

Fed chair Jay Powell has sought to temper those expectations, stressing it was "premature" to say interest rates had peaked or to begin sketching out the timing and parameters under which policymakers would consider cuts.

Recent economic data reinforces that argument: figures published on Friday showed that US hiring remained stronger than expected, with a fall in the unemployment rate to 3.7 per cent and solid monthly wage growth.

"Labour markets are holding up bet-

"Labour markets are holding up better than expected, given what interest rates have done," said Holger Schmieding, chief economist at Berenberg.

US inflation data due today was also thought likely to give the Fed cover to dispel the notion that a policy pivot is imminent, Knightley said.



Decision time: European Central Bank rate-setters meet on Thursday

The ECB and BoE both meet on Thursday. Policymakers in the eurozone and the UK are also anxious to counter the market's rate-cutting narrative and can point to resilient labour markets as ballast for their arguments.

Eurozone unemployment remains close to a record low at 6.5 per cent and unit labour costs per hour worked are rising at the fastest pace since Eurostat records began in 1995. With price growth in the services sector still running at 4 per cent, rate-setters say they want to see more evidence that higher labour costs will not drive a second round of inflationary pressure.

"I would think the ECB will want to see evidence that wage growth is consistent with inflation falling to 2 per cent as well as profit margins absorbing higher labour costs before they decide on any rate cuts," said Katharine Neiss, a former BoE official and now chief European economist at PGIM Fixed Income.

Indicators of UK wage growth have eased, as has headline inflation, which fell to 4.7 per cent in October. The BoE is widely expected to hold rates at 5.25 per cent, according to market pricing.

"To try to prevent financial conditions loosening further and to send a signal ahead of the new-year pay round, the [BoE] will likely double down on its 'high for longer' message," said Andrew Goodwin of Oxford Economics.

#### INTERNATIONAL

# Palestinians in Rafah suffer as **UN** agency warns of collapse

#### Refugees report health problems and barely any access to food and water

MAI KHALED — RAFAH HEBA SALEH — CAIRO

Palestinian mother of five Om Ahmed Abdel Al refused to budge when officials told her there was no room at a UN school that was being used as a shelter for displaced people in Rafah on Gaza's border with Egypt.

"Where can we go?" she asked, after joining relatives she had found there. We've been moving from UN school to UN school, from displacement to displacement and from suffering to even worse suffering."

UN officials warn that Rafah is becoming overwhelmed as the Israeli offensive and evacuation orders have pushed 85 per cent of its 2.3mn population further south. The frontier town is the furthest they can flee, but the border with Egypt is sealed and there is nowhere else for them to go.

Thousands are already living on the

streets of the city, exposed to the winter weather and with barely any access to food, water or hygiene facilities.

Its infrastructure will not cope with a displaced population that could reach 1mn, aid officials say. UN schools serving as shelters in Rafah are already sev-

eral times over capacity.
Conditions are dire. At the school where Om Ahmed is sheltering, up to 70 women and girls are crammed into each room, sleeping on mattresses on the floor, while men and boys spend their nights in makeshift shelters in court-yards. There is little food, clean water or electricity. Families cook in smokefilled corridors on fires fuelled with cardboard or with wood from felled trees. Up to 700 people use a single toilet, queueing for hours for their turn.

"People are desperate to get a bag of flour . . . hunger and disease stalk everyone," Thomas White, Gaza director of UNRWA, the main UN relief agency in the territory, posted on X.

Before arriving in Rafah, Om Ahmed's family had sheltered at a UN school in Khan Younis, the biggest city in the south of Gaza and now a main target of Israel's military offensive. Since the end of a week-long truce on December 1, Israeli forces have intensified air and land attacks on the city, sending fresh waves of people fleeing towards Rafah.

The expansion of Israel's military campaign beyond the north threatens the entire relief operation in Gaza, the

UNRWA chief Philippe Lazzarini has called for an immediate ceasefire and warned the humanitarian situation was "untenable", describing his agency's mandate as being "on the verge of col-

At least 130 UNRWA staff have been killed in Israeli strikes. "Without safe shelter and aid, civilians in Gaza risk death or will be forced to Egypt and beyond," he wrote to the UN General

The risk of an influx of refugees has alarmed Egypt, which has repeatedly stated its opposition to what it describes as an Israeli plan to expel the Palestinians into its Sinai peninsula. Diaa Rashwan, head of the state information service, said late last week that this was



Desperate: tents outside the UN school in Rafah Below, refugee Om Mohamed Doghmosh

a "red line that Egypt will not allow to be

Civil order is breaking down in Gaza as the humanitarian situation deteriorates, UN officials warn. "The streets feel wild, particularly after dark - some aid convoys are being looted and UN

vehicles stoned. Society is on the brink of full-blown collapse," White said on X.

In Rafah, Om Ahmed said people were in a "catastrophic situation" with no water or food. "All the children and elderly are ill. All have coughs, skin diseases and stomach bugs. Personal hygiene is impossible."

Hiba Yassin, a grandmother making tea on a small fire, said the sound of her baby grandson's cough was "like a knife going through my heart". Lamenting the lack of food or nappies for her children, her daughter added: "We're back to the stone age."

world'

Disease, alongside the war itself, is one of the "two horsemen of the apocalypse" in Gaza, Martin Griffiths, UN relief chief said last week. "It will only get worse as we are unable to sustain any supplies to hospitals, any safe water desalination.

At least 17,000 Palestinians have been killed by Israel's air, land and sea offensive since October 7, according to Gaza

health authorities. The Iewish state 'Is this launched its military campaign in retalia life? ation for a cross-border raid by Hamas militants in southern Israel that killed May God 1,200 Israelis, according to government curse this Mohamed Abu Saada, a father of despicable

seven, had erected a tent outside the UN school in Rafah as there was no room  $inside-a\ location\ he\ chose\ so\ the\ fam$ ily could use the nearby bathroom. 'This requires hours of waiting in line," he said. "Is this a life? May God curse this despicable world."

Some people unable to find space at UN schools have camped at a nearby hospital construction site. Weeping as she sat on a tattered mattress, Om Mohamed Doghmosh said her family's move to Rafah was their fourth since the

"We haven't eaten for days," she said. "Three of my sons were killed and the fourth is missing . . . I've lost my mind, I can't bear it anymore."

# Erdoğan accused of 'coup' against voters

ADAM SAMSON AND FUNJA GÜLER ANKARA

Turkey's opposition has accused Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's government of mounting a political "coup attempt" after it revived a dormant criminal case against Ankara's mayor just months before local elections

The justice ministry is seeking to overturn a 2021 court decision not to proceed with a defamation case against Ankara mayor Mansur Yavaş, one of the leading figures in Turkey's political opposition, according to documents seen by the Financial Times.

The move to reopen the case, which was made in late October but has not been previously reported, comes ahead of local elections in March, when President Erdoğan's Justice and Development party (AKP) will seek to seize back control of Turkey's two biggest cities, Istanbul and Ankara.

The revival of the case is likely to exacerbate fears among western allies over Erdogan's slide towards autocracy, with the EU warning in a report last month that in Turkey "political pluralism continued to be undermined by the targeting of opposition parties".

Erdoğan, who has been in power for two decades, has been accused by rights groups of using the judiciary to silence political opponents, particularly after thousands of judges and prosecutors were purged following a 2016 coup

#### This is a 'concrete example' of how Turkey's judiciary has become 'politicised' Umut Akdoğan, MP

attempt against the president. He and his AKP have consolidated their rule over Turkey following their victory in May's general election, which was seen as the tightest contest in years.

Umut Akdoğan, an MP for the Republican People's party (CHP), Turkey's main opposition group, alleged that the justice ministry's decision to revive the case against Yavaş was a "coup attempt against the will of the people of Ankara".

Akdoğan, who is a member of the parliamentary constitutional committee. added that the move was a "concrete example" of how Turkey's judiciary had become "politicised". An official inside the Ankara municipality said the govoperation" to discredit Yavas, a CHP

Turkey's government did not respond

brought by a lawyer linked to a controversial Ankara building project in 2019, alleging that Yayas had made wrongful and insulting claims about him in a

Prosecutors declined to pursue the allegations, a decision that was upheld in 2021 by an Istanbul court.

ber to reopen the case on the basis of defending the legal system.

The allegations against Yavaş follow a series of similar cases against Ekrem İmamoğlu, the CHP mayor of Istanbul who is seen as a likely candidate to one day challenge Erdoğan or his successor for the presidency.

ernment was undertaking a "political member who won control of Ankara in 2019 after a quarter-century's rule by the AKP and its predecessors.

to requests for comment.

The defamation case was initially Turkish newspaper interview.

The justice ministry filed in late Octo-

## Sciences Po chief steps aside after push claim

LEILA ABBOUD - PARIS

The director of France's prestigious Sciences Po university has said he will step back "temporarily" from his role after being questioned by police over allegations of domestic violence made by his former partner.

Mathias Vicherat, who has headed Sciences Po since 2021, has denied wrongdoing in what he cast as a private matter. But the case sparked uproar among students at the university, which has a chequered record when handling sexual scandals at the top.

Vicherat's former partner Anissa Bonnefont, a documentary film maker, went to police on December 3 and filed a complaint that he had pushed her, according to Le Parisien newspaper. Vicherat soon after also went to police to report that she had slapped him. The two were questioned by police separately and released without charge.

While the alleged incident remains unclear, it touched off a wave of anger among Sciences Po students, with three

student unions calling for Vicherat's resignation. Several hundred students held a sit-in last week, demanding protection for victims and describing Sciences Po as "a paradise of impunity".

Vicherat, a former Danone executive and elite civil servant who was once a classmate of President Emmanuel Macron, had sought to calm the crisis by holding meetings with professors and

But yesterday he announced in an email to staff and students that he had proposed to the FNSP, the school's oversight body, to temporarily "withdraw from my functions" for a period and on terms to be decided by them.

"I contest having committed the acts of violence that have been reported by the press and on social networks," he wrote, emphasising that no formal complaint had been filed or restraining orders issued after he and Bonnefont were heard by police.

Bonnefont wrote on Instagram that she was "shocked by the media frenzy" into her private life and that of Vicherat, adding that "the sadness of couples belongs to them and it is never all white on one side and all black on the other".

This is not the first time that Science Po has been rocked by crisis.

Vicherat's predecessor Frédéric Mion was forced to resigned in 2021 over his handling of incest allegations involving veteran professor and well-known political commentator Olivier Duhamel.

When he took over, Vicherat promised to overhaul Sciences Po's rules and reporting systems with regard to sexual harassment and sexual assault to better protect students.

Inès Fontanelle, who heads the leftleaning Students Union at Sciences Po, said those promises meant Vicherat had to be held to a higher standard.

"There used to be hopes among students that Vicherat would help change things but trust has now broken down. she told the Financial Times. "A change in leadership and an overhaul in governance are needed for Sciences Po to be known again for academic excellence and not for scandals."



# Companies & Markets

# Brookfield hits at US banking regulator over 'secret' auction

Protest at sale of failed lender's loansFDIC accused of choosing lower bids

ANTOINE GARA, STEPHEN GANDEL AND JOSHUA CHAFFIN — NEW YORK

One of the world's largest investment groups has complained to the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation over the way it handled the auction of \$33.2bn in loans that the US bank regulator absorbed from Signature Bank after the lender collapsed.

Brookfield Property Group said that the FDIC was running a "secret" process to sell Signature Bank loans. It accused the regulator, which has a mandate to minimise losses, of picking some winning bidders for assets at prices substantially below the highest offer. "[We] have heard from numerous

"[We] have heard from numerous sources, including from your adviser (Newmark) and from media reports,

# 'If the winning bidder's price is in fact lower than ours . . . we intend to launch a formal protest'

that a winning bidder has been selected and that this bidder's price is lower than ours," Brookfield said in a letter addressed on December 7 to the FDIC and seen by the Financial Times.

The Canadian investment group, which manages about \$850bn across real estate and other assets, has threatened to file a formal protest over the auction, which is expected to be completed this month. "If the winning bidder's price is in fact lower than ours, as it appears to be, we intend to launch a formal protest, as we believe that this would be in violation of law," said Brookfield chief investment officer Lowell Baron, in the letter.

Brookfield has bid on \$4.4bn in affordable housing loans to apartment buildings in New York City that the FDIC is selling as part of the auction of

New York-based Signature's assets, which mostly comprise multifamily real estate loans.

Brookfield bid more than 80 cents on the dollar for the assets, according to two sources briefed on the matter. A group led by Related Fund Management won the auction at below 70 cents on the dollar, the sources said, confirming a report from The Wall Street Journal.

Brookfield, the FDIC and Newmark

declined to comment. Related did not respond.

Signature Bank failed in March shortly after the collapse of Silicon Valley Bank spurred a run on deposits at midsized US regional banks.

The FDIC, a banking regulator that insures depositors, is also responsible for resolving failed banks. In the collapses of SVB, First Republic and Signature Bank, it absorbed each bank's assets and held auctions to sell the banks and their loans to minimise losses to its insurance pool.

to its insurance pool.

In September, the FDIC began its auction of Signature Bank's assets and hired adviser Newmark to oversee the process. The auction, which divided assets into four pools, has drawn interest from more than a dozen large private capital groups, including Brookfield, Blackstone, Oaktree, Fortress and Related, according to sources familiar with the matter.

Brookfield focused on two pools of assets containing affordable housing loans. These tranches were considered the most politically sensitive because they involved buildings in low-income neighbourhoods, according to a source familiar with the matter. This led large investors to partner with specialists in affordable housing and non-profits.

The group's criticism comes after similar complaints over the FDIC's handling of the sale of some SVB assets.

Additional reporting by Eric Platt

# Changing course TikTok to take over Indonesia's Tokopedia in bid to overcome ecommerce ban



Tokopedia has a strong ecommerce base in Indonesia that TikTok is expected to leverage — Dimas Ardian/Bloomberg

WILLIAM LANGLEY — HONG KONG

ByteDance-owned TikTok has agreed to invest \$1.5bn in a unit of Indonesia's GoTo as it tries to rescue its shopping business in the country two months after the introduction of regulation threatening its ecommerce app.

TikTok will take a controlling 75.01 per cent stake in Tokopedia, an ecommerce unit of GoTo, the Jakartalisted technology group told investors yesterday in a letter seen by the Financial Times. As part of the deal, Tokopedia will acquire TikTok Shop's Indonesia business for \$540mn, enlarging its ecommerce platform.

Shares in GoTo fell more than 12 per cent yesterday following news of the TikTok takeover.

Indonesia banned transactions on social media in September, dealing a blow to TikTok's ecommerce ambitions in one of its largest and most promising markets. TikTok subsequently suspended its shopping unit in the country.

Analysts said TikTok's takeover of a local company could provide a template for overcoming regulatory setbacks in other markets, including south-east Asia, Europe and the US. Malaysia and Vietnam have also threatened rules to curb the app.

"For ByteDance and TikTok it provides a plug-and-play solution to their Indonesia problems," said Simon Torring, co-founder of Cube Asia, an ecommerce research platform.

"Not only does Tokopedia have a large local merchant base and strong logistics and payments assets that TikTok can leverage... the company also has deep ties to Indonesia's regulators and broader government stakeholders, something TikTok has been lacking in the country," he said.

Indonesia, the world's fourth-most populous country, with a young,

mobile population, was TikTok Shop's largest market. Chief executive Shou Zi Chew travelled to the country in June, pledging to spend billions of dollars over the next five years.

While not an outright ban on Tik-Tok Shop, the September rules meant companies would have to separate ecommerce transactions from social media content.

Indonesian trade minister Zulkifli Hasan said in September that the regulations aimed to ensure "fair and just" competition and protect user data as well as small and mediumsized bricks-and-mortar vendors in south-east Asia's biggest economy.

Roshan Raj, head of consultancy Redseer, said the move was a "significant shift" for TikTok Shop. "Holding a majority stake in the new entity allows TikTok to lead the ecommerce business with little to no interference from its local shareholder," he said. Lex page 24

The UK stock market is

going through one of its

sporadic sulks. It must

innovative equity risk

rediscover an appetite for

### Ibrahimović returns to AC Milan with RedBird

JAMES FONTANELLA-KHAN — NEW YORK SAMUEL AGINI — LONDON

Zlatan Ibrahimović is making his third comeback at the Italian football club AC Milan, this time off the pitch as an adviser to the team's owners and an operating partner for RedBird, the US private equity firm that controls the Serie Ateam.

In an announcement yesterday, the renowned player, who retired in June, will act as an adviser to AC Milan's management and ownership. The club's owners include the New York Yankees and Main Street Advisors, a fund that counts basketball star LeBron James and rapper Drake among its investors.

In addition to working with AC Milan, Ibrahimović will work closely with Gerry Cardinale, the founder of Red-Bird, to grow the investment firm's existing portfolio of assets across sports, media and entertainment as well as identifying new opportunities.

The former Swedish international,

The former Swedish international, 42, whose existing investments already qualified him for his own page on data provider PitchBook, said he had picked RedBird because of its record of partnering with athletes and celebrities wishing to leave a mark in business.

"I look forward to contributing to their investing activities across their sports, media and entertainment properties," said Ibrahimović.

RedBird, which manages about \$10bn, including stakes in Liverpool FC owner Fenway Sports Group, the Alpine Formula One car racing team and *Top Gun* producer Skydance, has backed LeBron James's SpringHill Company and Ben Affleck and Matt Damon's movie studio Artists Equity.

"What makes a winner of Zlatan's calibre is not just physical talent, but also high intellect and an entrepreneurial spirit," said Cardinale. "At RedBird, we have developed partnerships with a very select group of high-performing, world-class athletes and artists."

Cardinale, who acquired AC Milan for €1.2bn about 18 months ago, views it as a "sleeping giant" that the former Goldman Sachs banker thinks can become a more diversified sports, media, entertainment and cultural juggernaut able to compete with Premier League teams.

The club recently returned to profitability for the first time in 17 years, partly thanks to the brand's growth in the Middle East and Asia. AC Milan has about 500mn fans globally.

#### Contracts & Tenders



Piaggio Aero Industries S.p.A. in extraordinary receivership proceedings Piaggio Aviation S.p.A. in extraordinary receivership proceedings

RESCHEDULE OF THE DEADLINE

TO SUBMIT FINAL AND BINDING OFFERS FOR THE PURCHASE OF THE BUSINESS COMPLEXES

The Extraordinary Commissioners (Commissari Straordinari) of Piaggio Aero Industries S.p.A. in extraordinary receivership proceedings ("Piaggio Aero") and of Piaggio Aviation S.p.A. in extraordinary receivership proceedings ("Piaggio Aviation") reschedule the deadline for all the entities (incorporated as limited companies) (costituite in forma di società di capitali) interested in submitting, or integrating, their final and binding offers for the purchase of all the business complexes conducted the Piaggio Aero and by P

conducted by Piaggio Aero and by Piaggio Aviation. Such offers must be submitted in a closed envelope to the office of Notary Annalisa Boschetti ("Studio Notarile Annalisa Boschetti", Via Passione 1, 20122 Milano) not later than 6.00 p.m. CET of 30 January 2024 and must be drawn up in accordance with (and contain the documents/information required by) the "Specifications of the sale procedure for Business Complexes conducted by Piaggio Aero Industries S.p.A. in a.s." as will be better detailed by the Extraordinary Commissioners to those who have expressed/confirmed their interest and have been formally admitted to the sale procedure within the terms set forth in the tender rules. The publication of this notice does not imply any obligation to admit to the sale procedure and/or to start negotiations for the sale and/or sale to those legal entities who have expressed/confirmed their interest in the purchase and/or submitted offers, nor any right of the latter towards the Extraordinary Commissioners, Piaggio Aero and/or Piaggio Aviation for any reason whatsoever.

Any final determination with regard to the sale is subject to the authorization of the

Any final determination with regard to the sale is subject to the authorization of the Ministry of Enterprises and Made in Italy, having heard the opinion of the Supervisory Committee and, as applicable, in compliance with the provisions of Law Decree No. 21 of 15 March 2012 converted, with amendments, into Law No. 56 of 11 May 2012, as amended.

Villanova d'Albenga, December 12, 2023

The Extraordinary Commissioners Carmelo Cosentino, Vincenzo Nicastro, Gianpaolo Davide Rossetti

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# Bowler hats may be bygones but some things will never change



hen I started my career as a financial journalist in the new year of 1987, a few City gents still wore bowler hats. As I prepare to retire at the end of the year, neck ties are the endangered flourish.

Financial services back then consisted of intermediaries connecting the bosses of companies with investors to form capital via public markets.

That territory has shrunk as indexation, automation and private capital have expanded. But a few universal constants will always apply. I was blithely ignorant of these as a cub reporter. They have come into sharp focus since.

Individual incentives favour collective instability. I have seen six serious market corrections, starting with Black Monday in the 1987 crash and ending with last year's US rout. At such times, pundits ask: "Has no one learnt the lessons of the past?"

Why would they? Personal incentives

why would make? I clean an incentive discourage behavioural change. A crash is tolerable if you have transmuted several years of asset price inflation into cash bonuses. The fact that crashes are bad for society only weakly offsets such incentives via regulation. This tends to reduce returns to owners rather than agents. Economic sages Hyman Minsky and JK Galbraith saw markets as innately unstable. They were right.

You do not hear the whistle of the bullet that hits you. Queen Elizabeth II supposedly shamed economists during the financial crisis of 2007-08 by asking "Why didn't anyone see this coming?"

Commentators had imagined many crises coming. But not the US subprime crisis in any detail. Instead, there were nagging fears of a meltdown in the Asian carry trade, an arbitrage between rates in different economies. It did not happen.

Nor is the basis trade likely to crash the financial system. This vast arbitrage between Treasuries and their futures worries too many people for that. Unanticipated snarl-ups — such as US regional banking turmoil — are riskier because scope for panic is greater.

Big banks are not conventional businesses. The classic business sells products or services to customers on a commercial basis. If it

does well, it wins applause. If it goes bust, it does not matter greatly. Most big banks

Most big banks are not like this. They are massively regulated, stateguaranteed, quasi

guaranteed, quasi-public franchises financed with private capital. Their job is to create and distribute money for their franchisers, governments and central banks. Returns are unpredictably skewed by politics. In concept, banks resemble supermarkets to the extent that blue whales resemble amoebas.

Chief executives sometimes matter. This is distressing for chief executives, who would prefer to matter all the time. But large, mature businesses carry on imperturbably during interregnums.

The main utility of CEOs is in protecting or creating value during corporate turmoil. Recent examples include Larry Culp at engineer General Electric,

Amanda Blanc at insurer Aviva and

Andrea Orcel at lender UniCredit.
In calmer times, bad CEOs destroy value with grandiose takeovers. Good ones quietly set expectations for middle management, as Richard Cousins did at caterer Compass.

Stock analysts are hedgehogs not foxes. Most analysts are smarter than me. But they also conform to Isaiah Berlin's definition of creatures with a single conceptual framework (hedgehogs) rather than many (foxes). Their talisman is the financial model they build for each company they follow. They usually interpret resulting numbers positively for reasons of career survival. The result is perceptual narrowing. Analysts repeatedly underestimate the cost of corporate scandals because this derails their models—and careers—least.

Debt matters more than equity, unfortunately. Franco Modigliani and Merton Miller established that the value of an enterprise depends on its future earnings. The exact mix of debt and equity is irrelevant.

It is crucial to investor returns, however. Private equity and many hedge fund strategies depend on leveraging stubs of equity. In important jurisdictions, interest payments are tax deductible but dividends are not.

