FTWeeken

INTERNATIONAL NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR



Pound slumps below \$1.09 after UK unveils £45bn of tax cuts

• Lowest point in 37 years • Borrowing forecast to top £190bn • Doubt cast on sustainability

GEORGE PARKER AND CHRIS GILES

Sterling tumbled against the dollar to below \$1.09, hitting its lowest point since 1985, after UK chancellor Kwasi Kwarteng unveiled a £45h debt-financed tax-cutting package that sparked a historic increase in borrowing costs.

Kwarteng's political and economic gamble includes the biggest set of tax cuts for 50 years, with the end of the 45p additional rate for the highest earners as well as a sharp reduction in levies on

But concern over the amount of debt required to finance the tax cuts trig-gered a frenetic day of trading that raised doubts on whether Britain's new

economic approach was sustainable. "The UK is behaving a bit like an emerging market turning itself into a submerging market," former US Treassubmerging market, former US Treas-ury secretary Larry Summers told Bloomberg TV. "Britain will be remem-bered for having pursued the worst macroeconomic policies of any major country in a long time."

The Institute for Fiscal Studies fore-

The Institute for Fiscal Studies fore-cast that public borrowing would top £190bn this year, the third-highest peak since the second world war.

The new borrowing to finance the tax cuts and emergency energy subsidies will be more expensive for the UK, with the two-year cost of borrowing rising to dependent of the process of the proce



presents his fiscal plans

yesterday:
'This is a new
approach for a
new era focused
on growth'
Jessica Taylor/UK Parliament

"This is a new approach for a new era focused on growth," he told MPs in the Commons, to a chorus of Tory cheers and jeers from the Labour benches.

rate to 2.5 per cent.

In contrast with previous big tax cuts in the 1980s, Kwarteng will borrow tens of billions of pounds to fund his plans, adding to demand at a time when the Bank of England is raising interest rates to bring inflation under control

bet that the radical tax cuts and deregu-lation will raise Britain's sluggish growth

plan seems to be to borrow large sums at increasingly expensive rates, put gov-ernment debt on an unsustainable ris-

riment uctor of an unsustantator ris-ting path and hope we get better growth." The National Institute of Economic and Social Research said that due to the additional borrowing, a UK recession would now be shorter and shallower than was feared. But to keep inflation under control, it said, the BoE would have to raise interest rates to Foer cent have to raise interest rates to 5 per cent and keep them there until at least 2024.

reduced, as will taxes on dividends. Stamp duty will be cut to help first-time

Stamp duty will be cut to help first-time home buyers and a planned corporation tax rise will be scrapped. The reductions in income tax mean that an individual earning £200,000 stands to make annual tax savings of nearly £4,500 in 2025-24 compared with 2022-23. A worker on a salary of £20,000 will save £218. FT Vlew page 10

Generation Kviv

The artists saving a culture



Superprime property boom FT MONEY



Hilary Mantel

Wolf Hall author dies OBITUARY



War and peace

The risks for globalisation LIFE & ARTS



Iran's traditionalist women join anti-hijab law protest

Australia	A\$10.00(Inc GST)
Brunel	B\$8.00
China	RMB30
Hong Kong	HK\$45
India	Rup260
Indonesia	Rp48,000
Japan	¥650(inc JCT)
Korea	W5,000
Malaysta	RM12.50
Pakistan	Rupee 450
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Berlusconi under fire for defending Putin's war as Italians go to the polls

SILVIA SCIORILLI BORRELLI — MILAN AMY KAZMIN — ROME

Three-time Italian prime minister Silvio Berlusconi has faced a backlash after defending Vladimir Putin's inva-sion of Ukraine as campaigning for Italy's general election draws to a close.

Italy's general election draws to a close. Speaking on the public broadcaster Rai's flagship political talk show on Thursday evening, the 85-year-old political said the Russlan leader "only wanted to replace [Ukrainian president Volodymry! Zelenskyw with a government made up of decent people" but had encountered "unexpected resistance" on the ground. Berlusconi's rightwing party Forza Italia is part of a coalition led by Giorgia Meloni's far-right Brothers of Italy that is predicted to form the government after Sunday's election.