Even with US equity markets flying, the world's debts exceed the value of its quoted equity by a ratio of three to one.

The UK stock market was vibrant when I started my career. It is now going through one of its sporadic sulks.

It is dominated by mature businesses whose high-yielding shares might as well be bonds. Bowler hats are bygones. An appetite for innovative equity risk is a habit that the UK stock market must rediscover or it will go the same way.

jonathan.guthrie@ft.com



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#### COMPANIES & MARKETS

**Technology** 

# Nvidia emerges as leading AI start-up investor

**US-based semiconductor** maker participated in 35 deals in sector this year

TIM BRADSHAW AND IVAN LEVINGSTON

Nvidia, the world's most valuable chipmaker, has become one of the most prolific investors in artificial intelligence start-ups this year, seeking to capitalise on its position as the dominant provider of AI processors.

Silicon Valley-based Nvidia said yesterday that it had invested in "more than two dozen" companies this year,

from big new AI platforms valued in the billions of dollars to smaller start-ups applying AI to industries such as health-

Estimates by Dealroom, which tracks venture capital punts, say Nvidia participated in 35 deals in 2023, almost six times more than last year. That made the it the most active large-scale investor in AI, outstripping Silicon Valley's largest venture firms such as Andreessen Horowitz and Sequoia, according to Dealroom, excluding small-scale accelerator funds such as Y Combinator that place many smaller bets.

"Broadly, for Nvidia, the number one

criteria [for making start-up investments] is relevancy," Mohamed Siddeek, head of its dedicated venture arm NVentures, told the Financial Times.

'Companies that use our technology, who depend on our technology, who build their businesses on our technology . . . I can't think of a situation where we've invested in a company that did not use Nvidia products.

Between NVentures and its corporate development team, Nvidia's portfolio now includes Inflection AI and Cohere. two of the biggest rivals to ChatGPT

Other investments are in Hugging

Face, a provider of data and tools for AI developers that was valued at \$4.5bn in August, and CoreWeave, a cloud infrastructure company focused on highperformance computing applications that rely on chips such as Nvidia's graph ics processing units.

Its most recent investment was in

'I can't think of a situation where we've invested in a company that did not use Nvidia products'

Mistral, the Paris-based AI start-up that was valued at €2bn this month.

common is that they are all Nvidia customers, whether using its GPU chips or

Nvidia's H100 GPU has become one of the most sought-after products in Silicon Valley. The processor helps creators of "large language models" — the underlying platform that powers "generative AI" services such as ChatGPT — to train their systems much more quickly than using traditional server chips.

Nvidia invests from its own balance sheet, writing cheques running to tens of millions of dollars. NVentures looked to "generate healthy returns" from its investments, while its corporate development team could invest for more strategic purposes, Siddeek said. It both leads rounds itself and invests alongside venture capital firms.

Nvidia denied it sought special terms with start-ups to ensure they used its chips. "We try to be as investee-friendly as possible," it said.

We don't have any conditions per se." Siddeek also denied the group's portfolio groups receive preferential access to its chips. "We don't help anybody jump

Retail. Sales revival

# Luxury brands enjoy turbocharged growth in Japan

Return of rich tourists and a weak yen help outlets sidestep the global high-end slowdown

ADRIENNE KLASA — PARIS DAVID KEOHANE — TOKYO

In a corner of Tokyo's Ginza district, shoppers line up at a glass display case on the top floor of Louis Vuitton's seven floor outlet.

They are not waiting to buy handbags or watches from the French brand but branded chocolates. A box of eight sells for ¥18,000 (\$123) at Louis Vuitton's café in the technicolour building, which jostles for attention amid the most powerful luxury brands. All want to reap the benefits of a weak ven that is helping power luxury sales in Japan. Nearby at Matsuya, the department

store, sales at brands including Gucci, Dior and Manolo Blahnik are breaking records.

"Foreign tourists have an advantage from the weaker yen  $\dots$  In the past, there was a big difference between purchasing things in Tokyo or Paris, but now the differences have flattened, said Nobuhiro Hattori, head of customer strategy at Matsuya.

In Shinjuku, sales at Takashimaya, another store, are running almost one and half times 2019 figures and boosting the bottom lines of luxury companies.

For LVMH, the largest luxury group and owner of Louis Vuitton, Japan is the fastest-growing region across its 75 brands, reporting sales growth of 31 per cent in the country in the first nine months of the year despite a slowdown for the industry after a three-year tear.

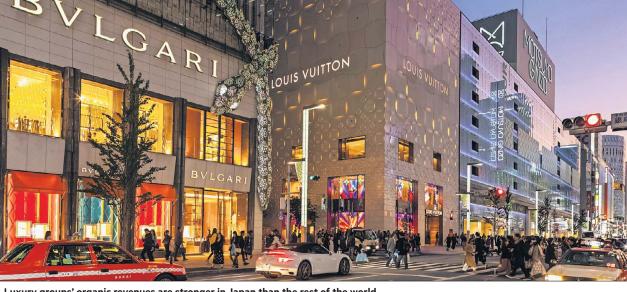
Japan has always been a reliably strong market for luxury brands. But a weak currency combined with a resur $gence\ of\ Chinese\ visitors-Beijing\ being$ among the last to remove pandemic travel curbs - are turbocharging growth, just as shoppers in the US and Europe rein in spending.

Louis Vuitton is riding this wave. The first brand in luxury to top €20bn in annual sales is by far the biggest seller in Japan, according to LVMH executives and analysts, who say its sales are double those of Hermès, its nearest compet-

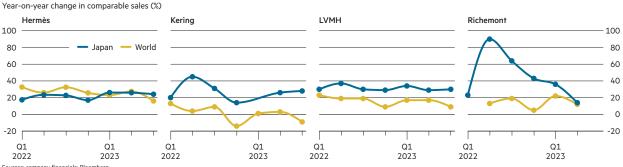
Luxury growth in Japan "is very broad-based [but] it is mostly based on tourists", said Edouard Aubin, analyst at Morgan Stanley. While sales to the Japanese local market have grown since the start of the year, that pace has slowed and even turned negative at some brands in the most recent quarter.

age for the big players su LVMH and Kering, you're now at about a third of sales to foreigners."

At nearly all luxury groups, Japan is outperforming other regions. Prada's



Luxury groups' organic revenues are stronger in Japan than the rest of the world



Hotspot: the shopping avenue in Ginza, Tokyo, where Louis Vuitton is among a luxury-brand outlets enjoying strong sales

41 per cent increase in Japanese sales in its most recent quarter led the pack, while Moncler's estimated 16-17 per cent growth was among the slowest, according to Morgan Stanley.

"Japan has always been important to luxury, even as China rose up and became a big percentage of sales," said Sarah Willersdorf at consultancy BCG.

Strong foreign demand has prompted LVMH, whose brands include Dior and jeweller Tiffany, to invest in services and marketing in Japan.

It comes on a bedrock of solid domestic demand where the weaker currency is playing a role by keeping more Japanese tourists at home.

"The underlying drivers are a wealthy ageing population, the number of women in the workforce, the appeal of sustainable products, and the fact that he Iapanese are staving consuming in their own country," said Norbert Leuret, LVMH's head of Japan. "Put together, it creates a very buoyant, growing luxury market."

Even brands more exposed to aspirational shoppers — buyers more sensitive to cost of living pressures, who may have previously splurged with pandemic savings – have been more resil $ient in \, Japan \, than \, elsewhere.$ 

At fashion-forward Gucci, global retail sales fell 7 per cent in the third quarter but grew 32 per cent in Japan. At Burberry, the purveyor of trenchcoats that has struggled with weak sales as it looks to reposition itself, Morgan Stanley estimates that third-quarter like-for-like retail sales in Japan were up

"Year to date, there's a massive disconnect between brands at the top of the pyramid and brands at the bottom,' said Aubin. "In Japan, these divergences are much less pronounced.

Pricing may play a role. Chinese buying differences, which is part of the reason they travel to shop. The cost of buying Gucci products in Japan and Europe is almost equivalent due to a combination of the weak yen and prices set by the company, whereas they cost about  $30\ per\ cent$  more in the US and  $20\ per$ cent or so more in China.

For LVMH's Leuret, the success of brands that have struggled elsewhere can be linked to a culture of brand loyalty among Japanese consumers. "Japan is the country where brands never die," he said. "If you buy Vuitton,

you buy it throughout your life. If you

buy Dior or a brand from another group, it is the same." Conspicuous consumption is on full display as shoppers throng Ginza's streets. Tourist numbers in Japan remain below 2019 levels, but many of those that come are spending much

There were 19.9mn foreign visitors to Japan in the first 10 months of the year, npared with 26.9mn in the same period in 2019, government data shows.

more, according to Hattori.

Not only is the yen keeping Japanese spenders in Tokyo, but it is pulling wellheeled travellers from the US, the Middle East and elsewhere in Asia. In the six months to September, duty-free sales – purchases by tourists qualifying for tax refunds – at Matsuya came close to ¥14bn, compared with about ¥10bn

The rise was helped by Taiwan, Hong Kong and US buyers picking up the slack

For Chinese tourists, who had been one of the drivers for luxury sales before the pandemic, returning to shopping in Paris and New York has been complicated by harsh lockdowns that were in place until the beginning of this year, increased difficulty in obtaining visas, and the slow ramp-up of flights between China and destinations such as France.

Japan offers an easier, closer alternative with high-end amenities.

Chinese tourists accounted for 47 per cent of Matsuya's tax-free sales for the first half, compared with 81 per cent in 2019; but they are regaining ground fast, especially as those coming tend to be bigger spenders. Sales to Chinese customers in March were 70 per cent below 2019 levels but by August were 51 per cent above 2019 levels.

Matsuya is preparing to capitalise even more on Chinese tourism spending if visa restrictions loosen further. It had already launched initiatives to attract foreign buyers before Covid such as doing deals with banks throughout Asia to offer discounts on purchases.

However, it is now going further, usingChinese social media platform WeChat to market its products to travellers from

Hattori said that the store would start a personal shopping service soon, plans having been shelved by the pandemic.

LVMH is investing in in-store appointments and tapping into the Japanese tradition of gaisho, an at-home personal shopping service, which has exploded post-pandemic.

"We are coming back towards the model of personal shopping that we knew in luxury in the 1960s and 1970s . . . and with gaisho clients, we have seen conversion rates go up as well as the value of average baskets increasing enormously," said Leuret.

Whether the good times can last is another question.

While luxury shopping in Japan shows little sign of abating, and has also proved resilient during previous periods of yen strengthening, sluggish growth in the US, Europe and China could catch up with well-heeled international shoppers, who have largely been unaffected so far.

While some of these economies are not as buoyant, there are still individuals with a high level of disposable income happy to spend [but] depending on what happens with the economic growth . . . it's going to have an impact on Japan as well," said Willersdorf.

# Occidental agrees \$12bn CrownRock deal

JAMES FONTANELLA-KHAN AND JAMIE SMYTH — NEW YORK MYLES MCCORMICK — HOUSTON

Occidental Petroleum has agreed to acquire CrownRock, one of the most sought-after US private shale oil producers, in a deal valued at about \$12bn, including debt.

The Houston-based company backed by Warren Buffett beat competition from rival bidders that had also tried to  $snap\,up\,CrownRock's\,shale\,assets.$ 

The deal is the latest in a series of transactions in the sector as large energy companies seek to capitalise on their strong balance sheets and equity value to buy smaller rival assets. This year, Exxon Mobil announced a \$60bn deal to buy shale driller Pioneer Natural Resources, a move that was followed by Chevron taking over Hess for \$53bn.

Occidental's most recent big transaction was criticised for being poorly timed after it took on huge debt to buy Anadarko Petroleum for \$57bn in 2019, just before the Covid-19 pandemic caused oil prices to plunge to near zero.

But an oil price rebound has enabled Occidental to pay down debt and driven a surge in its share price, which helped the company's chief executive, Vicki Hollub, fend off an activist investor attack from Carl Icahn. Occidental said it would fund the CrownRock acquisition with a mix of cash and shares and intended to take on  $9.1 \mathrm{bn}$  of new debt.

A CrownRock takeover would cement Occidental's position as the secondlargest operator in the Permian Basin in the US south-west, where it produced 968,000 barrels of oil equivalent a day in August, according to Rystad Energy.

Andrew Dittmar, analyst at Enverus

Intelligence Research, said that the deal promoted Occidental into the "major leagues" in US shale but came at a high cost because the company was paying mainly in cash.

Occidental's debt will rise to about \$28bn, up from \$17.9bn. The company has said that it plans to sell \$4.5bn to \$6bn in non-core assets and use excess cash to pay down debt.

In its first year, the deal is expected to generate \$1bn in free cash flow - based on the benchmark US oil price remaining at \$70 a barrel - plus about 170,000 barrels of oil equivalent a day.

"We found CrownRock to be a strate gic fit, giving us the opportunity to build scale in the Midland Basin and positioning us to drive value creation for our shareholders with immediate free cash flow accretion," Hollub said.

**Financials** 

# Court acquits former Monte dei Paschi bosses

'On average

for the big

LVMH and

you're now

at about

a third of

foreigners'

sales to

players

such as

Kering,

SILVIA SCIORILLI BORRELLI — MILAN

An Italian court has reversed convictions for market manipulation and false accounting against Monte dei Paschi di Siena's former top management, dealing a blow to the prosecution of the high profile financial crime case.

Yesterday the Milanese appeals court ruled that no crime was committed, overturning a 2020 ruling. Shares rose up to 4 per cent in Milan after the ruling.

Three years ago Alessandro Profumo, the bank's chair between 2012 and 2015. and its former chief executive Fabrizio Viola, were found guilty of booking derivatives transactions structured by their predecessors as "repurchase

Yesterday's ruling brings relief to the state-owned bank, which set aside billions for potential damage claims in involving the institutions and executives that initially structured the transactions. It also paves the way for a more lucrative privatisation than expected. The Italian government bailed MPS

connection to this case and another one

dei Paschi di Siena chair Alessandro

ruling yesterday

out in 2017 after the bank failed to raise capital as losses on the derivatives deals niled up due to the country's sovereign debt crisis. The lender is due to be privatised by the end of next year as part of an agreement with the European Commission for approving the state-led rescue.

Last month Rome sold a 25 per cent

plan led by chief executive Luigi Lovaglio resulted in an upgrade of its credit ratings. In 2013 MPS restated its accounts

stake in the lender, after a turnaround

after it emerged that the transactions known as Alexandria and Santorini were used by Profumo and Viola's predecessors to mask losses linked to its exposure to the country's government bonds during the sovereign debt crisis.

Two years later, Consob, the national financial regulator, requested that the lender amend how it had booked the transactions on its balance sheet to reflect that they were derivatives.

But in October Italy's supreme court upheld a ruling acquitting Viola's and Profumo's predecessors as well as other former executives at Deutsche Bank and Nomura, who had structured the  $transactions\,between\,2008\,and\,2012.$ 

#### COMPANIES & MARKETS

# Tech groups vie to lead new generation of chips

Samsung and Intel tap into \$500bn semiconductor industry's next leap forward in effort to close gap on global leader TSMC

SONG JUNG-A — SEOUL KATHRIN HILLE — TAIPEI QIANER LIU — HONG KONG

The world's leading semiconductor companies are racing to make "2 nanometre" processor chips that will power the next generation of smartphones, data centres and artificial intelligence.

Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company remains the analysts' favourite to maintain its global supremacy in the sector, but Samsung Electronics and Intel have identified the industry's next leap forward as a chance to close the gap.

For decades, chipmakers have sought to make ever more compact products.

The smaller the transistors on a chip, the lower the energy consumption and the higher their speed. Today, terms such as "2 nanometre" and "3 nanometre" are used as shorthand for each new generation of chip, rather than a semiconductor's actual physical dimensions.

Any company that opens up a technological lead in the next generation of advanced semiconductors will be well placed to dominate an industry that pulled in well in excess of \$500bn in global chip sales last year. That is projected to increase further owing to a surge in demand for the datacentre chips that power generative AI services.

#### Any group that opens up a lead in the next generation of semiconductors will be well placed to dominate

TSMC, which dominates the market in processors, has already shown the process test results for its "N2" – or 2 nanometre – prototypes to some of its biggest customers, including Apple and Nvidia, according to two people who have direct knowledge of the discus-

But two people close to Samsung said that the Korean chipmaker was offering cut-price versions of its latest 2 nanometre prototypes in an effort to attract the interest of big-name customers including Nvidia.

"Samsung sees 2 nanometre as a game-changer," said James Lim, analyst at US hedge fund Dalton Investments. "But people are still doubtful it can execute the migration better than TSMC.

Former market leader Intel has also made bold claims about producing its next generation of chips by the end of next year. That could put it back ahead of its Asian rivals, though doubts remain about the performance of the US company's products.

TSMC, which has said that mass production of N2 chips will begin in 2025, typically launches the mobile version first, with Apple as its lead customer. Versions for PC then high-performance computing chips designed for higher power loads will come later.

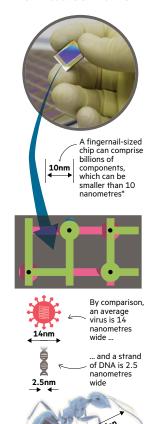
Apple's latest flagship smartphones, the iPhone 15 Pro and Pro Max, were the first mass-market consumer devices to deploy TSMC's 3 nanometre chip technology when they were introduced in September.

The challenges of moving from one generation, or "node", of process technology to the next intensify as chips keep getting smaller, raising the possibility of a mis-step that could see

TSMC's crown slip.
TSMC told the Financial Times that its N2 technology development was "progressing well and on track for volume production in 2025, and will be the most advanced semiconductor technol-



The nanoscale environment



ogy in the industry in both density and energy efficiency when it is introduced". But Lucy Chen, vice-president of

Isaiah Research, noted that the cost of moving to the next node was going up, while improvements in performance had plateaued. "[Moving to the next generation] is not as attractive to customers anymore," said Chen.

Experts stress that mass production is still two years away, and that teething problems are a natural part of the chip production process.

Insiders at Samsung, which according to consultancy TrendForce has a 25 per cent share of the global advanced foundry market compared with TSMC's 66 per cent, see an opportunity to close the gap. The Korean conglomerate was the first to start mass production of its 3nm, or "SF3" chips last year, and the first to make the switch to a new transistor architecture known as "Gate-All-Around" (GAA).

According to two people familiar with the situation, US chip designer Qualcomm is planning to use Samsung's "SF2" chip in its next-generation highend smartphone processors. That would mark a reversal in fortune after Qualcomm transferred most of its flagship mobile chips from Samsung's 4 nanometre process to TSMC's equivalent.

"We are well equipped to set up for SF2 mass production by 2025," Samsung said. "Since we were the first to take the leap and transition to GAA architecture, we are hoping the progress from SF3 to SF2 will be relatively seam-

Analysts caution that while Samsung was the first to bring its 3nm chips to market, it has struggled with its "yield rate" - the proportion of chips produced that are deemed shippable to customers. The group insists that its 3 nanometre yield rates have improved. But according to two people close to Samsung, the yield rate of its simplest 3nm chip is just 60 per cent, well below cus-

ung University in Seoul, added that Samsung also suffered from the fact that its smartphone and chip design divisions were fierce competitors of the potential customers for the logic chips produced in its foundry division 'Samsung's structure causes concern

to many potential customers about possible tech or design leaks," said Lee.

Meanwhile, former market leader Intel is promoting its next generation "18A" node at technology conferences and offering free test production to chip design firms. The US company says that it is set to begin production of 18A in late 2024, potentially making it the first

#### Samsung and Intel hope to benefit from potential customers looking to cut dependence on TSMC

chipmaker to migrate to the next gener-

But CC Wei, TSMC's chief executive, appears unfazed. He said in October that, according to the Taiwanese company's internal assessment, its latest 3 nanometre variant, which is already on the market, is comparable with Intel's 18A in terms of power, perform ance and density.

Both Samsung and Intel also hope to benefit from potential customers looking to cut their dependence on TSMC, whether for commercial reasons or out of concern about a potential Chinese threat to Taiwan.

In July, the chief executive of US chipmaker AMD said that it would "consider other manufacturing capabilities" besides those offered by TSMC, as it pursued greater "flexibility".

Leslie Wu, chief executive of consulting firm RHCC, said that big customers who required technology at the 2 nanometre level were looking to spread their chip production across multiple foun-

"It's too risky to rely on TSMC solely."



research firm SemiAnalysis. "They can claim all they want, but they still have not released a proper 3 nanometre

Lee Jong-hwan, professor of system

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### Ukrainian club aims to score from Uefa success

Typical garden

ants range from 3 million to 5 million

Ukraine's top football team is seeking to capitalise on recent successes in the Uefa Champions League to help it build a global following and attract more international sponsors.

FC Shakhtar Donetsk will face Portuguese side Porto in the final group stage game of this year's Champions League tomorrow night. Victory would put the Ukrainian team into the knockout stages of the lucrative pan-European tournament, following recent wins over Antwerp and Spanish champions Barcelona last month.

With income from domestic football reduced to almost nothing since Russia's invasion in February last year, the 14time Ukrainian champion team has been working with its Switzerlandbased advisers LTT Sports to grow its profile overseas, with the aim of attracting international commercial partners.

"Sponsorship disappeared. Tickets, zero. TV, zero," said Serhii Palkin, Shakhtar chief executive, of the impact of the war. "Step by step we started to relaunch our club. We realised we needed to switch to the European market for revenue."

Shakhtar, which is owned by Ukrainian oligarch Rinat Akhmetov, was forced to leave its home city of Donetsk in 2014 after Russian proxies took control of the city in eastern Ukraine, ini-

Shakhtar will play a friendly in Japan later this month. following similar exhibition matches



tially moving to Lviv in the country's west, then to Kharkiv and finally to the capital, Kyiv. For its European games, the club has made Hamburg its home city for this season, with each match attracting more than 45,000 fans.

"We want to show fans that we can give them good results and show them attractive football," said Palkin.

Shakhtar will play a friendly in Japan

bition matches in the summer against Tottenham Hotspur, AEK Athens and Ajax Amsterdam. While the proceeds from these games have been donated to help those affected by the war in Ukraine, they have also served to raise awareness of the conflict.

later this month, following similar exhi-

The club was recently the subject of a documentary charting its fortunes during the war that aired on Paramount Plus in the US in September. "All these things we are doing abroad,

we need to absorb as much as possible from this," said Palkin. "But we cannot plan long term. Every week the situation can change.' Since Russia's invasion, Shakhtar has become reliant on income from Euro-

pean competitions and player trading.

Teams in the group stages of the Cham-

pions League are guaranteed to earn at least €15mn, plus €2.8mn for each win. Qualifying for the knockout stages would bring another €9.6mn. Shakhtar has also made about €3mn from ticket

sales from its games in Hamburg.

#### **UK COMPANIES**

# Thames Water's fiscal plumbing is part of problem

Helen Thomas



ne test in journalism is whether you can successfully explain the story you are writing to your mother. In business leadership, it is whether you stand a chance of explaining yourself to a parliamentary committee who are out for blood.

Good luck to Thames Water, then. The debt-laden utility will this week face MPs to explain why a £500mn equity investment from shareholders came into the group in the form of a convertible loan, paying 8 per cent interest.

The answer - which judging by Thames Water's recent letter to the select committee seems to be: our private equity owners prefer to put in equity in the form of loans and, actually, it doesn't matter anyway - may meet some scepticism. The hearing will also look at the recent payment of £37.5mn in dividends from the water group's regulated operating company up into the upper reaches of its convoluted financing structure. This is particularly important to the future of a group that looks to be in a downward spiral.

The company has a point on the funding. Despite the fact that the shareholder loan is clearly a liability in the top holding company accounts, and enters the Thames Water operating company as a repayment of an "intra ringfenced group loan", it is equity where it matters at the operating level. It is treated as such by credit rating agencies. Private equity likes to make everything as complicated as possible, often for tax reasons. In this case, some tiny sliver of seniority may have appealed given Thames's dire straits.

Investors in Thames's long-term debt at the operating level, such as pension funds, are unlikely to have concerns: investors in the ringfenced entities that make up the operating group are protected from whatever shenanigans go on above in the holding companies. None of this really makes it easier to explain to politicians or the public, however - which is an issue when you're a huge utility supplying a basic human

More importantly, you can't detach Thames's unwieldy corporate structure from the group's predicament and the regulatory failures that got it here. The convoluted set-up is a legacy of former wner Macquarie and other ex-shareholders' extraction of value using debt raised from the holding companies. That debt, mostly at what is called Kemble Water Finance, is serviced using dividends sent up from the regulated operating company, hence the £37.5mn.

Thames Water points out that its current owners haven't received an external dividend for several years (or interest payments on their shareholder loans). The owners don't plan to receive dividends or similar payments until at least 2030.

But just as equity into the operating group is arguably equity regardless of its origin, dividends are sucking cash out of the utility regardless of where it ends up. KWF does have a working capital facility but, essentially, the flow of dividends up from the operating company to pay its debts is what is keeping the show on the road. And that is getting harder.

This certainly demonstrates the nonsense of a regulatory approach that focused solely on the operating company and didn't look further up the chain at financing, debt, and structure. As Ofwat belatedly gets tougher, these are in ever-greater conflict.

New licence conditions require companies to consider customers and the environment before paying dividends.

#### You can't detach Thames's corporate structure from the group's predicament and the regulatory failures

From April 2025, the start of the new five-year regulatory period, the creditrating trigger that can lock up cash in the operating entities will be tightened, raising the risk Thames's holding groups won't be able to service their debts.

Shareholders have made further equity injections conditional on that next regulatory framework. Thames has asked to increase customers' bills by 40 per cent, is grappling with rising costs and mounting penalties (which it wants capped), as well as facing huge investment needs and being lumbered with an increasingly unsustainable financial structure.

Consider this: in its business plan, Thames expects "cash inflow from equity financing" of £3.22bn over five years. Given that only £2.5bn is assumed to come from its shareholders. points out Martin Young at Investec, the remainder (which the company says is "purely indicative") comes from additional debt sold by Kemble Water

That Kemble debt will incur interest. which means extracting more in dividends from the operating company. Indeed, in the business plan, dividends rise from £45mn in the 2022-23 year to £230mn annually by 2029-30. Over the course of the five years, dividends total £936mn in a period where the company has scaled down its plans to invest in ageing assets and stem pollution thanks to "financeability constraints".

Call it what you want. That would seem to be a problem.

helen.thomas@ft.com

# **BP sells Spanish** gas-fired power plant to Gunvor

Deal highlights profits to be made by commodities trading in volatile market

TOM WILSON AND DAVID SHEPPARD

Commodities house Gunvor has agreed to buy a Spanish gas-fired energy plant from BP in the latest sign of Europe's independent groups seeking to expand profitable gas and power trading activi-

Gunvor, which is majority owned by Swedish billionaire Torbjörn Törnqvist, described the purchase of a 75 per cent stake in the 785MW Bahía de Bizkaia Electricidad SL plant in Bilbao, Spain, as a "landmark acquisition" as it is its first investment in power generation.

#### 'Gas-fired power stations are expected to play a continued role in Europe's grid as it decarbonises'

Gunvor, like its privately held rivals Trafigura and Vitol, has seen profits from trading gas and power increase substantially owing to increased price volatility, most recently driven by the disruption of Russian gas supplies into Europe following the invasion of Ukraine in 2022.

Trafigura last week said that gas and power trading had emerged as a "third pillar" for the company, alongside oil trading and metals trading, as it announced record profits of \$7.4bn for its latest financial year.

Prices for gas and power have eased in the past 12 months as European governments have found alternative sources of

Volatility is expected to continue as

the region's fossil fuel-dominated electricity system moves to one powered by renewable energy.

However, some gas-fired power stations are expected to play a continued role in Europe's electricity grid, even as it decarbonises, as a back-up for intermittent supply from renewables sources such as solar and wind.

Shahb Richyal, Gunvor's head of portfolio, said that the acquisition was "an important step as we continue to expand our presence in gas and power

The terms of the deal were not dis-

BP paid €135mn for an additional 25 per cent stake in the plant in 2013.

Much of the profits in gas and power trading over the past 18 months have come from dealing in seaborne cargoes of liquefied natural gas that have been used in Europe in order to reduce the continent's dependence on piped gas

The Bahía de Bizkaia plant is linked to the Bilbao LNG import terminal, which has been the main source of gas for the power plant, although it also has access to piped supply.

Gunvor is betting that its extensive LNG trading activities will enable it to use the plant as a profitable, flexible source of electricity for the Spanish grid.

BP said that it had decided to exit the business as part of its plans to reduce its carbon emissions and "reorient" its investments in Spain to areas including electric vehicle charging, bio energy, renewable power and hydrogen.

Gunvor has committed to reduce the emissions from its own operations which will include future emissions from the power plant - by 40 per cent

The sale is expected to complete in



### Wrong track Hitachi latest train maker to hit the buffers

Hitachi's rail business has taken a multimillion-pound writedown on the value of its factory in the North East of England as fears grow over the future

of Britain's train manufacturers.

The Japanese conglomerate's UK unit flagged a £64.8mn impairment against the value of its Newton Aycliffe plant in its accounts, which were published online last month, for the year to the

end of March. The £82mn factory in Durham opened in 2015 and is delivering trains for Avanti West Coast and East Midlands Railway. But like other UK plants, it is facing a dearth of new orders from cash-strapped companies.

Hitachi flagged a "production gap" in its accounts, alongside supply-chain pressures and rising inflation. The accounts added that the writedown "should not be interpreted that Newton Aycliffe is entering into a period of cessation".

The news will add to the sense of crisis facing UK train factories, and comes as industry warnings over job losses have risen. Alstom last week warned that it had only six weeks of work left at its plant in Derby.

The French company has said that it is preparing for a "significant reduction in manufacturing activity" and has consulted on more than 1,300 job losses.

"Major job losses are almost certain" if there are no new orders for trains soon, according to the Railway Industry Association.

The LNER east-coast franchise ordered 10 trains this year, but other than that there has been no major new business. Philip Georgiadis and Jim Pickard

#### Travel & leisure

### **CTS Eventim** and AEG enter €300mn race for Vivendi's **See Tickets**

DLIVER BARNES AND HARRIET AGNEW

The owners of London's O2 Arena and Hammersmith Apollo have each entered the race to buy See Tickets, after French media group Vivendi oegan a sales process for one of the UK's biggest ticketing merchants.

Vivendi is hoping to fetch up to €300mn for See Tickets, according to two people familiar with the matter, and a first round of indicative bids has been submitted in recent weeks.

Anschutz Entertainment Group,

which owns London's O2 Arena, and German ticketing group CTS Eventim, with which AEG co-owns London's Hammersmith Apollo, were among

them, they added. For bidders, See Tickets offers a large primary ticketing merchant, which is projected to sell 43mn tickets across 10 countries this year, as well as an events arm that was behind eight big European festivals this year including the UK's Love Supreme festival.

AEG, through its ticketing arm AXS, and Eventim already have primary ticketing businesses in the UK, but acquiring See Tickets will give the successful bidder a stronger foothold to compete with industry leader Live Nation-owned Ticketmaster. See Tickets also derives slightly less than a third of its ticketing revenues from the US.

The live events industry is experiencing a boom in demand despite the cost of living crisis.

#### The successful bidder will get a stronger foothold to compete with industry leader Ticketmaster

Other suitors are also expected to get involved in the auction, according to people close to the process. See Tickets is projected to experience high singledigit growth over the next few years from a base of €147mn in revenues across its ticketing and festivals busi-

See Tickets, which was part of Vivendi's live entertainment arm Vivendi Village, would be the latest in a series of asset disposals by the French media group. Two years ago Vivendi split its most valuable business, Universal Music Group, via a listing.

Earlier this year, the group, which is controlled by the billionaire family of its founder and noted corporate raider Vincent Bolloré, also completed a deal to buy Lagardère, a publishing and retail business

Vivendi said the media conglomerate had "received at this stage several very encouraging offers regarding the possible sale of its ticketing and festival activities". It also noted that the offers were non-binding, adding: "The process con-

CTS Eventim, which owns the 22,290capacity Waldbühne concert theatre in Berlin and is also behind Italy's largest multipurpose arena set to open in 2025, has been rapidly expanding its ticketing arm, which grew by 36 per cent year on year in the nine months to September to €459mn. Group revenues stood at €1.75bn during the same period. AEG and Eventim declined to com-

# PwC cuts back on staff business-class travel

PwC has imposed restrictions on its UK partners flying business class on work trips as the accounting firm attempts to reduce its carbon footprint and cut

 $PwC\ told\ senior\ UK\ staff\ in\ October\ that$ only people on long-haul night flights or those flying for "business-critical" reasons would be allowed to sit in business class, people familiar with the matter told the Financial Times.

The guidance applies to partners and directors and other staff who accompany them on trips. The firm's previous policy allowed senior staff to travel in business class on flights that were five hours or longer.

It comes as the Big Four accounting firms - Deloitte, EY, KPMG and PwC seek to trim costs and as large employers cut back on travel to reduce their carbon emissions, relying more on video calls to conduct meetings.

PwC has pledged to cut emissions from its operations to net zero by 2030. Business travel remains PwC UK's single-largest source of carbon pollution with flying accounting for more than two-thirds of emissions in 2022.

Business-class seats have a higher carbon footprint than economy ones because they take up more room and

are more frequently empty. The PwC guidance says partners and

'We're only going to meet our net zero target if our people take a thoughtful approach to air travel'

directors should typically travel in premium economy class if a flight is five hours or more, according to people briefed on the policy. Business class can still be used for overnight travel or if there is a "business-critical" reason, such as staff having a corporate meeting on arrival, they added.

The move comes at a time when the Big Four firms are cutting costs amid a

market slowdown. In the UK, PwC is axing up to 600 jobs.

Partners at PwC UK received an average payout of £906,000 in the 12 months to June, down £119,000 from the previous year, as profits stagnated.

Marissa Thomas, managing partner at PwC UK, said: "Flights account for the majority of our carbon emissions so we're only going to meet our net zero target if our people take a really thoughtful approach to air travel."

She said: "Given a business-class seat is roughly 50 per cent more carbon-intensive than one in premium economy, we're asking partners and directors to think carefully about if they need one."

Thomas added that PwC was encouraging staff to spend longer at a location to reduce multiple visits.

In August, the Financial Times reported that Europe's three major airline groups - Air France-KLM, IAG and Lufthansa – had recorded a drop in the rate of recovery in corporate travel this year because of rising prices and compa-

# Ocado plans to double grocery-packing robots

UK online supermarket Ocado is ramping up the use of robotic arms to pick and pack groceries for shoppers at far faster speeds.

Ocado Retail chief executive Hannah Gibson said the company's new warehouse in Luton, Bedfordshire, would double the number of robots with arms from 22 now to 44 "in the very near future" during a tour of the 346,000 sq ft site that opened in September.

The upmarket grocer's new generation of machines, which was introduced in 2022, can pick individual products directly from storage boxes, compared with its existing robots that criss-cross metallic grids to retrieve the boxes before sending them to humans to finish the packing for delivery.

Gibson added that about half of the range in Luton, where it had 50,000 products, would be handled by robotic arms "in the near term", with a longer term target of about 80 per cent. It has more than 500 human packers at

present. The warehouse was built to improve efficiency alongside existing workers, without putting jobs at risk.

Ocado Group, which also has a logistics division alongside the robotics and grocery businesses, was founded in 2000 by former Goldman Sachs bankers. Although it is known for selling groceries online to Britain's middle classes,

machines can pick individual products



it has staked its future in recent years on selling its robotic warehouses to other traditional supermarkets across the world to help them compete with the likes of Amazon, Marks and Spencer owns half of Ocado Retail and sells its food on Ocado's website.

"This technology enables us to have a bigger choice . . . lower substitutions, and the operating model is more efficient than a store-based model," Gibson added.

A 50-item order can be picked in just 10 minutes in the Luton warehouse. according to Gibson, while it takes significantly longer for the same order to be picked by staff in physical supermarkets. It has 11 customer fulfilment centres, including Ocado Zoom sites and smaller depots, in the UK.

Over the past two years investors have soured on Ocado as rapidly rising interest rates and high inflation have squeezed consumers. The stock has tumbled 77 per cent since hitting a record high during the pandemic driven boom in online shopping.

However, a deal last month to sell its technology and software to a non-food retailer for the first time, Canadian healthcare provider McKesson, reversed some of the losses

Ocado has also fully automated its freezer section in Luton. At its oldest warehouse in Hatfield, which closed earlier this year, up to 12 people would

#### **COMPANIES & MARKETS**

Equities. Continental rivalry

# Aborted proposal by exchange highlights Europe's IPO woes



Overtures by Deutsche Börse to Euronext reveals ambition to challenge US ascendancy

#### NIKOU ASGARI

A shortlived proposal by Deutsche Börse to form a joint venture with rival Euronext to revive European stock listings has underscored the region's challenges in building a capital market to rival the US.

Accounts of the precise nature of the discussions between the two largest stock exchange operators in the eurozone vary but the proposals show discussions have taken place at senior levels in an effort to reverse the longstanding shift of capital away from Europe and to New York.

Stéphane Boujnah, chief executive of Euronext, said that Theodor Weimer, head of Deutsche Börse, had approached him around 18 months ago about creating "a new tech exchange somewhere in Europe" similar to the Nasdaq, the US market home to technology giants including Google, Apple and Tesla.

Boujnah said: "He said there is a boom of tech companies in Germany, what about making together a new European Nasdaq?"

Boujnah rejected the idea because he felt a new venue would fragment liquidity in an already disparate market.

"It's a nice idea but we have it already and that's the Euronext market... every rational person would agree that fragmenting liquidity gets nowhere," added the French former banker, who has led Euronext since 2015.

However, last month Weimer said he had approached Boujnah about a joint venture for initial public offerings but the company denied that it was to create a new exchange.

"It seems that there are different recollections of this conversation but we don't feel it's necessary to dwell on it," a spokesperson said, adding that the exchange continued to "work on improving capital market conditions for technology companies in Europe".

The aborted plan has highlighted the longstanding obstacle to Europe's dream of building a capital market to compete with America.

Europe's weakness has been reinforced in recent months by the loss of many of its high-profile companies.

German sandals maker Birkenstock

listed on the New York Stock Exchange at a valuation of \$8.6bn in October.

Swiss shoe company On Running, Swedish vegan milk brand Oatly and British chipmaker Arm are among other companies that have listed on US venues in recent years.

European Union officials have long sought to create a so-called "capital markets union" with the depth to attract high-growth companies and the



biggest investors. "We often wonder why these unicorns go abroad and don't stay in Frankfurt or Europe," said Christine Lagarde, head of the European Central Bank, last month.

She added that a unified European market could lead to billions of euros more raised by the continent's start-up companies.

Deutsche Börse's proposal reflected a sense of unease about Europe's scale and the exchange's ability to grow and keep hold of listed tech companies, and that a new way forward was necessary.

"Doing this . . . with Euronext feels like it would be a way to maybe achieve the scale and liquidity benefits that ultimately Euronext has been building itself," said Ian White, analyst at Autonomous Research.

He added that he could "see the logic" behind Deutsche Börse's proposed venture, "given the challenges competing with US exchanges, and the liquidity and scale advantages you're up against with those firms".

But Lagarde also touched on another issue: trading in the single market is largely run on national lines. "A truly European capital market needs consolidated market infrastructures," she added.

Trading activity in Europe is shared between more than 30 stock exchanges and a patchwork of clearing and settlement houses, and is overseen by differing national regulations.

By contrast, the US has one clearing and settlement house and the shares listed on the New York Stock Exchange and Nasdaq can easily be bought and sold on their rival exchanges.

Europe suffers from a "Kafkaesque structure of stock exchanges and post trade" services, said William Wright, founder of think-tank New Financial. Closed door:
Euronext was
wary about a
proposal to
create a new
trading venue as
it believed it
would fragment
liquidity in a
market that
was already
disparate - Anita

"It's hugely challenging," he added.
Some progress has been made —
Euronext owns the French, Dutch, Italian, Irish and Belgian exchanges and all
run on the same technology.

Deutsche Börsesupplies the systems to markets including the Vienna, Malta and Budapest exchanges.

Analysts also said bringing together Deutsche Börseand Euronext in a new joint venture could attract the interest of antitrust authorities in Brussels.

Regulators have blocked Deutsche Börse's attempts to merge with both the London Stock Exchange Group and the New York Stock Exchange, albeit over clashes in bond and derivatives markets.

"It would be quite difficult from a regulatory perspective," said White. "Your ideal situation if you're a European policymaker is to have two integrated large listing venues. You want almost another Euronext, another  $\mathfrak{C}3\text{-}4\text{tn}$  listed market cap venue."

In the meantime, Europe continues to be overshadowed by its peers across the Atlantic. So far this year, 83 companies have gone public on European stock exchanges, raising \$9.2bn — a 35 per cent fall compared with last year, according to LSEG figures.

Rising global interest rates and a weak

macroeconomic environment has forced many European companies to shelve their IPO plans.

By contrast, companies listing in the US raised \$20.3bn, up 157 per cent compared with the year before.

"You can consolidate ownership of the exchange but unless you consolidate at the market level to genuinely create one big pool of liquidity and a single market across seven countries, you're left with the same fragmentation and vertical silo problem," said Wright.



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### Germany's football clubs vote to back private equity investment

JOSH NOBLE AND WILL LOUCH

German football clubs have backed a move to bring in private equity investment after two previous failed attempts as they seek to increase the value of broadcast rights and develop a global audience.

Private equity firms Advent, Blackstone, CVC Capital Partners and EQT have all submitted offers to buy a stake of less than 10 per cent in a new entity that would control the broadcast and commercial rights of the top two tiers of German football, according to people familiar with the process.

familiar with the process.

Deutsche Fussball Liga, the league operator, is hoping to raise up to €1bn from investors, the people said.

The money raised would be used to improve German football's broadcast product with the aim of increasing the value of international media rights.

At a league meeting yesterday, clubs voted to move ahead with talks over a potential deal, giving DFL leeway to continue discussions and pick a partner from the bids already submitted.

from the bids already submitted.

The English Premier League is able to generate billions of pounds from its overseas TV deals while other European leagues have lagged well behind.

According to figures from Enders

#### Unlike most leagues in European football, Germany has strict limits on who can own clubs

Analysis, the Premier League earns more than €2bn a year from its international rights compared with about €200mn for the Bundesliga. Many German club executives believe more needs to be done to build a global following.

Some of those involved in the talks have also raised the potential for building a direct-to-consumer streaming service, bypassing the traditional broadcast rights model.

The German league is due to put its domestic rights out to tender in the new year but the recent rights auctions for French and Italian football point to a softening market for broadcast deals.

The vote yesterday was the third attempt to persuade German clubs to sign up to a private equity tie-up. Two previous attempts — both larger in size but broadly the same in scope — failed to secure the required backing of clubs.

The most recent effort was knocked back in May, despite receiving support from more than half the clubs in the top two divisions.

Unlike most leagues in European football, Germany has strict limits on who can own clubs, which effectively guards the majority of teams from being acquired by professional investors.

Those rules have helped keep most clubs financially stable but have ringfenced German football from the influx of foreign capital that has poured into the English, Italian and French game. Advent, Blackstone, CVC and EQT declined to comment.

#### Equitie

# Activist investor Cevian records 20% gain after boost from CRH relisting

#### HARRIET AGNEV

Cevian Capital, one of Europe's largest activist investors, has made gains of almost 20 per cent this year, helped by the strong share price performance of building materials group CRH, which this year switched its primary listing to New York.

The Stockholm-based investor, which manages \$12bn in assets, gained about 19.5 per cent in its main Cevian Capital II fund in the first 11 months of the year, investors in its fund said, helped by a bumper month in November.

That compared with an 11 per cent rise in the MSCI Europe index over the same period. Cevian declined to comment.

One of the biggest contributors to the gains was Irish group CRH, which is up about 56 per cent this year. Cevian first disclosed a stake in the world's biggest building materials group in early 2019.

Since then, the company has changed the majority of its board, moved its primary listing from London to New York to try to close the valuation gap to its peers, exited several non-core businesses and simplified its group structure. The company makes three-quarters of its profits in North America.

Cevian highlighted to its investors an improvement in CRH's earnings before interest, tax and depreciation margins between 2019 and 2022.

The company has returned more than a quarter of its market capitalisation to shareholders since 2018, including a \$3bn buyback programme this year.

In June, Cevian was among shareholders that backed CRH's relisting in New York, a move that has deepened fears over the future of the London stock



Christer Gardell: one of Cevian Capital's founding members

market. The company switched to the New York Stock Exchange on September 25, retaining an ordinary listing in London, while its shares no longer trade in Dublin.

Also contributing to Cevian's performance was French electrical equipment distribution Rexel, which has gained 29 per cent, Swiss conglomerate ABB, which is up 28 per cent, and Nordic financial services group Nordea, higher by 8 per cent.

Cevian buys large minority stakes in European listed companies that it believes have strong fundamentals but are undervalued by the market, and tries to improve their returns through constructive dialogue.

This is typically through measures such as encouraging cost-cutting, simplifying complex structures, changing management, divestments and spinoffs.

Cevian was founded by Christer Gardell and Lars Förberg. Since its 2006 inception, Cevian Capi-

Since its 2006 inception, Cevian Capital II has gained 408.8 per cent net of fees compared with 132.9 per cent for the MSCI Europe Index, according to investors.

### Commodities

'He said

there is

a boom

of tech

companies

in Germany.

What about

making

together

European

Nasdaq?

a new

# Gazprombank secures approval to refurbish South African gas refinery

JOSEPH COTTERILL
AND ANASTASIA STOGNEI

Russia's state-owned Gazprombank has won South African approval to refurbish a mothballed refinery in the country that would pave the way to restarting production.

President Cyril Ramaphosa's cabinet said yesterday that it had endorsed a recommendation by PetroSA, South Africa's state oil and gas group, to work with the African arm of Russia's third-largest lender on the project, which is estimated to cost about \$200mn.

"This selection of Gazprombank is still dependent on the final investment decision that will be informed by a joint bankable business case" and other terms to be met next year, the South African cabinet added.

The South African deal underlined how Gazprombank had become a key channel for the Russian state to make energy investments abroad in the face of western sanctions over the country's invasion of Ukraine.

The bank has been subject to US sanctions on debt and equity financing since the start of the war but it remains part of

the Swift interbank payment system to allow energy and grain trading.

Gazprombank's funding for the South African gas-to-fuel refinery would give it a share of the profits once the plant is up and running again but also a central role in the energy crisis plaguing South Africa's economy.