The comments, which were made as Putin is escalating the war on Ukraine with a military draft, annexation votes in occupied regions and threats of nuclear attack, will revive concerns in Brussels and other EU capitals that the next Italian government might be softer on the Kremlin than that headed by Mario Draghi. In Italy, they have prompted angy reactions from the opposition and put Berlusconi's coalition partners in a delicate position. Centre-left politician stacked Berlusconi's words, with MEP Carlo Calenda, who leads a small liberal entrist party, calling him "sulversive". Hard-right League leader Matteo Salvini, an ally of Berlusconi'who has previously criticised the west's sanctions against Eussis, asd he did not want to "interpret Berlusconi's words but we are against the war".

In his television interview, Berlusconi appeared sympathetic to Putin, suggesting the Russian leader had been inadvertently ensared in the conflict. Putin and Berlusconi have been friends for more than two decades and have taken holidays together.

"Putin was encouraged to launch this special operation by the Donbas separatists who went to Moscow and told him Special operation by the Ponda Separatists who went to Moscow and told him Zelenskyy had killed 16,000 eopple and begged him to defend them," Berlusconi sald. "The troops were supposed to enter, reach Kylv in a week, replace the Zelenskyy government with decent people and a week later come back."

Berlusconi said his comments had been "misinterpreted", adding: "I was referring to what other people think." Italys right unites page 2

Alexander Gabuev page 10

Person in the news page 11

World Markets

ARKETS				CURREN	CIES					GOVERNMENT	BONDS		
	Sep 23	Prev	%chg	Pair	Sep 23	Prev	Pair	Sep 23	Prev	Yield (%)	Sep 23	Prev	Chi
	3682.50	3757.99	-2.01	\$/€	0.971	0.982	€/\$	1.030	1.019	US 2 yr	4.19	4.12	0.0
mposite	10847.96	11066.81	-1.98	\$/£	1.090	1.126	£/\$	0.917	0.888	US 10 yr	3.74	3.68	0.0
Ind	29517.86	30076.68	-1.86	£/€	0.890	0.872	€/£	1.123	1.147	US 30 yr	3.64	3.61	0.0
st 300	1545.21	1581.20	-2.28	¥/\$	143.285	142.095	¥/€	139.066	139.473	UK 2 yr	3.98	3.57	0.4
50	3347.64	3427.14	-2.32	¥/£	156.223	160.028	£ index	76.468	76.592	UK 10 yr	3.83	3.49	0.3
	7018.60	7159.52	-1.97	SFr/€	0.953	0.964	SFr/£	1.070	1.106	UK 30 yr	4.04	3.77	0.2
hare	3848.68	3924.91	-1.94	COVERTO						JPN 2 yr	-0.06	-0.06	0.0
	5783.41	5918.50	-2.28	CRYPTO		0	20	D	N sha	JPN 10 yr	0.24	0.24	0.0
	12284 19	12531 63	-1 97	2		Sep	23	Prev	%chg	IPM 30 vr	1.31	1.31	0.0





Nikkei	27153.83	27313.13	-0.58
Hang Seng	17933.27	18147.95	-1.18
MSCI World \$	2489.36	2516.59	-1.08
MSCI EM \$	922.61	932.08	-1.02
MSCI ACWI \$	579.55	585.85	-1.07
FT Wilshire 2500	4889.51	4942.72	-1.06
FT Wilshire 5000	38183.88	38606.41	-1.09

ereum	1280.63	1325.84	-3.41	GER 2 yr	1.90	1.83	0.0
oroum	1200.00	1323.04	-3.41	GER 10 yr	2.02	1.96	0.0
MMODITIES				GER 30 yr	1.87	1.87	0.0
	Sep 23	Prev	%chg				
WTI \$	78.33	83.49	-6.18				
Brent \$	85.73	90.46	-5.23			Prices are latest	for edition
d \$	1671.85	1671.75	0.01		Di	ata provided by N	Aomingst

Adapt your playbook to emerge stronger

'Indicators

steepening

eurozone in

the fourth

point to a

economic

decline

24 September/25 September 2022

INTERNATIONAL



Hong Kong drops hotel quarantine requirement for new arrivals

Hong Kong is ditching its stringent hotel quarantine for incoming travellers. The policy, which at one point required visitors and residents to quarantine in a hotel for as long as three weeks, had been in place for two-and-a-half years, effectively cutting the city off from the rest of the world.

off from the rest of the world.
John Lee, the city's chief executive, said the requirement would be ended from Monday but travellers would be subject to testing and monitoring for three days after landing. Hong Kong had been forced to practise a version of Beijing's stifling zero-Covid policy, although it has escaped the strict lockdowns that have paralysed Chinese megacities. The decision followed intense lobbying from both the international and local business community.

Banks in Lebanon to stay closed 'indefinitely' after depositor heists

Lebanon's banks will remain closed "indefinitely" following a spate of armed robberies by angry depositors. The banking association said banks would stay shut "in the absence of assurances" about security. Banks shut their doors to customers after heists at seven branches as the nation's three-year financial crisis deepens. Customers wielded handguns, replica and pellet guns, demanding tellers hand over their deposits. Some handed over bags of cash to family before being taken into custody or going into hiding. Others were arrested.

The banking sectoh has frozen deposits for more than two years and put limits on how much money people can withdraw. Three-quarters of the population is in poverty.

One dead and dozens injured after typhoon hits south-west Japan



madol. It made landfall on Sunday. On died, dozens were injured and more than 300,000

US ratifies global pact to phase out fridge and air conditioner gases

The US Senate approved an international climate treaty to phase out the use of potent greenhouse gases that are used in both refrigerators and air conditioners.

It means the US will join the 2016 Kigali Amend ment, alongside 137 other countries, aimed at reducing the production and use of hydrofluorocarbons. Lawmakers last month passed US president Joe Biden's flagship \$369bn Inflation Reduction Act, a

bill that contained some of the most significant climate change legislation enacted in the US.

The US Chamber of Commerce, a business lobbying group, had also signalled its support for the Kigali Amendment as a boon for industry.

Economic outlook

Survey gloom drags euro to 20-year low

Business activity suffers big contraction while price pressures rise sharply

The euro hit a fresh 20-year low against the dollar yesterday after a survey of companies in the eurozone showed activity suffered its biggest contraction

rose at their sharpest pace since June. S&P Global's flash eurozone compos ite purchasing managers' index, a key gauge of business conditions, fell 0.7 points to 48.2 this month, its lowest level since January 2021 and the third month in a row below the 50 mark that

separates growth from contraction.

The reading is the strongest evidence yet that the energy crisis caused by Rus-

bloc into recession, along with sending inflation to record highs.

Eurozone bond and share prices plunged while the euro fell 0.9 per cent against the dollar to 97.5 cents yester day, its lowest since October 2002. Ger many's 10-year yield rose above 2 per cent for the first time in 11 years, while the Dax-40 share index of blue-chip German companies fell 1.4 per cent to its lowest for nearly two years. The slowdown in activity underlines

the challenge facing monetary policy makers, who are expected to continue raising borrowing costs to fight infla tion. "The stagflationary shock is real, and it is intensifying," said Claus

The European Central Bank has raised rates by 125 basis points to 0.75 per cent since early summer and is ex-

at its October and December meetings.

Russia's war is squeezing natural gas supplies to Europe, causing record euro-zone inflation, eroding household spending and hitting industrial output.

Deutsche Bank economists this w slashed their forecasts, saying the energy crisis had already caused the eurozone to start shrinking and predicting it would contract by a cumulative 3 per cent from the third quarter of this r to the second quarter of 2023.

The PMI results were as expected by a Reuters poll, although Germany was weaker than France, underlining the weaker than France, underning the challenges confronting the eurozone after businesses reported falling factory output, declining new orders, soaring energy prices and falling expectations. "The survey's forward-looking indi-cators point to a steepening economic

quarter, adding to the likelihood of the region falling into recession," said Chris Williamson at S&P Global.

The bloc has done better than expec ted this year, growing 0.8 per cent in the second quarter thanks to a recovery in tourism, but most economists think it is slowing sharply, with many of them warning of a recession this winter.

The PMI survey painted a gloomy pic-ture of business conditions at the end of the third quarter, with manufacturers reporting a fourth consecutive decline in factory output and "some evidence of energy market developments also limiting production capabilities". Jobs growth was unchanged from August, when it slowed to a 17-month low.

Companies in all sectors reported the

Europe. General election

Italy's right unites in appeal to weary voters

Coalition hopefuls stage joint rally to pledge effective

government and restore pride

ANY KAZNIM — ROME
Italy's would-be prime minister, Giorgia
Meloni, vowed to bring back Italians'
"pride" and deliver five years of strong
overnment in a rare shared appearance with her rightwing partners before
ageneral election tomorrow.
At their only joint rally of the campaign, Meloni and her allies, Matteo Sal.

paign, Meloni and her allies, Matteo Sal-vini, leader of the League, and media tycoon Silvio Berlusconi set aside their personal rivalry to present a united front and appeal to Italians' hunger for political stability and effective govern-ment.

ment.
"We are ready to give freedom, pride
and greatness back to Italy," Meloni,
leader of Brothers of Italy, thundered to
cheering supporters in Rome's historic
Plazza del Popolo. "We are free citizens
and not subjects. The Italian state has
treated people as subjects for too long,"
Salvini expressed confidence a coalition of their parties could deliver a stable government, something that has

ble government, something that has long eluded Italy, insisting it would not take orders from abroad.