The refinery in Mossel Bay on South Africa's south coast has been out of com-

# 'The actions of PetroSA indicate that corporate governance has been severely compromised'

mission since 2020 over a lack of gas supply.

With other refinery closures, this has added to the country's reliance on imports — in particular supplies of emergency diesel for Eskom, the troubled state power monopoly that has imposed rolling blackouts this year.

Like Eskom, PetroSA has been hit by mismanagement and is recovering from years of losses.

ears of losses. South Africa's main opposition Democratic Alliance has said that Gazprombank's involvement would increase the risk of international sanctions.

The country patched up a rift with the US this year over Pretoria's perceived closeness to Moscow.

"The actions of PetroSA executives are a clear indication that corporate governance has been severely compromised at the entity and decisions are being taken without adequate due diligence," the DA said last month when Gazprombank was revealed as PetroSA's prospective partner.

PetroSA and Gazprombank did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

Gwede Mantashe, South Africa's energy minister, has harboured grand plans for gas investment, including the planned merger of PetroSA with other state assets under his control.

Legislation for a new national petroleum company was recently tabled.

Investors and executives with knowledge of PetroSA and the sector have cast doubt on these plans. "First, the state doesn't have any money. Second, the capacity within these organisations is poperistent." One said

#### **COMPANIES & MARKETS**

# It's time to make lemonade out of macro lemons

#### Wei Li

### Markets Insight

he investing landscape has fundamentally changed.
Some investors may be waiting or hoping for a return of the sustained bull markets in both equities and bonds that we enjoyed for the 40 years before Covid. But we are in a new regime and not going back any time soon.

It's time to stop waiting and start making lemonade from the lemons that the macro environment presents. This is going to take a more nimble approach than in the past.

One reason: the economic outlook is much more uncertain. In the US, market narratives have been swinging between soft landing hopes and recession fears. But context is everything.

Despite seemingly strong economic activity recently, the US economy has grown more slowly over the past three years than was typical before the pandemic. There is no landing — we are just climbing out of a hole.

There is a tendency to interpret inflation and growth as though we are in a typical business cycle but we are not. As the global economy normalises from the pandemic, it is being shaped by new forces such as ageing populations, geopolitical fragmentation and the low-carbon transition.

We're in the midst of a massive structural shift that is likely to see big economies move on to lower growth amid persistent production constraints. The resulting disconnect between the cyclical narrative and structural reality is stoking market volatility.

While big central banks could start cutting interest rates from the middle of next year, they won't be going all the way back down to pre-pandemic levels. The US Federal Reserve will have to

hold back growth to align with constrained production capacity, especially in the face of looser fiscal policy. Higher rates are here to stay.

So investors will have to learn once more how to outrun cash yielding about 5 per cent. Structurally higher policy rates should eventually mean higher returns on assets. But not all asset valuations have adjusted.

As markets adjust in fits and starts to this new reality, we can expect to see greater dispersion of returns. For example, London Stock Exchange Group data shows that, during the period of economic stability preceding the pandemic

It is going to take a more nimble approach than in the past as the economic outlook is more uncertain

known as the Great Moderation, analyst views of expected company earnings were much more grouped together outside big shocks. Now they are more dispersed, showing that an environment of higher inflation and interest rates makes the outlook harder to read.

Seizing the opportunities from this trend requires being dynamic with portfolios, not relying on static exposure to broad asset classes that worked so well during previous sustained bull markets.

In fact, our analysis suggests heightened volatility and greater dispersion of returns means that moving portfolios around more frequently in the new regime can be better rewarded than in the years leading up to the pandemic.

That's the theory. How am I putting it into practice? We've been changing our

asset allocation more frequently. One example: we've shifted our tactical view on US Treasuries to capitalise on the current heightened rate volatility.

We were underweight long-term Treasuries from late 2020 as we expected higher interest rates and a more positive "term premium" – the extra returns for investors for the risks of longer-dated debt. We upgraded to a neutral stance a couple of months ago as risks became more two-directional.

We also turned overweight on European government bonds and UK gilts but have since trimmed that given the yield drop. This more dynamic approach stands in sharp contrast to the previous long-held underweight position in developed market long-term bonds.

Within US equities, the macro assessment leads us to take a broad underweight position compared with portfolio benchmarks but this is offset by the potential in AI and technology stocks, taking us closer to a neutral stance.

In addition to the tech sector more generally, we favour industrials, selective European banks and US healthcare in portfolio allocations.

We upgraded Japan equities twice this year and continue to like them for 2024 but on a currency-unhedged basis.
Within emerging markets, we favour India and Mexico as beneficiaries of

India and Mexico as beneficiaries of companies diversifying supply chains and beneficial demographic trends.

We are in a new regime — and not going back any time soon. This is a world in which rewards are up for grabs for investors who can navigate the structural shift to higher interest rates, more volatility and greater dispersion.

Wei Li is global chief investment strategist at BlackRock

#### The day in the markets

#### What you need to know

 Japanese yen hands back gains from last week's sharp rally
 Stocks and bonds in US and Europe steady ahead of central bank meetings
 Gold drops below \$2,000 for first time since late November

The Japanese yen weakened against the dollar yesterday, handing back the gains from a sharp rally last week as trader hopes faded that the country would soon end its ultra-loose monetary policy.

The currency fell 1 per cent to trade at \$146.36 per dollar after several news reports said the Bank of Japan had no immediate plans to raise interest rates from their current level of minus 0.1 per

The reports halted the sharp gains that the currency made last week when comments by Bank of Japan governor Kazuo Ueda convinced jittery investors that rates could rise as early as January.

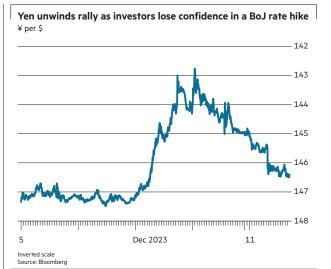
"The market is understanding that it overreacted last week," said Jane Foley, head of FX strategy at Rabobank.

"There was a huge gulf between what was said and what was interpreted. The market today, on pushback from the Bank of Japan, has come around to that reality," Foley added.

The move meant that the yen was trading only marginally higher than prerally levels ahead of the Bank of Japan's policy meeting on December 19.

Stocks and government bonds in the US and Europe were mainly steady ahead of a packed week of central bank meetings on both sides of the Atlantic.

The US Federal Reserve, European Central Bank and Bank of England will all



set interest rates with traders betting that rates were near their peak and will be cut early next year.

Wall Street's equities benchmark, the S&P 500, was up less than 0.1 per cent in early afternoon trading in New York while the tech-heavy Nasdaq Composite slipped 0.2 per cent.

The yield on benchmark 10-year US Treasury bonds rose 3 basis points to 4.28 per cent as investors sold off the

Across the Atlantic, the region-wide Stoxx Europe 600 rose 0.3 per cent, led higher by interest rate-sensitive real estate stocks, while the Xetra Dax in Frankfurt rose 0.2 per cent.

Ten-year German Bund yields, the benchmark for the eurozone, rose less than 1bp to 2.27 per cent.

All three central banks are expected to push back against traders' hopes for early cuts and have signalled that they want clearer evidence of weakening labour markets before loosening monetary policy.

Gold prices fell 1.3 per cent to \$1,978 per troy ounce, falling below \$2,000 for the first time since late November. **Stephanie Stacey** 

## Markets update

			•		*()	<b>*</b>
	US	Eurozone	Japan	UK	China	Brazil
Stocks	S&P 500	Eurofirst 300	Nikkei 225	FTSE100	Shanghai Comp	Bovespa
Level	4607.28	1871.66	32791.80	7544.89	2991.44	126727.40
% change on day	0.06	0.27	1.50	-0.13	0.74	-0.29
Currency	\$ index (DXY)	\$ per €	Yen per \$	\$ per £	Rmb per \$	Real per \$
Level	104.122	1.074	146.425	1.255	7.177	4.944
% change on day	0.108	-0.279	1.325	0.080	0.235	0.485
Govt. bonds	10-year Treasury	10-year Bund	10-year JGB	10-year Gilt	10-year bond	10-year bond
Yield	4.279	2.270	0.774	4.252	2.669	10.664
Basis point change on day	1.920	-0.500	0.520	3.400	-1.600	1.600
World index, Commods	FTSE All-World	Oil - Brent	Oil - WTI	Gold	Silver	Metals (LMEX)
Level	460.84	75.85	71.13	2008.10	23.79	3611.40
% change on day	0.05	0.01	-0.14	-0.93	-0.50	0.79

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### Main equity markets

\$&P 500 index

4800

4480

4160

3840

Oct 2023 Dec

1920 1840 1760 Oct 2023 Dec

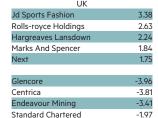


#### Biggest movers

,,,	•	
	Cigna (the)	15.91
	Etsy	7.48
Ups	Broadcom	7.34
_	Applied Materials	4.91
	Kla	4.63
	Eli Lilly & Co	-5.06
SI	Meta Platforms	-3.68
Downs	Nvidia	-3.32
ŏ	Molina Healthcare	-2.90
	Paramount Global	-2.61

US

	Eurozone	
Oci		3.0
Publicise		2.88
Sanofi		2.0
Hugo Boss		1.5
Legrand		1.5
Solvay		-81.4
Coloplast		-2.4



All data provided by Morningstar unless otherwise noted

#### Wall Street

Topping the S&P 500 index was health insurer **Cigna**, which ditched plans to merge with rival Humana and revealed a \$10bn increase in stock repurchases.

arrangements and regulatory hurdles reportedly scuppered the deal.

On appouncing the huwback chief

Disagreements over financial

On announcing the buyback, chief executive David Cordani said that Cigna's shares were "significantly undervalued and repurchases represent a valueenhancing deployment of capital".

Department store chain **Macy's** surged on the back of takeover talk.

The Wall Street Journal reported that real estate investor Arkhouse Management and asset manager Brigade Capital Management had submitted a bid at the beginning of this month of \$21 a share — a 21 per cent premium on its most recent closing price.

UBS said that the offer appeared "credible", adding that, if the investor group intended to "create value by selling Macy's real estate, it likely means major market share will become available to Macy's competitors," such as **Kohl's** and **Nordstrom**, both of which rallied vesterfay

Fashion group **Kontoor**, which is behind such brands such as Wrangler and Lee, rallied on announcing a \$300mn share repurchase programme to be funded through cash flow. *Ray Douglas* 

#### Europe

NKr6.2bn (\$560mn) deal.

Alstom

Norway's **Schibsted** jumped on revealing plans to sell its news media operations to Tinius Trust, its largest shareholder, in a

If the transaction went ahead, it would lead to a split; a media group fully owned by Tinius and "a publicly listed market places company", the latter a reference to such brands as Finn and Blocket.

A promising clinical update propelled Germany's **MorphoSys** higher.

The pharmaceuticals group said that its experimental drug, Pelabresib, "demonstrated clear benefits" in treating myelofibrosis, a form of blood cancer.

A preliminary release from the same late-stage study sent MorphoSys tumbling last month on concerns that the trial missed a "key secondary endpoint", noted RBC Europe at the time.

Another German group, **Uniper**, rallied after its board approved capital reduction measures late on Friday.

The measures would in principle allow the utility to restore dividends and "created room for manoeuvre for the German government to exit the company", said Michael Lewis, chief executive.

The German government bailed out Uniper in 2022 after it wracked up €19bn in losses following a large reduction in gas deliveries from Russia in the wake of the Ukraine war. Ray Douglas

### London

-1.92

Near the top of the FTSE 100 was engine maker **Rolls-Royce** after Citi lifted its target price by 47 per cent in anticipation of "very strong cash generation".

This upgrade reflected new midterm targets announced last month at Rolls-

Royce's capital markets day.

"We believed Rolls-Royce should generate cash in excess of profits but the guidance at the CMD both increases the profits (through higher margins) and cash conversion by 2027," noted analysts.

**DG Innovate**, an electric motors and batteries specialist, soared on the back of a well-received executive shake-up.

The small Welsh company announced a "board restructuring, including the appointment of three new executive directors with significant experience in the electric-vehicle sector, all of whom

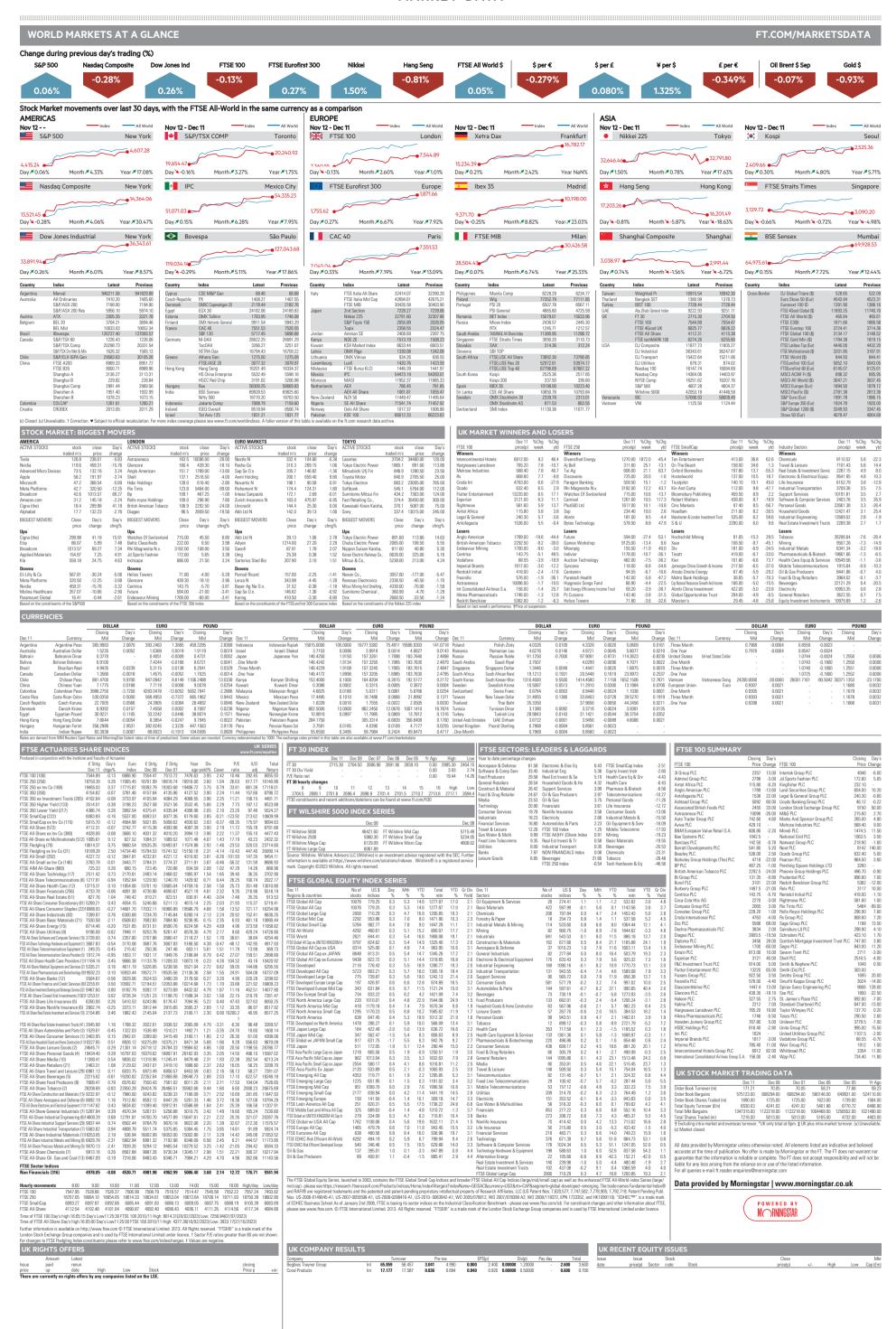
have held senior roles with Tesla".

Russ Mould, investment director at AJ
Bell, said: "When you see a small business
appoint 'heavyweight' individuals, there is
speculation it will lead to a takeover by
one of their contacts" — but he warned
investors not to get "carried away".

Synectics, the security and surveillance systems group, surged after upgrading its guidance, forecasting 2023 results "materially ahead of market expectations, reflecting strong trading in the second half, particularly in the oil and gas market", it said. Ray Douglas

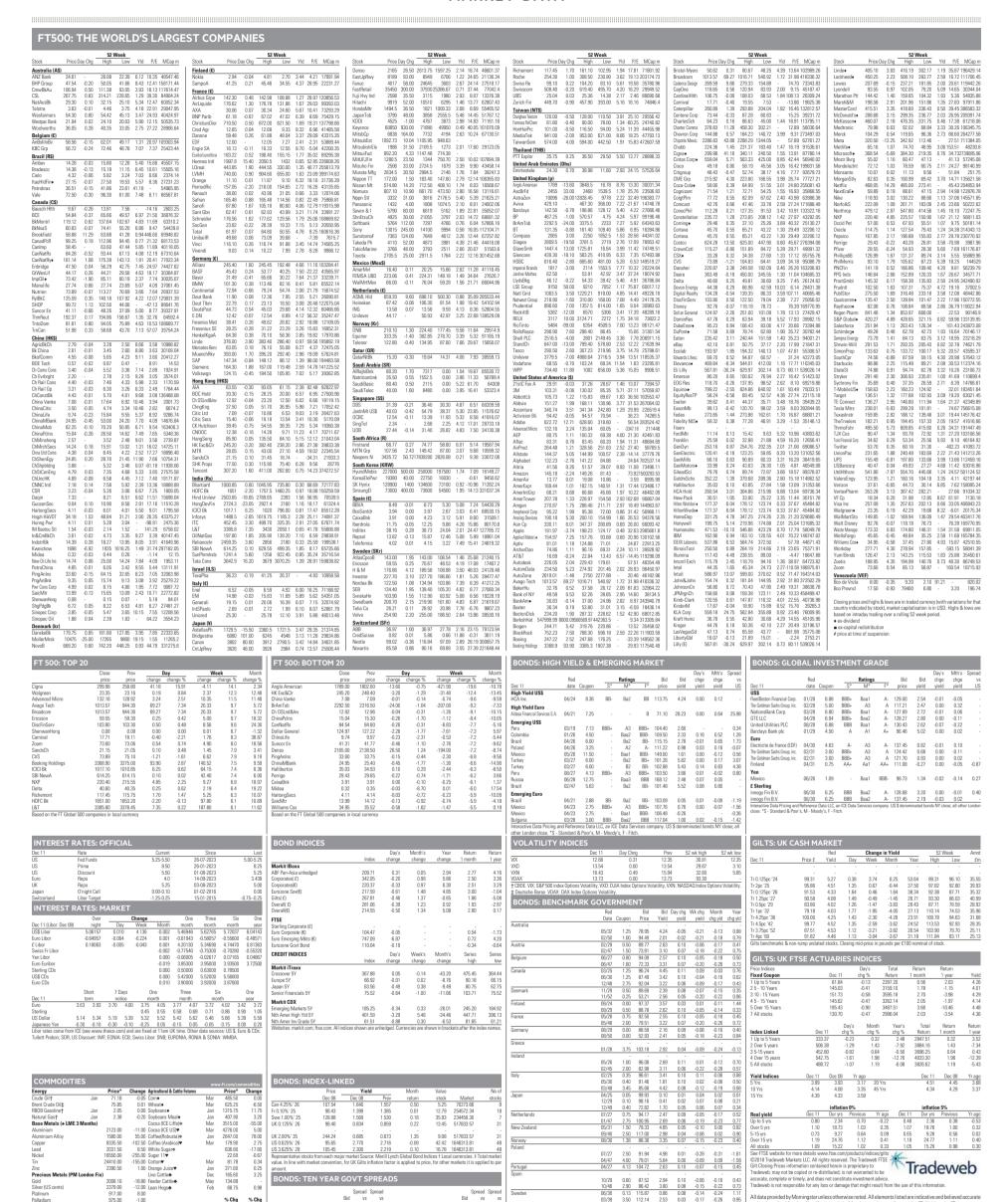
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#### MARKET DATA



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#### MARKET DATA





% Chg Month -5.11 -4.44 -3.43 -1.98

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Yield Bund T-Bonds

0.31 2.69 1.19 0.47 0.78 -1.30 -1.37 2.13

-1.82 0.56 -0.94 -1.66 -1.35 -3.43 -3.51 0.00

United Kingd

rield Bund T-Bonds

2.08 -0.05 Netherlands 0.48 -1.66 New Zealand 1.26 -0.87 Norway 0.23 -1.90 Portugal 0.47 -1.66 Spain 0.00 -2.13 Sweden -0.34 -2.48 Switzerland -1.75 -3.88 United States 3.50 112.14 4.00 113.34 2.53 0.84

0.03 -0.17 -0.26 0.95 0.05 0.00 -0.10 -0.10

0.78 0.05 0.01 -0.10 -0.15

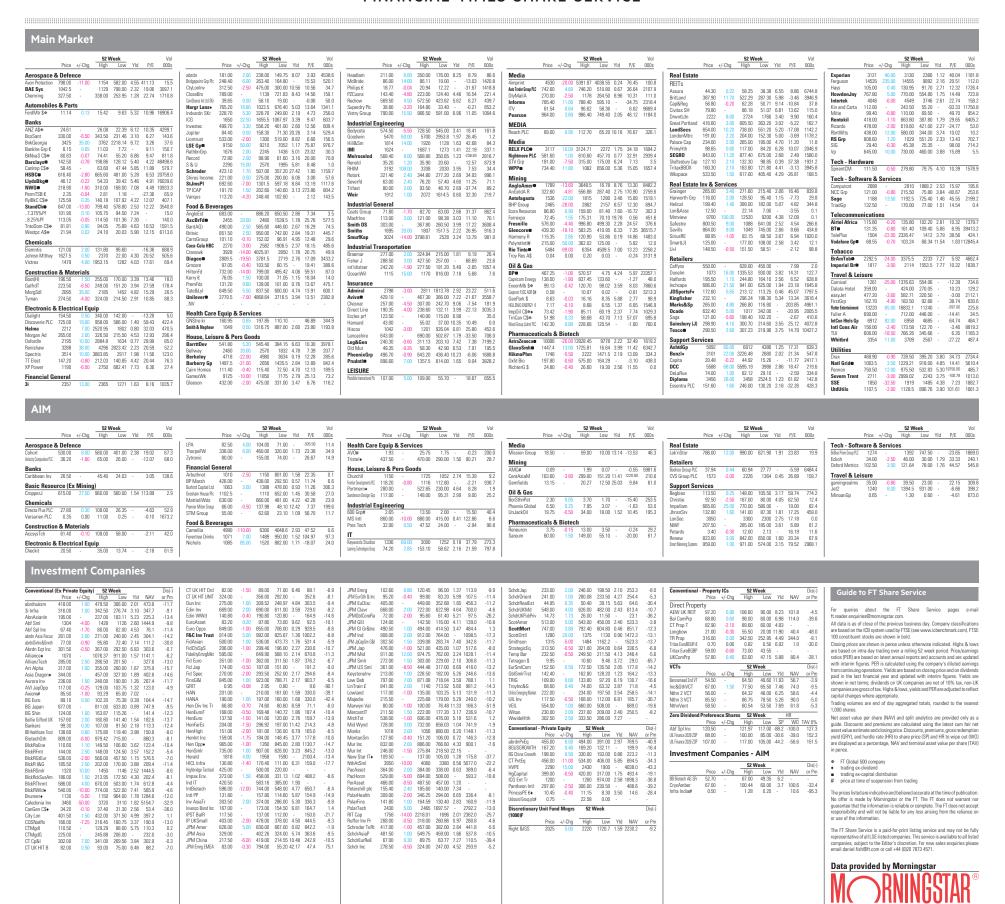
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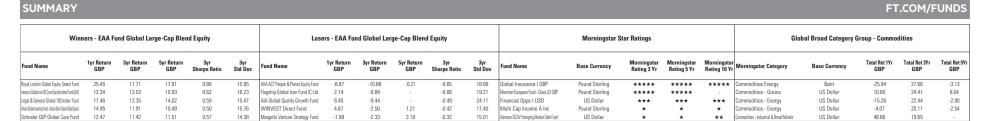
# Start your weekend thinking