"We will win and govern for five years ogether," he said. "Paris and Brussels will have to deal with it."

will have to deal with it."

The rally follows a bad-tempered campaign that could have hardly come at a worse time to for the country, triggered by the premature collapse of Mario Draghi's national unity govern-ment this summer.

ment this summer.
When they vote tomorrow, after one
of the shortest campaigns in the country's history, Italians are expected to
deliver a decisive mandate to a Meloniled rightwing coalition, whose fractious
rivals failed to forge a united front to put up a more effective fight.

But the results, expected on Monday, could surprise: the anti-establishment Five Star Movement, on the verge of col-lapse, has recently clawed back lost ground, vowing to defend its flagship "citizens' incomes" welfare scheme threatened by the right.

Many polisters expect an all-time low voter turnout, reflecting Italians' disil-



Stage shared: from left, Matteo Salvini, Silvio Berluscon and Giorgia Meloni attend a closing rally in Rome before

general election

lusion with the political choices on offer and pessimism over the state of their democracy.

democracy.
"People are disenchanted and angry,"
said Roberto D'Alimonte, a political science professor at Rome's Luiss University. "In the past 15 years, they've seen improved. People are fed up and say, 'Nothing has changed, so why bother

While rising energy bills and living costs are voters' biggest concerns, par-ties have struggled to offer a coherent response to the crisis during the cam paign. Instead, centre-right parties have pledged to stop illegal immigration, cut taxes and defend Italian identity, while several centrist and leftist parties tried to suggest a vote for them was a vote to keep Draghi, although he has ruled out

any return to the premiership.
"The cost of energy is top of mind for everybody, but it's not an issue that cre-ates a division between parties," said Lorenzo Pregliasco of You Trend, a poll-

ster, "Every party says the same but they don't give precise recipes. It's quite difficult to read this campaign through

the lens of issues."
Draghi, a former European Central
Bank president tapped to lead Italy during the pandemic, still held high public
approval ratings and the confidence of
most Italians when his government collapsed in a political crisis in July.

That drama had significant repercus-sions for the dynamics of this election as Enrico Letta, leader of the centre-left Democratic party (PD) and a Draght Democratic party (FD) and a Dragm supporter, scrapped a long-planned alli-ance with Five Star, whose leader, Giuseppe Conte, triggered the series of events that led to the government's fall. Divisions among the centre left have

given a major structural advantage to the rightwing grouping, given that a third of the seats in parliament are won

through first-past-the-post races.

During his campaign, Letta sounded what he called "an alarm for democracy", urging Italians fearful of the implications of a rightwing government to upport the PD as "the only alternative". Carlo Calenda, leader of the small, centrist Azione party, who had agreed to ally with the PD before changing his mind, claimed a vote for his party could also extend Draghi's tenure. "Draghi will be in charge until there is

"Draghi will be in charge until there is another government. If I get 12 per cent [of the vote], nobody is going to win," he said earlier this month. "My proposal will be, there is a stalemate, let's go on with Draghi. It's the only solution."

In her rally on Thursday, Meloni accused the left of trying to whip up fears about the right. "We mounted a campaign trying to describe our vision for the country for the next five years," she said. "The left only talked about us."

Yet the centre-right allies have also sniped at each other as much as at rivals. Meloni told television recently: "[Salvini] sometimes seems more polemical with me than with our opponents." Additional reporting Giuliana Ricozzi Person in the News see Opinion



FINANCIAL TIMES

Germany's toilet paper makers stretched by rising gas costs

Making a two-metre-wide "mother roll" of toilet paper at Germany's Essity plant in Mainz-Kostheim, where the Main river meets the Rhine, uses 700 kilowatt hours of natural gas, enough to heat a home for weeks in the winter.

With energy costs surging and fears of

"The lifeline of industry is energy, and energy costs are not sustainable, com-"The lifeline of industry is energy, and if energy costs are not sustainable, companies and people cannot afford it any more," said Hernik Follmann, chief executive of Follmann Chemie, which supplies chemicals to paper makers.