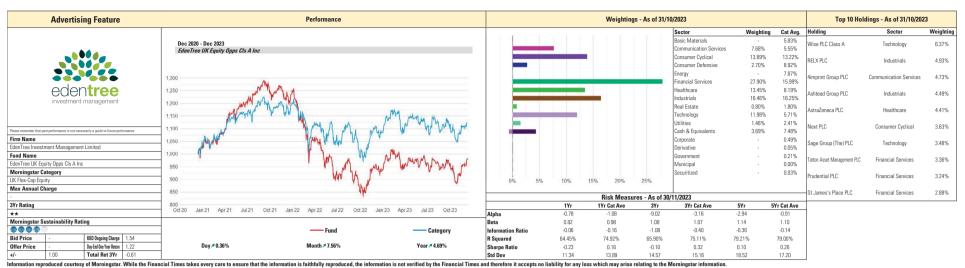
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es arising from any use of this information. Past performance is no guarantee of future results

0.27 0.00 21.12 0.32

Global Fixed Interest Fund £ 0.7515 -0.0024 5.89 5.24 -3.98 -0.0002 3.30 4.07 2.58 Income Fund £ 0.6321 - -0.0030 3.46 -3.61 0.75

Ashmore

US Flexible Equity Fund USD B \$ 28.11 US Mid-Cap Growth Fund USD C \$ 18.54 US Small Cap Blend Fund USD B \$ 22.60 0.14 0.00 25.60 8.64 0.06 0.00 13.39 -2.46 0.09 0.00 5.76 3.92 US Smaller Companies Fund USD B \$ 35.61 US Sustainable Growth Fund USD C \$ 28.50 nable Value Fund USD C Acc \$ 11.30

US Equity Growth Fund USD B \$ 54.83

0.13 0.00 4.55 -1.28 0.10 0.00 28.32 7.01

Multi Asset Open Strategic Fund W-AOC-GBP  $\, \pm \,$  1.53 - 0.00 - 2.49 1.14 Open World Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 2.38 0.00 1.04 7.11 6.40 
 Strategic Bond Fund W-ACC-GBP
 £
 1.21

 UK Opportunities Fund W-ACC-GBP
 £
 1.21

 UK Smaller Companies W-ACC-GBP
 £
 335.70
 -0.01 3.42 2.62 -4.39 -0.01 2.18 7.68 11.27 0.00 - 2.73 -6.44 0.00 - -4.07 -10.50 0.01 0.68 -10.02 -6.39 Index Sterling Corporate Bond Fund P-ACC-GBP £ 0.86 Index LIK Gilt Fund P-ACC-GRP £ 0.73 Sustainable Asia Equity Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 1.71 Sustainable Multi Asset Balanced Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 0.96 0.00 1.86 4.37 Sustainable Multi Asset Consenative Fund W-4CC-GRP + 0.91 0.00

| Hermes Property Unit Trust | LUKy | Property & Other UK Unit Trust | E | 6.01 | 6.45 | -0.08 | 4.05 | -9.58 | -1.83 |

Ashmore Group 61 Aldwych, London WC2B 4AE. Dealing team: +352 27 62 22 233 Authorised Inv Funds
Emerging Markets Equity Fund \$123.60 0.73 0.00 6.32 -4.57 ng Markets Equity ESG Fund \$140.30 0.89 0.00 7.30 -6.74 erging Markets Active Equity Fund \$117.96 0.31 0.00 -0.77 -9.34 Emerging Markets Frontier Equity Fund \$ 182.09 **-0.10** - 3.07 4.36 -0.19 4.70 9.78 -7.97 Emerging Markets Blended Debt Fund \$ 55.15 Emerging Markets Blended Debt ESG Fund \$ 87.21
Emerging Markets Debt Fund \$ 60.29 -0.19 4.70 9.78 -7.97 -0.99 0.00 5.48 -6.27 -0.15 5.24 9.66 -8.22 **-0.09** 6.10 3.42 -8.07 Emerging Markets Corporate Debt Fund \$ 58.36 Emerging Markets Local Currency Bond Fund \$ 63.81 -0.09 4.82 11.13 -2.91

(IRL) **CG** Asset Management Limited loorgate, London, EC2R 6AY ing: Tel. +353 1434 5098 Fax. +353 1542 2859 FCA Recognised CG Portfolio Fund Plc Absolute Return CIs M Inc -0.28 1.97 Capital Gearing Portfolio GBP P £36302.99 36503.16 13.04 1.79 -0.96 1.95

Capital Gearing Portfolio GBP V £ 176.54 177.51 0.06 1.80 -0.96 1.95 Dollar Fund Cls D Inc £157.33 157.80 0.11 1.92 -5.67 -1.10 Dollar Hedged GBP Inc Real Return Cls A Inc £188.22 188.79 -0.07 2.40 -5.24 -1.48

EdenTree Investment Management Ltd PO Box 3733, Swindon, SN4 4BG, 0800 358 3010 (UK) .0.80 3.10 7.87 7.27 EdenTree European Equity Cls B Inc 341.80 14.96 9.63 EdenTree Global Equity Cls A Inc 338.80 **-0.20** 0.70 10.67 2.83 EdenTree Global Equity Cls B Inc 341.80
EdenTree Responsible and Sust S Dtd Bd B 94.33 EdenTree Sterling Bond Cls A Inc 85.00 0.02 4.38 2.23 -3.88 EdenTree Sterling Bond Cls B Inc 96.51 0.02 4.38 2.86 -3.29 denTree UK Equity CIs A Inc EdenTree UK Equity CIs B Inc 212.90 0.30 2.21 1.46 -0.99 EdenTree UK Equity Opps Cls A Inc 277.30 1.00 1.29 4.69 -0.57 EdenTree UK Equity Opps Cls B Inc 283.20 1.00 1.90 5.30 -0.02

-0.03 0.83 3.21

6.27 3.95

Edentree Green Future B Net Inc 99.93

EdenTree Managed Income Cls A Inc 121.00

**Findlay Park Funds Plc** (IRL)

Findlay

Janus Henderson -INVESTORS-

Janus Henderson Investors
20 December 1 CM99 2WB Enquiries: 0800 832 832

Authorised Inv Funds

Algebris Core Italy R EUR € 138.65 0.56 0.00 3.69 7.91 Algebris Financial Credit R EUR € 160.28 
 0.22
 0.00
 7.59
 0.06

 0.18
 0.00
 6.83
 -0.56
 Algebris Financial Credit Rd EUR € 92.08 0.11 6.12 6.82 -0.53 Algebris Financial Equity B EUR € 189.44 1.28 0.00 19.99 19.35 Algebris Financial Equity R EUR € 157.72 Algebris Financial Income R EUR €178.86 0.65 0.00 10.74 7.83 ebris Financial Income Rd EUR € 104.13 0.38 4.95 10.74 7.83 Algebris Global Credit Opportunities I EUR € 136.38 Algebris Global Credit Opportunities R EUR € 132.65 0.27 0.00 8.93 1.38 Algebris Global Credit Opportunities Rd EUR € 112.03 0.24 3.94 9.02 1.51 Joebris IG Financial Credit I EUR € 102.78 -0.21 0.00 6.97 -2.41 ncial Credit R EUR € 100.68 Algebris Sust. World B €111.62 0.63 0.00 8.46 ebris Sust. World R € 109.98 0.61 0.00 7.06

(LUX) 223.15 0.00 11.36 3.84 American One \$ 7766.08 Far East \$944.22

**BLUE WHALE** 

**GROWTH FUND** 

113.83 0.00 17.17 7.45 2.26 3.39 **-34.66** 0.00 -2.56 -7.84

Consistent Unit Tst Mgt Co Ltd (1200)F 56.70 56.70 1.69 -6.82 2.49

\$780.49

12.31 4.69

\$ 1.64 1.64 0.03 2.06 5.74 -1.66

155.40 155.40 0.80 0.62 -6.83 2.50 239.50 239.50 0.00 3.90 5.21 5.61

1560.00 1560.00 0.00 0.60 5.19 5.02

-0.01 0.00 5.75 3.80 -0.04 0.00 5.29 -2.02

0.00 - 3.22 1.98

Chartered Asset Management Pte Ltd Other International Funds

CAM GTi VCC

Consistent UT Acc

Dodge & Cox Worldwide Funds

EUR Accumulating Class € 16.74 EUR Accumulating Class (H) € 10.95

EUR Distributing Class

RAIC VCC

Euronova Asset Management UK LLP
Regulated

Smaller Cos Cls One Shares € 53.52 - 0 0.00 3.44 0.68 0.25 0.00 2.91 -0.41 0.12 0.00 2.91 -0.74 Smaller Cos Cls Two Shares € 33.99 Smaller Cos Cls Three Shares € 16.96 Smaller Cos Cls Four Shares € 22.36 0.17 0.00 2.90 0.10

FCA Recognised

American EUR Unhedged Class €176.63 American Fund USD Class \$190.25 0.54 0.00 18.23 6.52 American Fund GBP Unhedged £151.65 -0.80 0.00 15.16 8.78

73.34 **-0.10** 5.60 -3.24 -2.60 Janus Henderson Cautious Managed Fund A Acc 287.10 -0.60 3.16 1.46 Janus Henderson Cautious Managed Fund A Inc 137.50 3.17 1.47 Janus Henderson Emerging Markets Opportunities Fund A Acc 189.30 -0.90 0.75 -2.52 -7.14 Janus Henderson European Growth Fund A Acc 305.30 8.38 5.95 4.60 -0.16 -5.43 17.03 Janus Henderson Global Equity Fund Acc 4393.00 17.00 0.00 1.88 1.57 Janus Henderson Global Equity Income Fund A Inc 64.89 0.00 3.42 2.89 5.54 1.40 0.00 10.23 3.52 19.00 0.00 32.52 5.82 Janus Henderson Instil UK Index Opportunities A Acc. £ 1.15 3.91 6.78 Janus Henderson Multi-Asset Absolute Return Fund A.Acc 165-20 -0.30 1.33 3.19 3.62 Janus Henderson Multi-Manager Distribution Fund A Inc. 123.00

Janus Henderson Multi-Manager Distribution Fund A Inc. 123.00 0.00 3.41 2.18 -0.24 Janus Henderson Multi-Manager Diversified Fund A Acc 87.92 -0.12 2.99 1.82 -1.86 Janus Henderson Multi-Manager Global Select Fund Acc 326.00
Janus Henderson Multi-Manager Income & Growth Fund A Acc 190.50 Janus Henderson Multi-Manager Income & Growth Fund A Inc 144.00 0.00 2.75 0.19 Janus Henderson Multi-Manager Managed Fund A Acc 318.90 0.10 0.30 4.11 1.67 Janus Henderson Multi-Manager Managed Fund A Inc 307.70

Janus Henderson Sterling Bond Unit Trust Acc 208.20 Janus Henderson Sterling Bond Unit Trust Inc 55.68 1.38 -6.90 Janus Henderson Strategic Bond Fund A Inc 98.92 -0.51 3.31 -3.79 -6.67 0.10 0.64 6.55 3.04 0.60 1.66 3.07 -1.00 Janus Henderson UK Alpha Fund A Acc 137.50

-1.31 6.00 7.00 0.00 22.48 5.68

(UK)

(GSY)

0.00 0.00 -7.17 -2.10 4.55 0.00 -8.52 -3.08

FCA Recognised - Ireland UCITS

Dodge & Cox<sup>®</sup> WORLDWIDE FUNDS

Fidelity Fundsmith Equity Fund

Foord Asset Management

FCA Recognised - Luxembourg UCITS

Janus Henderson UK Equity Income & Growth Fund A Inc 482.60 Henderson US Growth Fund A Acc 1978 00

 Inised - Luxembourg UC11s

 national Fund | R
 \$ 45.86
 0.20
 0.00
 -8.01
 -0.58

 Equity Fund (Lux) | R
 \$ 16.07
 0.08
 0.00
 -0.47
 -2.73





Artemis Fund Managers Ltd (1200)F (UK) Authorised Inv Funds 3.33 12.72 Artemis Corporate Bond I Acc 102.60 3.36 -3.73 Artemis European Opps I Acc 15.73 5.52 Artemis SmartGARP GloEmr Eq I Acc 172.43 - -0.25 8.58 5.92 0.94 3.06 2.76 6.58 Artemis SmartGARP Glo Eq I Acc 385.14 -0.76 3.43 8.10 9.08 Artemis Global Select I Acc 171.40 - 0.74 0.95 5.60 3.73 Artemis High Income I Q Inc 68.88 - 0.00 6.38 7.10 1.09 0.17 4.08 5.97 8.25 0.14 - 4.74 3.88 4.74 3.88 0.13 0.00 -9.34 Artemis Positive Future Fund 61.37 Artemis Strategic Assets I Acc. 99.71 -**-0.10** - 8.69 6.67 Artemis Strategic Bond I Q Acc 105.08 -0.22 4.40 3.23 -2.02 Artemis Target Return Bond I Acc 111.74 -0.05 4.26 6.80 1.62 Artemis UK Select Fund Class I Acc 818.64 -0.65 - 15.03 8.54 Artemis LIK Smaller Cos I Acc 2024 90 -0.55 2.23 1.63 7.34 Artemis UK Special Sits I Acc 801.12
Artemis US Abs Return I Hdg Acc 113.41 - -0.75 - 9.65 5.66 - -0.22 0.24 1.35 0.27 Artemis US Extended Alpha I Acc 364.81 - 1.96 0.00 14.56 8.75 Artemis US Select I Acc 331.31 - 2.43 0.15 17.34 6.88 Artemis US Smlr Cos I Acc 307.33 - 2.61 0.00 3.37 -0.17

Brooks Macdonald International Fund Managers Limited(JER)
Third Floor, No 1 Grenville Street, St Helier, Jersey, JE2 4UF

Grenville Street, St Helier, Jersey, JE2 4UF 104 (Int.) +44 (0) 800 735 8000 (UK) ald International Investment Funds Limited £ 1,2363 - -0.0016 2.50 3.02 -£ 0.6489 - 0.0002 3.77 3.18 -5.88 Cautious Balanced Strategy £ 1.2623 - 0.0009 0.00 3.38 -1.6
Cautious Balanced Strategy A £ 0.9026 - 0.0006 1.77 3.92 -Balanced Strategy £ 0.9380 0.0017 1.02 4.60 Balanced Strategy A £1.9916 - 0.0048 0.00 5.40 0.77 Growth Strategy Growth Strategy A £ 0.9519 0.0023 0.01 4.75 High Growth Strategy
High Growth Strategy A £ 2.7922 0.0046 0.00 12.05 -0.98 US\$ Growth Strategy \$1.8288 Dealing Daily. Initial Charge Nil for A classes and up to 2% for other cla

0.00 2.14 2.73 1.12 **GBP** Distributing Class £ 12.34 £ 8.24 GBP Distributing Class (H) -0.02 2.38 4.34 -2.83 0.04 0.00 7.79 -0.20 
 USD Accumulating Class
 \$ 13.00
 -UUB
 UUB
 I/IF
 -LAD

 Dodge & Cox Worldwide Funds ploc-Global Stock Fund
 Stock Fund
 - 13.72
 8.97

 GBP Accumulating Share Class
 \$ 24.26
 - 0.33
 0.00
 10.92
 11.24
 GBP Distributing Share class £ 28.18 EUR Accumulating Share Class € 45.09 - GBP Distributing Class (H) £ 14.70 -USD Accumulating Share Class \$ 41.39 GBP Accumulating Share Class £ 51.31 0.23 - 9.01 10.15 0.45 0.00 6.32 12.47 GBP Distributing Share Class £ 30.53 0.27 0.83 6.31 12.47 EUR Accumulating Share Class € 49.86 - 0.42 - 6.90 14.55 GBP Distributing Class (H) £ 16.19 - 0.09 0.16 7.62 8.41

idon SW1Y 5JG. worldwide.com 020 3713 7664

€ 11.70

Dodge & Cox Worldwide Funds plc - Global Bond Fund



Brown Advisory Funds plc

FCA Recognised

(IRL)

**Dragon Capital** Fund information:into@drage
Other International Funds ty (UCITS) Fund A USD \$ 28.09 -0.06 0.00 11.73 4.41

American Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 60.67 0.13 0.00 19.29 4.20 American Special Sits W-ACC-GBP £ 23.56 Asia Fund W-ACC-GBP Asia Pacific Ops W-Acc £ 14.38 £ 2.71 0.00 1.38 -5.41 -1.04 Asian Dividend Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 2.24 0.00 3.11 -2.40 2.00 Cash Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 1.07 China Fund W-Accumulation (UK) £ 2.19 -0.02 0.33 -20.96 -18.41 Emerging Mkts NAV £ 7.21 -0.16 2.31 0.19 -9.29 Enhanced Income Fund W-INC-GRP £ 0.82 0.00 6.93 3.50 8.15 0.22 - 9.66 10.54 European Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 25.75
0.35 - 11.55 13.31 Extra Income Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 1.33 Sustainable Emerg Mkts Equity Fund A-ACC Shares £ 1.52 0.01 - -13.81 -0.91 0.00 - 9.94 3.03 Sustainable European Equity Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 5.76 Sustainable Global Equity Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 3.7.9 Japan Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 6.18 Japan Smaller Companies Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 3.5.9 -0.01 - 4.71 -0.05 0.02 1.39 13.71 6.58 -0.02 0.63 3.49 -6.22 Select 50 Balanced Fund PI-ACC-GBP £ 1.16
Special Situations Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 43.79 0.00 1.58 3.30 0.26 -0.13 3.30 4.94 9.80 0.00 3.64 5.56 -0.11 Short Dated Corporate Bond Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 11.05 0.00 0.53 4.65 1.95 Sustainable Water & Waste W-ACC-GBP £ 1.17 Sustainable Water & Waste W-NC-GBP £ 1.15
UK Select Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 3.83 Global Dividend Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 3.18 0.01 2.60 7.76 6.44 Global Enhanced Income W-ACC-GBP £ 2.48 0.08 0.54 9.25 4.79 Global Special Sits W-ACC-GBP £ 57.75 Index Emerging Markets P-ACC-GBP £ 1.64 0.00 2.95 -1.02 -4.64 Index Europe ex UK P-ACC-GBP £ 2.06
Index Japan P-ACC-GBP £ 2.05 0.00 2.02 11.29 1.75 Index Pacific ex Japan P-Acc-GBP £ 1.80 **-0.01** 3.89 **-6.61** 0.74 Index UK P-ACC-GBP £ 1.61 Index US P-ACC-GBP £ 3.85 -0.01 - 4.18 7.34 Index US P-ACC-GBP Index World P-ACC-GBP 0.01 1.59 12.88 8.77 MoneyBuilder Balanced Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 0.60 -0.00 -1.04 1.33 MoneyBuilder Dividend Fund W-INC-GBP £ 1.25
Sustainable MoneyBuilder Income Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 12.57 -0.01 4.35 3.54 8.20

FIL Investment Services (UK) Limited (1200)F (UK)
Beech Gate, Millfield Lane, Lower Kingswood, Tadworth, KT20 6RP

0.01 4.47 5.33 -2.83 LAPIS GBL MED DEV 25.YLD-Na-D £ 86.82 - 0.05 0.00 - 3.20 -5.68 0.01 1.39 7.07 4.05 Multi Asset Allocator Adventurous Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 2.23 Multi Asset Allocator Defensive Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 1.34 -0.00 - 2.22 -2.47 Multi Asset Allocator Growth Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 1.91
Multi Asset Balanced Income Fund W-INC-GBP £ 0.93 0.00 1.39 5.40 1.77 Multi Asset Income & Growth Fund W-INC-GBP £ 0.99 -0.00 4.68 2.18 -0.40 Multi Asset Income Fund W-INC-GRP + 0.84 Multi Asset Allocator Strategic Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 1.63 Multi Asset Open Advent W-ACC-GBP £ 1.79 -0.00 1.87 4.56 3.77 Multi Asset Open Defen W-ACC-GBP £ 1.35 -0.00 2.48 1.51 -0.78

Multi Asset Open Growth Fund W-ACC-GBP £ 1.69 - 0.00 2.11 4.13 3.35

Lothbury Property Trust (UK)

National London ECZM 3T0 +44(0) 20 3551 4900 d, Essex, CM99 2BW 0330 123 1815 www.fundsmith.co.uk, enqui Authorised Inv Funds Property & Other UK Unit Trusts 632.12 1.26 0.20 9.93 4.67

am.com, www.funds.gam.com 
 Hunds@gam.com, www.funds.gam.com
 Regulated

 LAPIS GBL TOP 50 DIV.YLD-Na-D £116.52
 0.28
 3.05
 -3.81
 7.90

 LAPIS GBL F 0WD 50 DIV.YLD-Na-D £102.93
 0.40
 1.30
 5.31
 1.93

M & G Securities (1200)F ies Eng./Dealing: 0800 917 4472 Authorised Inv Funds Charifund Inc Charifund Acc 0.00 3.72 1.44 -2.33 M&G Charibond Charities Fixed Interest Fund (Charibond Inc. £ 1.08



Regulated
Multi-Manager Investment Programmes PCC Limited
UK Equity Fd Cl A Series 01 £ 3080.40 3080.41 231.75 -2.98 13.94 Diversified Absolute Return Stlg Cell AF2 £ 1579.00 - -1.96

**MMIP Investment Management Limited** 

M&G Charity Multi Asset Fund Acc £ 108.07 - -0.09 3.99 2.54 5.36

 
 Guinness Global Investors

 Guinness Global Equity Income Y G8P Dist £ 19.42
 0.14
 6.66 10.20

 Guinness Global Innovators Y G8P Acc £ 31.01
 0.19
 0.00 25.84
 7.70
 Guinness Sustainable Global Equity Y GBP Acc £ 11.16 - 0.11 0.00 1.70

Marwyn Asset Management Limited Regulated £329.72

HPB Assurance Ltd lill, Douglas, Isle of Man, IM1 4LN 01638 563490 International Insurances 0.00 - 0.63 -3.50 Holiday Property Bond Ser 2 £ 0.63 -

McInroy & Wood Portfolios Limited
Contar Alderston, Haddington, EH41 3SF 01620 825867

Authorised Inv Funds Income Fund Personal Class Units 2836.00 - -9.00 2.40 2.01 3.57 Emerging Markets Fund Personal Class Units 2055.00 - - 9.00 1.48 -12.05 -2.72 -1.54 5.49

#### MANAGED FUNDS SERVICE







RAM Systematic Long/Short European Eq. € 150.81 150.81 -0.13

QI STONEHAGE FLEMING TR GLOBAL BEST IDEAS **EQUITY FUND** 



#### Milltrust International Managed Investments ICAV (IRL)

und Personal Class Units 5808.50 - 0.60 1.30 -1.27 -4.27

£ 121.92		2.89	0.00 -	
a)A\$ 103.45		0.50	0.00 -16.53	1.41
d)NZ\$ 91.20		-6.06	0.00 -7.20	-2.67
A \$ 89.25		-0.04	0.00 -4.82	-7.21
	£ 121.92 a)A\$ 103.45 d)NZ\$ 91.20 A \$ 89.25	a)A\$ 103.45 - d)NZ\$ 91.20 -	a)A\$103.45 - 0.50 d)NZ\$ 91.206.06	a)A\$103.45 - 0.50 0.00 -16.53 d)N2\$ 91.206.06 0.00 -7.20

Platinum Capital Mana Other International Funds	ge	ment	Ltd				_
Platinum All Star Fund - A	\$	149.04				5.29	4
Platinum Global Growth UCITS Fund	\$	8.84		0.07	0.00	10.78	-12
Platinum Essential Resources UCITS Fund SICAV USD Class E	\$	9.42	-	-0.70	0.00	-19.83	13

#### Ram Active Investments SA WWW.ram-ai.com Other International Funds RAM Systematic Emerg Markets Eq \$229.09 229.09 -0.09 12.75 RAM Systematic European Eq. € 538.26 538.26 3.44 - 5.53 5.43 RAM Systematic Funds Global Systematic European Eq. € 158.70 158.70 0.16 0.00 6.85 7.18

# Stonehage Fleming Investment Management Ltd (IRL) Troy Asset Mgt (1200)

Regulated					
SF Global Best Ideas Eq B USD ACC	\$256.03	-	0.46	0.00 15.78	2.34
SF Global Best Ideas Eq D GBP INC	£309.65	-	1.31	0.00 12.78	4.52

#### Authorised Univinues Authorised Corporate Director - Waystone Management (UK) Limited Trojan Investment Funds Trojan Ethical Global Inc O Inc 99.31 **-0.22** 2.61 3.38 - -0.63 0.07 3.22 2.78 Trojan Ethical O Acc 129.36 Trojan Ethical O Inc. -0.63 0.08 3.43 2.85 0.02 - 5.16 2.05 0.02 - 5.15 2.06 129.26 Trojan Ethical Income O Acc 141.96 Trojan Ethical Income O Inc 115.81 Trojan Fund O Acc 384.07 - -1.86 0.26 0.59 2.54 Trojan Fund O Inc Trojan Global Equity O Acc - -1.51 0.25 0.59 2.54 - 0.47 0.00 20.40 6.98 Trojan Global Equity O Inc 443.01 - 0.39 0.00 20.41 6.98 Trojan Global Income O Acc 154.41 - -0.45 3.05 -0.36 4.25 Trojan Global Income O Inc Trojan Income O Acc

343.67

Trojan Income O Inc

15.89 0.00 -27.45 -13.95 **-25.68** 0.00 -34.38 -17.69

(UK)

16.64 14.04

(UK)

- -0.14 2.92 1.81 1.28

165.17 - -0.06 3.00 1.81 1.28

# Milltrust International Managed Investments SPC

Regulated		 	
Milltrust Alaska Brazil Fund SP A	\$108.10	-0.08	0.00 39.46 12.40
Milltrust Laurium Africa Fund SP A	\$ 93.76	-1.87	0.00 -9.97 -0.56
Milltrust Marcellus India Fund SP	\$138.82	-0.68	0.00 7.91 6.75
Milltrust Singular ASEAN Fund SP Founders	\$124.45	-0.16	0.00 -3.70 -6.05
Milltrust SPARX Korea Equity Fund SP A	\$116.43	1.33	0.00 17.40 -9.38
Milltrust Xingtai China Fund SP A	\$ 83.47	-1.28	19.15 -15.05
The Climate Impact Asia Fund SP A	\$ 68.83	-0.61	0.00 -11.32 -
The Climate Impact Asia Fund (Class B)	\$ 67.94	-0.51	0.00 -11.76 -

Ministry of Justice Com Property & Other UK Unit To		vest	tment F	unc	s	(UK)
The Equity Idx Tracker Fd Inc	1010100		-2.00		5.70	4.99
Dis	tribution I	Inits				

Regulated  Artificial Intelligence I USD ACC	ŝ	17 94	17 94	0.09	0.00	24 50	0.9
Asian Starts I USD Acc \$	\$	14.25	-	0.11	0.00	-1.25	-6.8
Biotechnology I USD	\$	39.45	39.45	-0.15		1.68	1.5
China Stars I USD Acc \$	\$	9.10	9.10	-0.02	0.00	-19.82	-17.4
Emerging Market Stars I USD Acc	\$	11.66		0.11	0.00	2.82	-7.6
European Ex UK Inc EUR Acc	€	15.72	15.72	0.08		11.57	10.9
Financial Opps I USD	\$	14.23		0.04		6.82	4.4
Global Convertible I USD	\$	13.82	13.82	0.00		1.10	-6.6
Global Insurance I GBP	£	10.67	-	0.06		5.81	14.3
Global Technology I USD	\$	85.78		0.74	0.00	38.51	-0.0
Healthcare Blue Chip Fund I USD Acc	\$	18.65	18.65	-0.02	0.00	0.38	5.9
Healthcare Dis I Acc USD \$	\$	11.49		0.05	0.00	-3.85	-7.2
Healthcare Opps I USD	\$	65.10	-	0.05		-0.11	0.8
Income Opportunities B2 I GBP Acc	£	3.11	3.11	0.00		6.64	10.1
Japan Value I JPY	¥	180.37	180.37	2.32		28.94	17.9
North American I USD	\$	37.37	37.37	0.27	0.00	16.31	6.6
Smart Energy I USD Acc \$	\$	9.27	9.27	0.08	0.00	1.87	
Smart Mobility I USD Acc \$	\$	8.46	8.46	0.06	0.00	-0.12	

£ 12.65 12.65 0.02 - 7.11 3.23

(GSY)

with 05/12/2023 £545.57 550.79 2.65 0.00 -0.02 3.38 LF Ruffer Total Return C Acc 528.00 LF Ruffer Total Return C Inc 321.59

-0.57 6.10 0.16 2.39 -0.44 0.00 -8.51 -5.80

UK Val Opp I GBP Acc

Private Fund Mgrs (Guernsey) Ltd

Equity Income B Dist \$ 168.25

Royal London 80 Fenchurch Street, London E Authorised Inv Funds	C3M 4BY					(UK)
Royal London Sustainable Diversified A Inc	£ 2.42	-	0.00	1.38	7.03	0.36
Royal London Sustainable World A Inc	364.00		-0.30		9.13	2.24
Royal London Corporate Bond Mth Income	74.95		-0.06		4.17	-4.16
Royal London European Growth Trust	215.80		0.50		11.87	6.84
Royal London Sustainable Leaders A Inc	781.90		0.10		5.29	5.20
Royal London UK Growth Trust	624.40		-1.20		4.99	5.54
Royal London UK Income With Growth Trust	201.90		-0.60	4.92	1.65	5.05
Royal London US Growth Trust	427.40		0.80	0.00	20.53	12.11
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Rubrics Emerging Markets Fixed Income UCITS Fund	\$140.89		-0.52	0.00	6.15	-0.49
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Rubrics Global Fixed Income UCITS Fund	\$172.17		-0.98	0.00	1.29	-1.91

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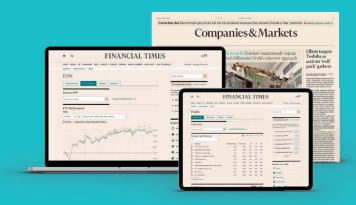
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#### ARTS



OPERA

Don Carlo La Scala, Milan

Iames Imam

No operatic extravaganza can match the offstage spectacle of an opening night at La Scala. This year's event boasted the customary glitz — plume-hatted guards, celebrities pursued by camera crews and cultural luminaries including Pedro Almodóvar — but it was ultimately policics that dominated headlines. Ignazio La Russa, the president of Italy's Senate who has been filmed with Mussolini memorabilia in his house, presided over the central box. As the lights dimmed for the performance, an audience member cried "Long live anti-fascist

Italy!" from the loggione. The culprit fled the scene when, he later reported, an undercover police officer asked him for his ID but he was stopped in the foyer by anti-terrorism agents.

The exclusive event, for which tickets cost up to €3,200, is the biggest in Italy's cultural calendar, and it fell a day after Unesco placed Italian opera on its intangible cultural heritage list. For the

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occasion, La Scala had selected a heavyweight work bursting with drama and spectacle: Verdi's *Don Carlo* in the shortened four-act version written for this theatre in 1884. Anna Netrebko and Elina Garanča headed an all-star cast. The stage was set for a showcase of Italy's operatic might.

If only opera were that simple. Director Lluís Pasqual tries to evoke the splendour of church and crown in 16th-century Spain, cladding the stage in black and gold. There are embossed hanging grates, carved pews and sumptuous period outfits including ruffs, tunics and gowns (costumes by Franca Squarciapino). Before King Philip II addresses his populace, a wooden tower rotates to reveal a shimmering altarpiece behind. Two central curved alabaster panels open and close throughout the performance to show singers in intimate

solo scenes and big choral numbers.

This stratagem allowed for seamless set changes but the staging was woofully dull overall. Static set pieces included an auto-da-fé, usually a spectacular climax, that offered little more than a sad procession of writhing prisoners and torch-wielding extras. Neither stripped back to the work's psychological core, as with Claus Guth's fine production in Naples last year, nor packed with Zeffirellian pageantry, this was a halfbaked halfway house. Pasqual was booed at the curtain call.

Exceptional singing generated some of the drama lacking on stage. Francesco Meli's blazing tenor, while relentlessly full-throttle, made for a passionate Carlo. Baritone Luca Salsi crafted his text to layer Rodrigo, the firebrand revolutionary, with psychological complexity. Battling through a serious cold, the charismatic Michele Pertusi capitalised on the extra grit in his voice to suggest a weary Philip clinging on to power. The dark bass of Jongmin Park, standing in for Ain Anger as the Grand Inquisitor, embodied awesome religious power.

Garanča provided coloratura acrobatics, vocal steel and seductive warmth to triumph as Princess Eboli, but Netrebko emerged as the star of the show as Elisabeth of Valois, plumbing the expressive depths of her valedictory act-four aria to win incandescent applause. A masterly Riccardo Chailly, the music director, drew transparent and profound playing that homed in on the anguish in Verdi's score. With more engaging stagings to match the high musical standards, La Scala might help ensure Italy's musical treasure does not become a museum relic.

To January 2, teatroallascala.org

DANCE

Trajal Harrell
Festival d'Automne, Paris

Laura Cappelle

Call it Trajal Harrell's signature step. A stroll on tiptoe, with a light sway through the hips. Each foot pausing briefly near the other ankle before the dancer marches on, like a slightly louche sphinx.

Paris audiences have had plenty of time to get acquainted with it lately, thanks to a Harrell retrospective masterminded by the Festival d'Automne. Each year, this multidisciplinary event devotes a handful of "Portraits" to major artists, a format that is especially welcome for dance. New works come and go so quickly that it can be all but impossible to catch up on choreographers' accomplishments.

And there is real value in delving back into a career such as Harrell's. Since September, the USborn choreographer has presented nine different productions in Paris, ranging from a pop-up creation in a bookstore to large-scale proscenium works made for his current home, the Schauspielhaus Zurich Dance Ensemble. Together, they tell a story — that of a born soloist, whose choreographic world has blossomed enough to make space for a diverse group of stage partners.

The earliest work on show was 2011's (M)imosa, a cult instalment from Twenty Looks or Paris is Burning at The Judson Church, the series that propelled Harrell to fame. In the worked at the crossroads between Harlem-style vogueing and Judson Dance Theater, a pioneering postmodern dance group.

(M)imosa brought together Harrell and three co-choreographers who have gone on to highly successful careers. The performers take turns pretending to be the fictional character "Mimosa Ferreira", and letting loose in vignettes tailored to their strengths.

The two over-the-top personalities in the group — Marlene Monteiro Freitas, galloping around like a dark comedy clown, and François Chaignaud, in full diva drag — are thrillingly unpredictable throughout, at times overpowering the piece. Cecilia Bengolea

and the witty, self-contained Harrell act as calmer counterpoints.

In more recent works, by contrast, Harrell harnesses the presence of a company around him. In 2016's Caen Amour, Harrell leaves most of the strutting to three outstanding performers, Thibault Lac, Perle Palombe and Ondrej Vidlar, in a smart reinvention of hoochie-coochie shows — suggestive faux belly dances that were popular in the late 19th century.

Harrell shows us their underbelly, too: the audience can get up and wander around the back of the small set. From the front, the cast parade in a series of costumes, some "exotic", others surreal; backstage, they can be seen changing, drinking water, reapplying make-up, before rushing back out.

Harrell has somehow managed to mould dancers to rolling, pareddown undulation through the body without erasing their personalities. In 2021's superbly musical The Köln Concert, which finds kinship between Joni Mitchell and Keith Jarrett, or this year's The Romeo, those nuances foster contrast. In The Romeo, seen this week at La Villette, 12 dancers waft in and out of ghostly corridors at the back of the stage. They keep hinting at movement influences, from ancient Greek friezes to butoh drama and African-American culture. Occasionally, Harrell swoops into the group, his arms gently slicing through the air, as if teetering on the edge of sadness.

His is a fairly narrow artistic lane, with elements that can grow repetitive: his love of fashion shows is obvious in sequences that feature dancers in baroque getups, from a giant emoji coat to fishnet over the head. Harrell's next work, *Tambourines*, seen in Paris in previews before its official premiere in 2024, offers an intriguing new path, with Nathaniel Hawthorne's novel *The Scarlet Letter* as its inspiration.

At his best, Harrell draws the audience in gently, his scholar-like imagination fuelling minute emotional variations. As the end of his Schauspielhaus Zurich Dance Ensemble looms — the Swiss playhouse has opted to disband it after this season — this Portrait shows that he isn't going anywhere.

Festival continues to February 11 festival-automne.com



Trajal Harrell's 'The Köln Concert'

# Saxophonist with a singular voice

JAZZ

Rachael Cohen Quintet Ladbroke Hall, London

Mike Hobart

The weekly Friday jazz nights at Notting Hill's glamorous Ladbroke Hall present a rich seam of mainstream London jazz in a supper-club setting. At this full-house gig from alto saxophonist Rachael Cohen, a short first set came with diners' chat. That subsided for a second half spiced by an American guest. Cohen, who has a longstanding late-night residency at Ronnie Scott's, was imperious. Drawing disparate influences into a singular voice, she applied her full sound and devious turns of phrase to a set of modern jazz covers that avoided the obvious without being obscure.

The evening opened with Cohen and the rhythm section easing into "Swinging at the Haven", a jaunty mixture of piano vamp and walking bass swing written by the late pianist Ellis Marsalis. Cohen, phrasing across the pulse, built excitement from within, double bass and drums cushioned their support and pianist Deschanel Gordon drew notice for his rhythmic urgency and flowing lines.

Cohen's quartet is a classy act, but featured trumpeter Mark Kavuma took the evening up a notch. The saxophonist and trumpeter are frequent associates with common musical roots in 1960s modern jazz. Here, tight phrasing, tonal warmth and brash harmonies brought to life three pieces from Blue Note's back catalogue. The declamatory "Lotus Blossom" was followed by the gorgeous harmonies of "La Mesha"; the first was

taken at speed, the second captured resilience and longing at a medium pace. Highlights included Gordon's dense and detailed piano solo unfolding without pause, and Kavuma's controlled flurries and sensitive turns of phrase. The set ended with Wayne Shorter's "Edda", a mid-Sixties mixture of modal waltz and walking bass swing. Dan Winshall's strum and counterpoint bass solo was the highlight, delivered with a finesse that almost mastered the crowd.

The second half opened with the twisty theme and funky rhythms of Eddie Harris's "Freedom Jazz Dance", followed by an in-style Cohen original, "Prima Vera". The first built tension in a single key, the second softened the mood with unfolding harmonies and a light-touch melodic line. Then came a ballad, "Never Let Me Go", with rippling piano, feather-light James Maddren drums and Cohen probing harmonic possibilities with melodic flair.

Kavuma returned for the fourth number with guest American tenor saxophonist Nicole Glover adding an extra voice and tonal depth. The tune, Lee Morgan's "Ceora", is an awkwardly paced bossa nova, but the poised phrasing and muscular sound were just right. The two saxophonists recently toured together in the US band Artemis and, alongside Kavuma, now complemented each other's solo strength and sonic warmth.

The gig ended with the evening's MC Zhenya Strigalev joining the ensemble on tenor sax. "Blues in the Closet" was the crowd-raiser, but an awkward theme and tricky harmonies ensured this was no throwaway jam. Indeed, the band's discipline held through the encore, a spicy ad hoc arrangement of "I'll Remember April" with solos for all towarm the crowd.

rachaelcohenmusic.com



Rachael Cohen, trumpeter Mark Kavuma and bassist Dan Winshall – Roger Thomas



#### FT BIG READ. US EDUCATION

Wealthy alumni of Ivy League schools have campaigned about the growing hostility towards Jewish students. The controversy has already forced the president of one leading university from office.

By Joshua Chaffin

t was a riveting image: the presidents of three of the world's most elite universities — Harvard, the University of Pennsylvania and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology — seated together at a witness table. All were women; one black and one Jewish.

They were the star witnesses at a congressional hearing on campus antisemitism. Within days, one of them would be forced from office and the others would be clinging to their jobs.

That seemed an unlikely outcome last Tuesday morning as Harvard's Claudine Gay, Penn's Elizabeth Magill and MIT's Sally Kornbluth displayed the caution of academics as they strained to provide pinpoint answers to questions from members of Congress about whether their university cultures had somehow abetted a hostility towards Jews that has surged since Hamas's October 7 attack on Israel. In their opening remarks, all three denied this and offered repeated and explicit condemnations and assurances.

Yet none of that seemed to matter after a three-and-a-half minute encounter with Elise Stefanik. The Republican representative from New York — herself a Harvard graduate — posed a seemingly straightforward question: yes or no, would calls for genocide of Jews on campus violate their codes of conduct or harassment policies? Asked to show moral clarity, the presidents turned lawyerly and hedged.

"If the speech turns into conduct, yes, it can be harassment," Magill replied, smiling awkwardly.

"I'm asking if specifically calling for the genocide of Jews — does that consti-

Congresswoman Elise Stefanik posed a seemingly straightforward question to the university leaders



tute bullying or harassment?" Stefanik pressed.

"If it is directed and severe or pervasive, it is harassment," said Magill, a former dean of Stanford Law School.

"So the answer is yes?" There was a rising, almost palpable,

sense of disbelief.

"It is a context-dependent decision, congresswoman," Magill concluded.

Faced with the same question, Gay also sounded, as one observer put it, like a defendant in a courtroom. "It can be", she said, "depending on the context."

In a matter of hours, that exchange was being treated by many — Jews and non-Jews alike — as a historic moment in which the moral confusion of America's elite universities was laid bare. It was the same confusion that astonished so many when, with Hamas's slaughter of Israeli civilians still continuing, some students either celebrated it or sought to justify it.

Albert Bourla, the Pfizer chief executive — and grandchild of Holocaust victims — called the presidents' testimony one of the most despicable moments in the history of US academia".

Even before the hearing, a campaign by some of Wall Street's most powerful figures had for weeks been working for the removal of Magill and Gay. The next day, both women issued statements in an effort to contain the damage.

But it was too late for Magill. On Saturday evening, she resigned under pressure during an emergency meeting of Penn's board of trustees. She was followed, moments later, by Scott Bok, the board chair who had been a staunch Magill defender.

The academics, attempting to straddle the divides between freedom of speech and campus safety, between angry students and furious donors and between competing philosophies of social and racial justice, had in the end found them impossible to bridge.

"It became clear her position was no longer tenable," Bok said in a statement, calling Magill's testimony "a very unfor-

tunate mis-step".

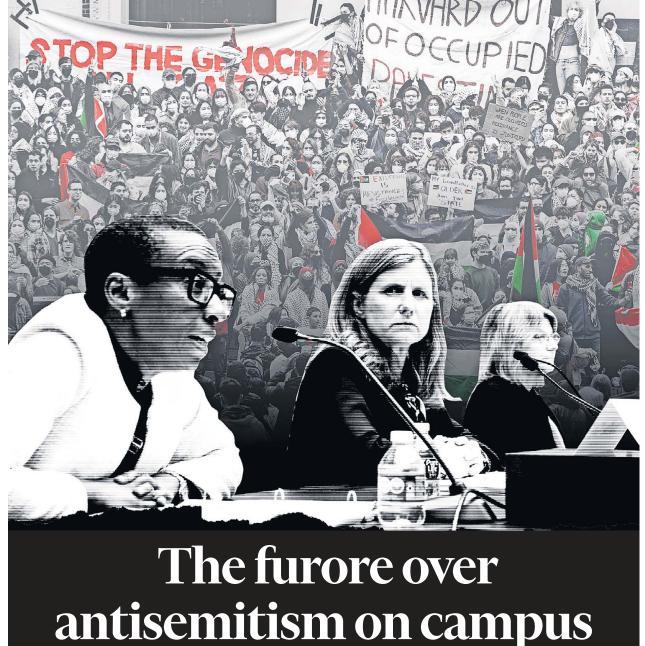
Meanwhile, at Harvard — where Gay is also facing calls to step aside — David Wolpe, a visiting scholar at the Divinity School, resigned from an antisemitism advisory committee established by the president after her initial reaction to October 7 was deemed lacking.

"The short explanation", Wolpe wrote on X, "is that both events on campus and the painfully inadequate testimony reinforced the idea that I cannot make the sort of difference I had hoped."

#### Wall Street titans

It turns out one of the most influential people in the saga was not even in Washington that day. Bill Ackman, the Harvard alumnus who has led the charge for a reckoning, both on social media and behind the scenes, watched from the offices of his New York hedge fund, Pershing Square Capital Management.

ung Square Capital Management. Working in parallel has been another



'What you're seeing now is a handful of plutocrats who have incredible leverage over higher education'

Wall Street titan, Marc Rowan, a Penn alumnus and a founder of Apollo Global Management, one of the world's largest private equity firms.

They have waged their campaign with the same vigour — and some of the same bare-knuckle tactics — as those they have undertaken against recalcitrant corporate boards of directors. They have used well-timed public letters, contacts in Washington, longstanding relationships with the press and, most notably, threats to end their donations.

That has prompted criticism about the influence that heavy-handed, billionaire donors should wield at what are supposed to be citadels of academic freedom. "What you're seeing now is a handful of super-ultra-wealthy individuals — plutocrats that, I guess, you would call philanthropists — who have incredible leverage over higher education," says Isaac Kamola, a professor at Trinity College in Connecticut who has written about donor influence.

"A lot of them have this understanding that they're the wealthiest person in the room, they're the smartest person in the room, and therefore they know best." Like many older men, Kamola believes, they yearn for the campus they remember — one that was notably less diverse and where there was much less discussion of racial politics.

One complaint among donors is that the presidents have not sufficiently engaged with them. But doing so risks the appearance of being in the pockets of the elite. Even many critics concede the university presidents have been thrust into an agonising position: asked to referee impassioned student reactions to the vexed issues of Israel and



the Palestinians in the midst of a fastmoving war. Many who have joined protests are steeled by the righteous belief that this is "our Vietnam"

During her testimony, Gay noted that her first instinct after October 7 was to ensure the safety of Harvard staff and students in the region — not to issue statements. On Friday, she apologised for her testimony, telling the Harvard Crimson, the university newspaper: "Tm sorry . . . When words amplify distress and pain, I don't know how you could feel anything but regret."

Jewish students are not the only ones complaining about a growing climate of intimidation and violence. Many Muslims have reported an accompanying rise of Islamophobia that has left them fearful, too. In Burlington, Vermont, three Palestinian university students, two of whom were wearing keffiyeh scarves, were shot while walking down the street in late November. One was left paralysed. As Palestinian students in the US sat for finals last week, they did so while the civilian death toll in Gaza was rising vertiginously.

Magill, who only took office last year, had been lauded for her commitment to preserving free speech on campus in an era in which it has been curtailed by cancel culture and trigger warnings.

The donor campaign is also becoming a fight between generations about the progressive philosophies — including diversity, equity and inclusion initiatives and critical race theory — that have taken hold on US campuses.

In the view of many Jews, there is a growing tendency to treat them as "white oppressors" and villains, but rarely as potential victims. The result, they say, is a double standard in which sensitivity to people of colour, queer people and other minorities has been heightened – but not Jews.

A point of contention is the activist chant to free Palestine "from the river to the sea", which can be interpreted as a call for the elimination of Israel; or, to "globalise the intifada", which many Jews hear not as a push for liberation but for violence against Jews.

For all their resources, donors often wield less clout than it might appear, according to Frederic Fransen, whose firm, Donor Advising, assists wealthy donors with philanthropic gifts. Universities, he notes, spent decades building relationships with wealthy patrons. Those relationships, he predicts, will eventually resume for the age-old reasons. "Donors are looking to get their less than academically stellar grandchildren into prestigious institutions," he says. "And as long as donors have less than academically stellar grandchildren, they'll hold their nose."

Jews, themselves, have a multiplicity of views about the campaign. One Harvard undergraduate says he appreciates Ackman speaking up but worries that it "kind of plays into the stereotype" of wealthy laws controlling the world.

wealthy Jews controlling the world.

The battle has become ugly. Bok, who protected Magill, is the chair of boutique investment bank Greenhill & Co. A New York public relations firm that works with Rowan's Apollo quietly stirred a campaign to thwart the closing of Mizuho's acquisition of Greenhill. The PR firm, Gladstone Place Partners, circulated a document intimating that Bok's leadership at Penn had damaged Greenhill's prospects. The \$550mn deal was still completed this month.

For hallowed universities, so accustomed to deference and admiration, the publicity has been bruising and uncomfortable. A litany of antisemitic incidents, including swastikas and other antisemitic graffiti, has now come to light, as well as tales from Jewish students about the harassment they have endured. Some say they no longer wear items outside their dorm rooms that might identify them as Jews for fear of being spat on or accosted.

Last Monday, during a visit to Harvard, Gilad Erdan, Israel's UN ambassador, said the university had become "dangerous for Jews" and "an incubator" for supporters of terrorists". "For a school that puts veritas — truth — above all, this is shameful," Erdan said.

#### A long brewing dispute

While October 7 escalated the fight between donors and universities, it was not the starting point. At Penn, Rowan and Ronald Lauder, the billionaire cosmetics heir, had taken umbrage at a September literary festival, Palestine Writes. Held on the school grounds, it eatured some speakers with a history of what many view to be antisemitic rhetoric, including Pink Floyd's Roger

Claudine Gay, Harvard's president, left, Liz Magill, then Penn president, centre, and Sally Kornbluth, of MIT, testify before a House committee. Below: the Goldie falafel restaurant in Philadelphia, owned by a Jewish Israeli chef, has been targeted by pro-Palestinian protesters. Right: hedge fund manager Bill Ackman, a reckoning over Harvard's leadership

university, we fiercely support free exchange of ideas as central to our educational mission. This includes the expression of views that are incompatible with our institutional values'

'As a

Waters. Waters has denied that he is an antisemite.

Working behind the scenes, Rowan and Lauder pleaded with Magill to disassociate Penn from the festival. The president ended up issuing a statement that noted her concerns — but also explained what she believed were her limitations.

"We unequivocally — and emphatically — condemn antisemitism as antithetical to our institutional values. As a university, we also fiercely support the free exchange of ideas as central to our educational mission. This includes the expression of views that are controversial and even those that are incompatible with our institutional values," itread.

That, in turn, prompted a public letter signed by 36 Penn faculty members, who expressed "deep concern" and complained that Magill's statement had unfairly conflated an entire cultural festival and its participants with antisemitism. Some progressive Jews also protested, complaining that Magill's warning had further marginalised an already-marginalised community.

After October 7, pro-Palestinian activists projected the slogans "Zionism is racism" and "from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free" on campus buildings. Last week, a crowd of hundreds demanding an immediate ceasefire marched through central Philadelphia, including the Penn campus. They paused at the Goldie falafel restaurant, owned by a Jewish Israeli chef, and chanted: "Goldie, Goldie, you can't hide — we charge you with genocide!"

#### Safe spaces

Caught in the confusion are students like Alex Bernat, now 21, who recalls some discussion about campus antisemitism while attending a Jewish day school in Chicago. When he arrived at Harvard two years ago, he noticed trappings of a vigorous pro-Palestinian movement but did not feel intimidated



by it. "I basically ignored the beginnings of it in my Freshman fall," he says.

For him, a turning point came last year, when the editorial board of the Harvard Crimson endorsed the boycott, divestment and sanctions movement. After that, Bernat says he felt the atmosphere on campus changed. The next month, a swastika was found carved in a bulletin board at the Currier House dorm. When Jewish students raised the matter with administrators, they say they were told it was being handled

internally.

"That shocked me," Bernat said.

"That was the moment Harvard could have dug deeper and had a reckoning."

Palestinian students have their own complaints. Writing in the Crimson, Mahmoud Al-Thabata, described an Ackman appearance on campus to speak to a Jewish group as a neglect of student safety. He said the hedge fund manager had supported the "d of pro-Palestinian students who signed the PSC letter. He added that a truck with their portraits later drove around Cambridge with the tagline: Harvard's Leading Antisemites. It was organised by Accuracy in Media, a conservative group. A spokesperson for Ackman insisted he had no involvement. "Why is Harvard refusing to extend the same valuable institutional resource it provides to Jewish students to their Arab and Muslim peers?" Al-Thabata asked.

Last Monday, on the eve of the congressional hearing, Bernat attended a screening of Hamas's atrocities on October 7 that were compiled by the IDF from smartphones, traffic cameras, body cameras and other raw footage. Security was heavy and attendees were made to sign waivers releasing the IDF from responsibility for psychological trauma. Ackman had arranged the screening with Harvard Chabad, an outreach organisation led by Hasidic Jews.

During a discussion that followed, the often cocksure Ackman was restrained. He dabbed a tear from his eye and softened his tone towards Gay. "I meant her no harm," he said. The next day came the hearing and soon the familiar Ackman was back. "The answers they gave reflect the profound moral bankruptcy of Presidents Gay, Magill and Kornbluth," Ackman wrote on X. "They should resign in disgrace."

### The FT View



### FINANCIAL TIMES

ft.com/opinion

# A crunch week for Ukraine support

#### Failure to unblock US and EU aid would imperil Kyiv's financial stability

The coming days for Ukraine could be pivotal for the course of its war with Russia. US and EU financial and military aid packages worth more than a combined \$110bn are being held up by political squabbles on either side of the Atlantic. Russia's Vladimir Putin, meanwhile, is enjoying his best few weeks since the early days of his invasion. If the two packages fail to pass in political votes this week, Ukraine's macro-financial stability could be imperilled - calling into question its ability to sustain its campaign. At stake is the credibility of both the US and the EU as foreign policy actors ready to do what it takes to defend their values, and the security of the European continent, against the threat from Moscow.

While Ukraine's president Volodymyr

Zelenskyy is in Washington to plead for US aid to be unblocked, his Russian counterpart has reason to feel smug. Russian forces have withstood Ukraine's counteroffensive. Though western sanctions are still set to do immense long-term harm, Putin has successfully shifted his economy on to a war footing. Big boosts to defence and welfare spending will help Russia's economy to grow by about 3 per cent this year; some sectors are even overheating.

Since the not-so-mysterious death in a plane explosion of Yevgeny Prigozhin, the warlord who challenged him in June, Putin's own position seems more secure. And he still enjoys wide support in the "global south", as shown by the warm reception he was given in Saudi Arabia and UAE last week.

The hold-ups over western support to Kyiv are all the more unfortunate given that the commitment by top US and EU leaders remains robust. Regrettably, aid is now being held hostage by other political actors for their own purposes. In the

EU, Hungary's Viktor Orbán has signalled he will block the EU's proposed €50bn funding over four years for Ukraine and veto membership talks with Kyiv — demanding instead a full review of EU policy on Ukraine – even if the bloc releases funds for Budapest that have been frozen due to rule of law violations. In the US, House Republicans have said they will only pass \$60bn in new Ukraine aid if it is coupled with new border security measures to

curbimmigration.

If Orbán holds firm despite the expected approval to release some blocked cash to Budapest, an EU summit this week must urgently find other means to send money to Kyiv. Governments excluding Hungary could, for example, agree to provide funding directly, outside the EU budget. This would at least help to tide Kyiv over until remaining EU and US funds can be agreed. Even then, however, Orbán might still block an invitation to Kyiv to start accession talks, in a symbolic blow

The hold-ups over western backing are all the more unfortunate given that the commitment by top leaders

remains robust

 and a shameful step for a man who made his name by demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from his own country in 1989.

There must also be a path to unblock US funding, in which Democrats and the White House concede to some reasonable new measures to restrict immigration on the southern border, and Republicans abandon their request for a full crackdown. But numbers would still be tight if such a deal came to a vote.

Republican strategists can unfortu-nately claim that GOP lawmakers are in tune with their electorate. An FT-Michigan Ross poll found 48 per cent of Americans thought the US was spending too much on aid to Kyiv; only 11 per cent felt it was not enough. Twenty-two months since Putin launched his war, western leaders have yet to drive the message home to voters that the relatively paltry cost of support to Ukraine so far would be dwarfed by the spending needed on bolstering defences were Russia's president to be allowed to win.

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**Opinion** Politics

# Bidenomics backlash holds lessons for UK's Labour



### Claire Ainsley

s the Labour party looks increasingly likely to ment, it would do well to heed the warnings as well as the successes of the Biden administration's investment programme unfolding in America.

Undoubtedly ambitious, the programme can reasonably claim to have contributed to the relatively strong growth and jobs rate in the US – hence Labour leader Keir Starmer's desire to set out an economic plan that follows in its wake. Wages are up in America and inflation is coming down. With less than a year until the election, the US administration should have cause for optimism.

But the polling for President Joe Biden is dire, with the latest surveys placing him behind former president Donald Trump in key swing states that

#### Big plans are no substitute for policies that bring direct benefits to people's pockets

will determine the outcome of the overall contest. There are loud murmurings about a Democrat challenger to be the "next generation" figure. The party's problems don't start and end with a judgment on Biden, however. Their economic policies – much heralded by the centre-left worldwide, not just in the UK - are just not landing with the voters the Democrats need. Not yet, anyway.

Despite the headline economic performance, less than a third of US voters say the nation's economy is good. When asked which president from the past 30 years has done the most for working families, just 12 per cent of working-class voters polled by YouGov for the Progressive Policy Institute chose Biden; 44 per cent said Donald Trump, well ahead of any rival, including Bill Clinton, Barack Obama and George W Bush.

The Republicans outperform the Democrats on which party is trusted to manage a growing economy and to keep public debt and deficits under control. So Democratic strategists  $hoping\,that\,the\,head line\,performance$ will filter through to voters before the next election are taking a big gamble.

Labour has long looked across the Atlantic for inspiration, and this new generation is no exception. There have been overt references to Biden's

policies in pronouncements by chancellor, and the Labour party has its own infrastructure investment programme, gestating in opposition. It's already under attack from the Conservative chancellor. (Jeremy Hunt rejects Biden-style policies as "some distortive global subsidy race".) Battle lines are being drawn, and Labour needs to arm itself.

So why aren't Americans more favourably disposed to an economic approach that seems, on the face of it, to be delivering the goods?

The individual components of the Biden administration's policies are actually quite popular with voters who back the Inflation Reduction Act by 46 per cent compared with 32 per cent who oppose it. Certainly, they are more popular than the abstract framing of "Bidenomics", which has no positive associations for a population stung by higher prices and named after a president they associate with tough times.

However, working-class voters in particular are sceptical that they will be the ones to benefit from the White House's investments, not helped by Biden's choice to write off \$127bn of student debt. The survey shows they actually attribute stimulus spending to overheating the economy.

US voters have a clear preference for government policies to bring down rising prices, reduce the high cost of essentials and provide affordable training programmes to boost skills and earnings.

Households everywhere are feeling the pinch, and they want to know that the government is on their side with pragmatic solutions. They are doubtful that more trade wars will bring greater economic prosperity, favouring stronger trading relationships with allies and more resilience in domestic supply chains.

There is no reason why a Trumpian economic agenda should prevail if the Democrats can translate the economy's positive headline data into the money in people's pockets, and get the message out that this holds hope for a brighter future.

Labour also should not shy away from an active state that steers the economy to greater prosperity. Investing in the US has been good for America's workers and businesses, just as investing in Britain would be good for workers and businesses - if it is done well. But the lesson is that big plans are no substitute for policies that bring direct benefits to people's everyday finances. Only then will the electorate feel they will be better off voting

 ${\it The writer is director of the Center-Left}$ Renewal project at the Progressive Policy Institute and former Labour executive director of policy 2020-22

### Letters

# Tolerance and respect will trump extremism in Middle East

In days of war ("Can Jews and Arabs coexist peacefully within Israel?", The Big Read, December 7), anger, pain and racism can collapse bridges that were carefully built for many years by organisations such as ours, which are dedicated to making a shared society between Israel's Jewish and Arab citizens a reality. Unfortunately, there are too many

people trying to stoke tensions between Jews and Arabs in Israel. It is clear to

us: if the racists and extremists win, we will all lose. So what is our response? We double down on our work of promoting tolerance, mutual respect and co-operation between Jewish and Palestinian citizens of Israel because it's more important than ever.

Together with partner organisations in Israeli civil society, we have called for an end to incitement and for calm. We have directly addressed senior officials in many authorities -

ministers, mayors, university them ways of action to calm the spirits. We are also deepening our field work in mixed cities. Among other initiatives, we have been working directly with municipal welfare departments to deal with the many social challenges placed before them today. We are now working to establish and expand infrastructure for shared life in mixed areas. We are not only looking to

prevent violence and reduce tensions but to also find opportunities for positive shared life. We will continue to work so that

Israel's Arab and Jewish citizens all live in peace, security and equality. Will we succeed? In the long run, we believe we will. Of course, there are no guarantees, but there is no other way forward. Laurence Kave

Ambassador, UK Friends of Abraham Initiatives, Aldenham, Hertfordshire, UK

#### Teacher input still vital to pupil performance

I was gripped by Amy Borrett's two pieces on the OECD Pisa scores in schools ("The damage to schools from Covid-19", The Big Read, and "Students fall behind in core subjects after pandemic", Report, December 6).

 $Mathias\ Cormann,\ the\ OECD's$ secretary-general, makes three striking comments in his introduction to the Pisa 2022 results. In volume 2, page 3, he writes: "Yet the decline (in scores) can only partially be attributed to the Covid-19 pandemic. Scores in reading and science had already been falling prior to the pandemic." The report's data shows "no clear difference" between the results of pupils in schools that had closures and those that did not. Cormann adds that students who . spend up to one hour a day on digital devices for learning activities scored 14 points higher in mathematics . .

Is the cause of the decline across almost all countries perhaps more complicated than the effect of Covid-19? I think there may be a hint of what is needed to raise scores when Cormann writes: "The availability of teachers to help students in need had



the strongest relationship to mathematics performance across the OECD, compared to other experiences linked to Covid-19 school closure."

Should we, perhaps, be looking more carefully at improving the quality of teacher-pupil relationships in addition to how and what is taught? **Richard Storey Walker** Hartmoor, Underhill, UK

#### Voting reform may offer breakthrough to populists

Robert Shrimsley ("Conservatives are on the hook for immigration", Opinion, December 7) identifies precisely why Britain has been, in the words of Janan Ganesh ("US and European populism are not the same", Opinion, November 29), "a relative haven from populism" - because of the first past the post voting system.

Ukip shot themselves in the foot by campaigning for Brexit as a way of curbing immigration. Britain's populists won't make a similar mistake again. The signs are that Reform UK will enter the 2024 general election campaign with a call for a referendum on voting reform with the aim of breaking the Conservative-Labour cartel. They would be choosing an issue with the same broad appeal as Brexit, but knowing that proportional voting would open the way to a UK equivalent of Geert Wilders or Marine Le Pen.

In an exquisite example of what Georg Hegel described as "the cunning of reason". Reform UK might succeed in taking Britain into the mainstream of western European politics.

Michael Williams

Hertfordshire, UK

#### Changes have been tried before in Argentina

Under the heading "Argentina is limping towards economic failure", Guill Gil wrote that Peronist leaders were openly corrupt (Letters, December 8).

Thirty years ago, a reformist Argentine president Carlos Menem tried to curtail this by privatising bloated state-owned companies. The largest was state-owned oil company YPF. As a management consultant, I was involved in their restructuring prior to privatisation. In two years, YPF went from an employment of 60,000 to 6,000 with labour union and

government agreement. Part of this change was achieved by taking non-core activities such as transportation and hospitals and forming employee-owned private companies with service contracts with YPF.

About 30,000 "employees" who just turned up once a month to pick up their pay checks were terminated. Only a few years later, a new

Peronist-style government renationalised YPF. Phillip Hawley
La Jolla, California, USA

#### **OUTLOOK**

**AMERICA** 

Baby-boomer romance scores big with 'The Golden Bachelor'



by Patti Waldmeir

never thought there was much that was "real" about reality TV. So when Hollywood recently launched a senior version of its popular reality franchise The

Bachelor, I wasn't excited. Adverts for The Golden Bachelor promised ' hot, he's sexy, and he's 72" — and 22 women over 60 were trying to date him. How real could that be, I thought?

It turns out I was right to be sceptical about the guy — but wrong about the show: *The Golden Bachelor* has become one of the biggest US pop culture events of the year, TV critics say – and not just among my 65-plus demographic. More than half the nearly 7mn people who watched the November 30 season finale were under 65, according to Nielsen ratings And the September premier broke records as the most-watched ABC premier ever on the streaming service

So I came to sneer, but stayed to admire-albeit grudgingly. "ABC has done something remarkable. In a deeply ageist society, in which the age of 65 and later is most often associated with decline and cultural irrelevancy, The Golden Bachelor has instead portrayed it as a time of rebirth and new adventures," Ken Stern, founder of the Longevity Project, told me.

The first Golden Bachelor, Gerry (inexplicably pronounced "Gary" Turner, a too-earnest, too-weepy retiree from Indiana, falls into an increasingly common US demographic, says Susan Brown,

director of the Center for Family and Demographic Research at Ohio's Bowling Green State University. The show "shines a light on the fact that a growing number of older people are single and eligible to form mantic relationships in later she told me.

US Census 2022 statistics show that 20.1 per cent of American men over 55 have never been married, compared with 13.9 per cent in 2010. Baby boomers are increasingly looking for love later in life, Brown says, adding that "grey divorce" is also rising rapidly - more than a quarter of those over 55 are now divorced. But they aren't all looking to marry, she adds. More and more are cohabiting, or "living apart together" – maintaining separate residences while in relationships.
Robert Thompson, director of the

Bleier Center for Television and Popular Culture at Syracuse University, gives the show a "grudging thumbs up" for "beginning to explore the silent dramatic territory of people in their sixties and seventies as people with an erotic life".

The premier was certainly not so silent: in fact, it went heavy on the senior sex talk. Theresa Nist, a New Jersey financial services professional, arrived clad only in a nude bodysuit which she called her "birthday suit" to mark her 70th birthday. (She went on to win Gerry's heart - they will marry on live television on January 4.) Other candidates made anatomy jokes unbecoming at any age.

Still, the first close-up shot featured Gerry's hearing aid. And subsequent episodes showed the social security set having a roaring good time riding horses, driving all-terrain vehicles or rappelling down waterfalls. The final ntestants remaining had plenty of wrinkles and the winner, Nist, was one of the oldest.

Catherine Collinson, chief and president of the Transamerica Center for Retirement Studies, says she is "offended by the basic premise of The Bachelor franchise . . . that women would line up and vie for the affections of a man". But that aside, we both found it a "phenomenal conversation starter" about love and ageing. Everyone I ran into had an opinion — including one twentysomething male physical therapist in the office where I go for hip replacement rehabilitation. He found it "more genuine" than the younger version of The Bachelor

"Nobody was expecting it to be this big," says Tim Appelo, TV and film critic for AARP, the organisation for older Americans. "Hollywood is scared of showing people with signs of ageing" — but this show "could prove that you can have older faces as stars, and still make a lot of money".

Perhaps that's the biggest reality shock of all: older Americans watch lots of TV; it's long past time we saw people who look like us on our

The writer is a contributing columnist, based in Chicago

# Opinion

# Regulators must resist banks' magical thinking

Sheila Bair

he late, great Charlie Munger once said that derivatives trading desks made witch doctors look good. That was certainly true of credit default swaps, used by banks to circumvent capital requirements in the run-up to the 2008 financial crisis. Unbelievably, as regulators now propose further toughening of capital rules through the "Basel III End Game", banks want more leeway to use similar financial alchemy to counter the impact. Regulators should resist.

CDS were supposed to make banks safer by magically transferring the risk of loan defaults to counterparties outside the system. Since regulators had assumed the risk transfer was real, they allowed banks to lower their capital lev els. But when the 2008 crisis hit, banks found the risk transfer was not always legally binding and even when it was, counterparties could not perform.

Regulators have since tightened the use of CDS to lower capital. But the latest push from banks is to use "credit linked notes" (CLN) for capital relief. To be sure, these have some advantages. With CDS, the counterparty is not obliged to pay the bank until borrowers actually default. With CLNs, banks get the money upfront by issuing bonds with repayment obligations that depend on borrower performance. If borrowers default, the bank's repayment obligations are reduced, passing along the losses to bond holders. But while this eliminates counterparty risks, CLNs still suffer from fundamental problems which should make regulators wary. First, as with other forms of synthetic

risk transfer, CLNs do not provide the same level of resilience as good old tangible common equity. During market turmoil, the appetite for risk transfer instruments quickly dries up. To keep lending, banks have to take more credit risk back on their balance sheets. But they will be in a weaker position to do so if they were allowed to reduce their

capital through credit risk transfer. I saw this happen as FDIC chair during the 2008 crisis and, again, as chair of the Fannie Mae board during the pandemic. Fannie, and its sister mortgage agency, Freddie Mac, had issued CLN-type bonds on about \$1.7tn of mortgages. Yet, when the pandemic came, not only did the market for these collapse, but investors who had purchased them asked to

'Credit linked notes' do not provide the same level of resilience as good old tangible common equity

be relieved of their obligations. A subsequent study by the Federal Housing Finance Agency questioned their utility, given the billions it had cost Fannie and Freddie to pay bondholders who had little appetite to absorb credit losses when it was needed the most.

Synthetic risk transfers may also make the financial system less stable. Nonbanks buying them are mostly

lightly regulated or unregulated entities such as private funds and insurance companies. They are not subject to the same level of capital regulation and dis-closure requirements as banks. They are not supported by deposit insurance and central bank lending for liquidity needs. They are not as expert in understanding and pricing credit risk. So even if credit risk transfer is successful in protecting regulated banks, the risk is transferred to nonbank entities which appear less capable of managing and absorbing the losses.

This issue takes on heightened urgency as so much credit intermediation has migrated to the nonbank sector. Should we have a recession next year a real possibility - escalating credit losses here could seriously disrupt the flow of credit to the real economy. And again, if regulated banks have lowered their capital through credit risk transfer, they will be in a weakened position

to take up the slack.
As pressure from banks grows, the Federal Reserve and other regulators should tighten the rules around all credit risk transfer instruments. They

should impose strict, consistent and legally binding limits on how much risk a bank can transfer in aggregate, as well as how much it can transfer to any single counterparty. Banks should be required to assess the financial health of nonbank counterparties and be prohibited from transferring risk to those with concentrated exposures to credit risk instruments. Weak banks should be prohibited from using risk transfer to give capital levels an artificial boost.

During the 2008 crisis, we learnt that effective oversight requires looking beyond the regulated banking system. We also learnt that tangible common equity is the only kind of loss absorption that is real during a market meltdown. Synthetic alternatives like CDS and CLNs will always have an element of black magic. They may be able to bring some net risk reductions, but only with protective talismans that limit their use among strongly capitalised banks and nonbanks.

The writer is a former chair of the US Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and is a senior adviser to the Systemic Risk Council

## Catalonia will pursue its right to a referendum

Pere Aragonès

atalonia is a European nation, open to the world, and committed to addressing global challenges. A nation with a rich historical legacy, diverse and modern, bound by its language, Catalan. A nation with a persistent desire for self-governance dating back centuries. A nation that wants to be free, that wants to be able to democratically and peacefully decide how it governs itself. A nation where a large number of its citizens, including myself, want to create a new state, inde-pendent of Spain, but working together with it within the European framework.

We will only be an independent state if we work intensively in both directions towards our citizens' wellbeing and to fulfil their democratic future. The quest for freedom has driven Catalans throughout history. Today, almost 80 per cent of its citizens believe that the sovereignty conflict should be resolved by a referendum. Our government's priority has always been to reach an agree-ment with Spain, but the Spanish authorities have systematically rejected any kind of approach on this matter. Their response has been to criminalise the democratic political movement for

Catalan independence.
After July's general elections in Spain a new scenario has opened up. Pedro Sánchez has been invested as prime minister for the third time thanks to the necessary votes of Catalan pro-independence parties like mine, Esquerra Republicana. This gives us both great strength and democratic responsibility. Catalan votes have been crucial in pre-

#### Spain's government should seize this opportunity to negotiate, as the best way to strengthen its stability

venting Spain from being governed by a coalition involving the far right. These votes have also been crucial in forcing the start of a new relationship between Catalonia and Spain. We welcome this new era of democratic empowerment that must allow us to agree on how and when we vote on our future.

Thanks to our votes, we have reached an agreement on an amnesty law that will provide full freedom to political prisoners and exiles involved in the 2017 bid for independence, as well as all those in the democratic movement who have experienced repression by the state. This amnesty is entirely legal, and consistent with the Spanish and European rule of law.

We are facing a historic opportunity. Sánchez must be brave and show, beyond conciliatory words, that he genuinely wants to resolve the sovereignty conflict with Catalonia. Resolve it as the UK and Scotland did, or as Canada and Quebec did. Because Catalonia is prepared to win or lose in a referendum. But what they cannot ask of us — what no one in the world should be asked to do — is to give up our national rights.

We appreciate the first steps made, at the willingness to negotiate cannot be subject to short-term partisan interest in order to ensure an investiture of the prime minister, or the government's continuity. Sánchez will have to meet his commitments, and we will ensure he does. We are responsible, but we are also exacting.

Catalonia is not asking for anything extraordinary. It is only asking for what so many other nations that are now fully fledged member states of the UN have previously asked for. It is not asking for anything that implies an attack on any other nation in the world, much less Spain, with whom we want to maintain excellent neighbourly relations within the EU. We simply want the chance to decide our own future.

The Spanish government must seize this opportunity, as the best way to strengthen its stability. The will of a persistent people is very strong. Our commitment to negotiation is also a commitment to stability, in a European context which has many challenges. I will continue to work until the independence of my country is achieved democratically, and I will not be intimidated by anything or anyone. Out of responsibility to the democratic will of the citizens of Catalonia and because this is a

The writer is president of the government

# The mirage of the two-state solution



srael and Hamas are bitter enemies. But they also agree on some things. Neither the government of Israel nor Hamas has any real interest in a two-state solution" to the Israel Palestine conflict. And neither side

wants to stop fighting in Gaza - even as the territory is devastated around them. Nonetheless, at some point, the fight-

ing will stop. The day afterwards. the world will face urgent questions. Who will rebuild the territory, who will govern it, how will it be supplied? Even the Biden administration insists

that Israel cannot reoccupy Gaza. But relations between Israel and the UN have essentially broken down. And the UN would be understandably wary of extending its responsibilities in Gaza, given that more than a hundred of its employees have been killed in the Israeli onslaught on the territory.

For lack of a better alternative, the US is working on plans to bring the Palestinian Authority, nominally in charge of parts of the occupied West Bank, back in to run Gaza. But the PA is widely seen as a weak and corrupt organisation with little credibility. (That is another thing which Israel and Hamas agree on.)

As for the money, I have heard senior

EU officials say unequivocally that Europe will not pay for the reconstruction of Gaza. (The sums of money required by Ukraine are already mindboggling). The US Congress seems to be turning against all forms of foreign assistance. People talk airily about the audis and other Gulf Arabs footing the bill. But will they really do that - without any clear political structures to fund

So there may be no way of dealing with the immediate disaster in Gaza without an agreement, at least on paper, on a long-term political solution.

The Saudis, like the Americans and the EU, have long advocated a two-state solution - in the context of the normalisation of relations between Israel and

But, these days, even the supporters of a two-state solution often sound  $embarrassed \,to\,utter\,the\,phrase.\,Under$ standably. This idea has been pushed repeatedly for more than 30 years - but onsistently failed to take root.

The conditions for a two-state deal are, in most respects, far worse than they were in 1991 — when the Madrid peace conference put the idea firmly on the international agenda. Back then, there were fewer than 100,000 Israeli settlers on the occupied West Bank. Today there are about 500,000.

In the 1990s, there were flourishing ace movements in Israel and among the Palestinians. But that was before the expansion of Israeli settlements in the ccupied West Bank, two Palestinian intifadas and terrorism inside Israel, the



rise of Hamas in Gaza and repeated Israeli attacks on the territory.

The peace camps in both Palestine and Israel were already marginalised, before Hamas's attack on Israel. Now, as my colleague Andrew England reports, even some Israelis participating in intercommunity dialogue relapse into talk of 'wiping out Gaza". If the Israelis feel like that after the attacks of October 7, why would the Palestinians feel any differently about Israel after more than 17,000 deaths in Gaza?

The bleak truth is that some of the worst suspicions both sides have about each other are true. Hamas has said repeatedly they would like to destroy Israel and massacre more Israelis. There are far-right extremists in key positions in the Israeli government, who openly

There may be no way of dealing with the disaster in Gaza without accord on a long-term political answer

dream of driving the Palestinians out of the occupied West Bank and Gaza.

Since October 7, the Netanyahu government has not elaborated any kind of new long-term vision for the Israel-Palestine question. That may be because Israel is so focused on its goal of the destruction of Hamas that it cannot think long term. Or it may be because the government's plan involves forcing the Gazans into Egypt — which is an idea that both the Biden administration and

Egypt itself have repeatedly rejected. Netanyahu — like his sometime friend, Russian president Vladimir Putin (the two men had a long conversation this week) - may be hoping that new opportunities will open up, if and when Donald Trump returns to the White House. But there is a snag in that strategy. Trump and his son-in-law, Jared Kushner, are ardent supporters of Israel. However they also place great store in their relationship with the Sau-dis. In 2017, Trump's first trip as president was to Riyadh.

Some people around Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, the de facto Saudi ruler, are strikingly unemotional about the Palestinian cause. Their focus remains the modernisation of Saudi Arabia. The normalisation of relations with Israel, a tech powerhouse, might contribute to that goal - as well as forcing the Americans to give Riyadh security guarantees. But the Saudis know that they cannot now normalise with Israel, if it looks as if they are betraying the Palestinians in the process.

So if Saudi Arabia does get involved in an effort to reconstruct Gaza, it will cercommitments to a future Palestinian state in return.

There are many reasons to doubt whether Israel would ever deliver on any such promise. But the people of Gaza cannot simply be left to live among the ruins of their homes. Getting shortterm assistance to them still requires a long-term vision for Palestine. If anyone has a better idea than two states for two peoples, the moment to come forward

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# Tusk faces a formidable task in unpicking Polish populism

**Jarosław** Kuisz

his week, the centre-right leader of Poland's prodemocratic opposition, Donald Tusk, is set to become prime minister for the third time, after eight years of rule by the national-populist Law and Justice party (PiS).

PiS implemented a form of illiberalism on steroids - from the violation of the constitution, through the dissemination of propaganda by state media, to the seizure of public funds for the benefit of the ruling party. All this was done in the name of defending Poland's sovereignty. Many would no doubt like to think that Tusk's return is the prelude to a restoration of the liberal ancien régime. But we need to be clear about what reclaiming power from PiS

actually involves. First, winning an election is not sufficient to restore the old democratic standards. During several years in power, populists have taken up key positions in the state administration.

After Tusk secured a majority in October's parliamentary elections, President Andrzej Duda nonetheless swore in PiS's Mateusz Morawiecki as prime minister. While this was in accordance with the letter of the constitution, it was certainly not in the spirit of the law.

Morawiecki had no chance of achieving a majority in parliament, but staying in power for a few weeks allowed other goals to be achieved, including the filling of further key state offices by PiS officials. In this way, PiS has left behind a veritable legal minefield for Tusk to

For example, the procedural rules of the Supreme Court were amended at the last minute in such a way as to strengthen the position of judges who were nominated in a legally controver-

The Morawiecki government also took legal action to prevent the removal of loyal journalists from state media.

And the head of the Financial Supervision Commission was reappointed supposedly in order to obstruct the Tusk government's planned changes in stateowned companies.

How should a liberal and democratic government respond? One answer seems to be to take over parts of the national populist agenda. For instance,

The Law and Justice party has bequeathed a legal minefield to the incoming prime minister

Tusk has promised to keep the highly popular child benefit payments introduced by PiS.

Moreover, his government will be a broad coalition, ranging from rural conservatives to the progressive left. One is reminded of a formulation of the late Polish philosopher and historian of ideas Leszek Kołakowski: "conservative-liberal socialism".

On such contentious issues as mass migration, partly initiated by Russia and Belarus. Tusk speaks of the need to defend Poland's borders, as did the previous government – the difference being that he speaks the language of European diplomacy and does not stigmatise migrants.

Tusk appears to be well aware of the scale of the challenge that awaits him, especially in keeping his coalition together in the face of attacks from PiS. which continues to command strong support, having garnered around 7.6mn votes at the last election, and regards its defeat as merely temporary. The recovery from populism will be arduous.

Meanwhile, those who previously disregarded the standards of liberal democracy now demand respect for the rule of law. Take, for example, the head of the National Bank of Poland, Adam Glapiński, a former PiS senator who was appointed in May 2022 to a second term in an office that is meant to be politically neutral. When Tusk threatened to hold him accountable for breaking the law, Glapiński sought protection from the European Central Bank

The sowing of legal confusion by national-populists reminds us of another reason why we should consider the pre-2015 liberal era in Polish politics to be closed. Around the world, a new ideological war over political legitimacy is raging. Where once communism was locked in a struggle with democratic capitalism, now proponents of liberal democracy are fighting against what might be termed authoritarianism with a populist face.

Today's authoritarian populists are convinced that they are the future. They believe as much in the illiberal end of history" as liberals once did in their final triumph after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. That is why PiS refuses to accept electoral defeat

It is against this backdrop - and in the knowledge that overcoming national populism is a Herculean task – that the early days of the new Tusk government should be judged.

The writer is editor-in-chief of the Polish weekly Kultura Liberalna and author of 'The New Politics of Poland'



#### **UK SME loans: the scary** home companion

Bankers, according to an age-old gripe, are fair weather friends. Money lent in sunshine is reclaimed when it rains. Worse, lenders can inflict devastating personal misery if a loan backed by a personal guarantee turns sour.

The scope for abuse has prompted a small-business lobby group to file a "super-complaint" to the UK's financial regulator. The Federation of Small Businesses wants action against banks that make excessive demands on small groups to provide personal guarantees.

The FSB argues that when loans are small – say under £25,000 – personal guarantees are superfluous.

A minority of loans officers behaved dreadfully during the late 2000s financial crisis. Some threatened to recall loans unless borrowers put up personal guarantees backed by their family homes. Others pushed "distressed" SMEs into bank divisions with a penchant for asset stripping.

Personal guarantees have doubtless risen since the pandemic, but there is little current data. More is needed.

Banks claim that they are not heavy handed about calling in guarantees, because it is reputationally risky and legally costly. They say that guarantees signal an owner's belief in their business and may merit lower loan rates. The risks are not one-way. In the early 1990s, lenders suffered huge losses from loans to the sector.

This time round, the risks appear manageable. The banking sector is well capitalised, with an aggregate common equity tier one capital ratio of 14.8 per cent in the third quarter. For the median small company, income growth has kept up with higher interest payments, according to the Bank of England. Companies with pandemicera guaranteed loans are insulated from higher rates until at least the end of their six-year fixed term.

But some companies are vulnerable. Banks are demanding interest of over 11 per cent from almost one-third of would-be borrowers, says the FSB. The number of corporate insolvencies in the year ended September 30 increased 17 per cent to 24,326. That is not far off the 2009 peak of 26,000 - although the number of SMEs has increased by nearly a fifth since then to 5.6mn.

An optimistic take on the FSB's

super-complaint is that it marks peak strain for UK SMEs.

The shake-out is all the more painful in cases where the dividing line between business and home life is blurred.

#### TikTok/GoTo: scrolling players

It sounds so trivial: a consumer scrolls on a social media app and taps to buy a product featured in a video. But this is

The trend is so disruptive that the Indonesian government has banned online shopping on social media platforms to protect smaller merchants. TikTok may have found a

will spend \$1.5bn to become the controlling shareholder of GoTo's Tokopedia. TikTok will buy 75 per cent of the unit, Indonesia's biggest ecommerce platform, for \$840mn. It will invest the rest of the money in the

platform, has been growing swiftly. Users quickly get hooked on buying items directly in the app. This pushed TikTok Shop's estimated south-east Asian gross merchandise value to \$4.4bn last year. Its growth rate has outpaced regional rivals for two years.
TikTok will now be able to inject its

Shares in Tokopedia parent GoTo fell 20 per cent yesterday. This may reflect the view that TikTok has snagged a bargain at a time when GoTo's net loss is narrowing. GoTo has a market value of \$6.6bn. The ecommerce business accounts for 38 per cent of group gross revenue. GoTo's \$599mn loss in the first nine months this year was a big

For TikTok, the ecommerce market

TikTok is driving global trends in ecommerce. Viral marketing via the website has sparked a sales surge at shopping platforms such as Temu and Shein. Bringing more of that traffic in-

The question with the Tokopedia

### Internal carbon pricing: dark arts

Companies that set internal carbon prices receive little help from divergent market benchmarks. The EU's emissions scheme works quite differently from others. Current trading schemes and carbon taxes cover only a minority of carbon emissions. Companies tend to set internal carbon prices at a conveniently low level.

#### CO<sub>2</sub> emissions pricing varies



2023

Aug Oct Dec

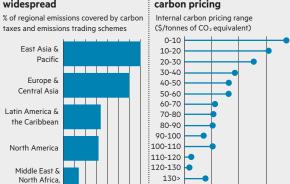
Only three things seem certain today: death, taxes and rising carbon output. The second can, however, reduce the inevitability of the third. That theory backed the development of the EU's emissions trading scheme (ETS). Though not strictly a levy on carbon pollution, it offers a reference

Most countries have neither an emission pricing system nor carbon taxes. That has prompted some companies to set their own carbon prices for internal purposes.

price. But the EU's system is unusual.

These vary widely. They can be as high as \$1,600 per equivalent tonne of carbon dioxide (USD/tCO2e). That is far above the most actively traded contracts in the EU scheme that set a price of about \$73/tCO2e.

#### Carbon pricing is not widespread



Some 1,000 companies report their internal carbon pricing to the Carbon Disclosure Project, a non-profit. Unsurprisingly, most prefer prices well below those set by the EU scheme. A price of about \$50 suits most of them.

0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35

sub-Saharan Africa

BP projects a figure of \$100 by 2030. Higher internal carbon prices should not deter companies from investing, says Tom Smout at Aurora Energy, though very high prices would. Other factors, such as shareholder demands

for profit growth, weigh heavily.
Oil companies, like BP, will maintain capex on fossil-fuel projects despite internal carbon prices. At least half of BP's spending will go to fossil-fuelrelated businesses by 2030.

Internal carbon prices help companies get a handle on the

pollution burden of proposed projects. Most are shying away from marrying those prices with the carbon emissions they report. No wonder. Lex's calculations have shown that if the European steel and cement sector had to pay to pollute at rates set by the ETS, it could wipe out

Source: World Bank/CDP

Number of organisations

Most companies assume low

half their annual ebitda According to an old joke, when a CEO asks what profits will be, the CFO replies "what would you like them to be?" That is the problem with internal carbon prices too.

Robust external carbon pricing would support transition better. The ministers that gather to waffle at COP summits would do better to create a cross-border trading scheme to provide those magic numbers.

#### Occidental/CrownRock: **FOMO** mojo

The last time that Occidental Petroleum made a big acquisition, it ended up teetering on the brink of

bankruptcy. The \$55bn purchase of Anadarko Petroleum in 2019 saddled the company with huge debts just as the global pandemic crushed oil prices.

Its woes attracted activist investor Carl Icahn, Occidental had to turn to Warren Buffett for a costly lifeline.

It survived and recovered strongly after Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine sent global energy prices soaring. Last year was Oxy's most profitable year ever. It used the cash to slash debt levels by more than a third.

Having cheated grim Fate once, investors must wonder if Oxy is tempting it again by making an albeit smaller acquisition. It is buying CrownRock, a privately held shale driller in the Permian basin oil and gasfield for \$12bn, including debt.

Oxy is already one of biggest producers there. But the pressure is on to scale up further. Operating costs are rising and energy prices have retreated from their 2022 highs.

ExxonMobil agreed in October to buy Pioneer Natural Resources at an enterprise value of \$64bn. Days later, Chevron struck a deal to purchase Hess at an EV of \$60bn. Both of deals are allshare transactions. This allows Exxon and Chevron to eschew pricey debt.

That will not be the case for Oxy. Its offer consists of \$9.1bn cash and \$1.7bn of new shares. It will also be assuming \$1.2bn of CrownRock's debt. The deal will add about 170,000

barrels of oil equivalent a day to production in 2024, along with about 1,700 undeveloped locations. Brent crude is sitting at \$76 a barrel. Oxy says that it can break even with oil at \$40 a barrel.

Without cost cuts this is a slightly pricey deal. Crown Point's remaining, prized Permian locations would be worth more than \$4mn each, a tenth above Citi's expectations.

Oxy's motivation, one suspects, is the fear of missing out



Lex on the web For notes on today's stories go to www.ft.com/lex

becoming a very big business.

way around that prohibition. The Chinese-owned short video app

future of the business. TikTok Shop, an in-app ecommerce

local business into Tokopedia.

improvement on 2022.

in Indonesia is alluring. The nation has a large, young population that is active on social media, helping Indonesia become TikTok's largest market outside the US, with 125mn users.

house would be transformative.

#### deal is whether TikTok can integrate social media and ecommerce without angering the Indonesian authorities.

**US brokered deposits:** 

dependent claws

US regional banks are back on a stable footing after turmoil in the year's first half. Back then, the collapse of Silicon Valley Bank, Signature Bank and First Republic in just two months set off a crisis of confidence in the sector.

Intervention by the financial authorities forestalled runs on other banks. But profitability remains a

High interest rates mean small and midsized banks will continue to rely on

expensive funding - particularly brokered deposits. As their name implies, these deposits are funnelled in by external partners. For example, a bank will go to a third-party brokerage such as Fidelity and ask it to find customers for a large block of highyielding certificates of deposit.

For the bank, it is a quick way to get a big influx of funding all at once. For the broker, it is quick way to make some money.

US banks collectively held almost  $1.3 {\rm tn}$  in brokered deposits at the end of the third quarter, according to the US Federal Reserve. That is up from \$754bn a year ago and is near the prepandemic record high.

The problem with these deposits is their volatility. Investors chasing high returns are apt to withdraw their cash.

Federal Deposit Insurance Corp chair Martin Gruenberg has warned that their sharp rise presents liquidity risks. Rating agency S&P Global cited these

as a reason for downgrading five regional banks this summer. At PacWest, brokered deposits made

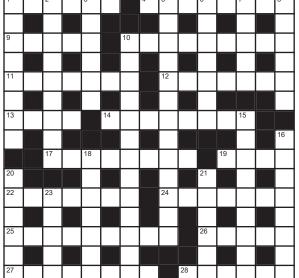
up 22 per cent of deposits at the end of September, up from 11 per cent a vear earlier. At Western Alliance, the figure is about 12 per cent of total deposits.

Brokered deposits are driving up costs and weighing on net interest income. The burden is increased by the slowdown in the commercial loan

The worry for investors and regulators is that brokered deposits push regional banks into risky lending. The leap from frying pan to fire is dangerously easy.

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## CROSSWORD No 17,598 by MOO



Solution 17,597



Scan the QR code to cryptic, Polymath, Weekend and Sunday

### **ACROSS**

- Avoid wife opening present (6) 4 Coppers joining plot put to death (8)
- 9 Search female on the game (5) 10 Drunkenly toast Emir in island state
- (4.5)11 A means of containing shock? (7) 12 Listening closely, as our new monarch
- is? (3.4) 13 A yes from posh boy's nanny (4)
- 14 Notice that one is late (8) 17 Schoolboys from different European
- nations (8) 19 Liveliness of writer Faber finally
- promoted (4) 22 Eccentric angle on love consuming
- theologian (3,4) 24 Maybe Aristotle is to follow, riding
- donkey (7) 25 Sinister duke revelling in filth (9) 26 Ladyboy initially rejecting threesome?
- Rubbish! (5) 27 Make too much of old judge holding
- vicar back (8) 28 Middleman increasingly hard up (6)

- 1 S for simpleton? (8)
- 2 Get rid of badly brewed ale in time (9)
- 3 Sex champion is a Scandinavian (6) 5 Immediate tension as aunt erupts (13) 6 Kneecap head with everyone's
- backing? (7) 7 Loudly muck about in US city (5)
- 8 Dissent at present extremely scary (6) 10 Setting up shop perhaps (13)
- 15 Measure of the Met's credit? (9) 16 M for title of Emmanuel Macron (8)
- 18 Actor, one imprisoned by Cromwell?
- 20 Magic party for the doctor, they say (6) 21 Two seamen, one from central Asia (6)
- 23 Lament return of drug network (5)

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