"At [the current] price level, it will mean an automatic deindustrialisation for Germany," he said, adding that his main factory in Minden had already changed with the work of the property of the proper

Earlier this month, chancellor Olaf Scholz announced a 665bn relief package funded by a windfall tax on electricity producers to soften the blow. It includes one-off payments to help households with energy bills, as well as an extension of the 55bn aid package for energy-intensive companies, first introduced in July. In August, Scholz also announced a cut in value added tax on mounced a rout in value added tax on the scholar s

has already filed for insolvency, blaming soaring energy prices, high pulp prices, transport costs and the strong dollar. By the time Hakle had struck a new price with its retail partners to absorb higher overheads, prices had risen again.

"It pressed us too much and we were losing too much," said Volker Jung. Hakle managing director. "I don't think the wave of insolvencies can be stopped unless weakness and against priced and "I want to a support the property of the prope

had to raise prices and switch to other sources of fuel. Germany's energy crisis has put toilet paper producers under pressure. Some have already gone

under or cut output, and economists fear the broader impact on growth. "From what we hear, this crisis is

"From what we hear, this crisis is likely to be more severe for manufacturing industries than Covid was," said Carsten Rolle, head of energy and climate policy at the BDI business body. The war in Ukraine has led Russia to suspend flows through the Nord Stream 1 pipeline running under the Baltic Sea to the country, one of the main sources of Europe's gas. Since the invasion, prices have soared, sending eurozone inflation to a record high. Fears of rationing abound.

longer economically viable.

A survey by the German Chambers of

lustry ar nd Commerce, the DIHK, in

A survey by the certain chainnes or industry and Commerce, the DIHK, in July found that 16 per cent of the 3,500 companies polled were scaling back production or pausing operations. Reinhold von Eben-Worlée, president of Die Familienunternehmer, an association of German family businesses, said: It is hitting companies of all sizes, from the smallest bakery on the street corner to the bigest companies, like RASE."

The impact of the energy crisis has added to fears that what was once the curozone's economic powerhouse will soon enter a recession. Economists have salsabed their forecasts for Europe's largest economy; Deutsche Bank now predicts it will shrink 3.5 per cent next year.

But those in the paper industry say despite the support, plants will struggle. One of Germany's best-known toilet paper brands, Düsseldorf-based Hakle,



Sanitary products maker Essity is feeling the pinch of high gas prices

Energy costs have risen to the extent that Essity believed it had no alternative but to raise prices for products such as Lotus toilet roll, Libero nappies and Bodyform sanitary towels by as much as 18 per cent. Essity had already secured cheaper prices for 70 per cent of its natural gas and electricity, chief executive Magnus Groth said. It is also rethinking its reliance on natural gas and has per-

Magnus Groth said. It is also rethinking its reliance on natural gas and has permits to adapt its plants to other fuels. In Mainz-Kosthelim, pulp enters a natural gas-guzzling heating cylinder. Early next year, that could run with liquified natural gas from the US and Qatar and new pipes for hydrogen from Mainz will arrive. Even so, the industry fears rationing could force companies to pick which production lines are critical.

24 September/25 September 2022

INTERNATIONAL

Middle East. Protests

Iran's conservative women join hijab backlash

Even the regime's supporters

are questioning the need to enforce strict dress codes

A supporter of the Islamic republic, Fatemeh wears a black chador, Her brother died a martyr's death during the war with Iraq and she is married to one of the elite Revolutionary Guards. Yet, after the death in detention of 22-

Yet, after the death in detention of 22-year-old Mahsa Amini, arrested for allegedly not observing the dress code, Fatemeh, 55, believes women should no longer be forced to wear the hijab. "Amini's death must lead to modifica-

tion of the hijab law. And religious peo-ple like me should only trust in God and hope that women will choose the hijab themselves," said Fatemeh.

With at least 12 dead, this week's demonstrations are the biggest and most violent since the 2019 street protests against rising fuel prices. At least eight protesters died. Am nesty International has reported, half of them "from injuries sustained from security forces

firing metal pellets at close range".

The death of Amini, visiting Tehran as a tourist from the northwestern Kurdish town of Saquez, was a blow to many brought up under the Islamic system. She was arrested by the morality police despite wearing a long black coat and scarf. Authorities say she had a heart attack in detention. Her family claims shows here as the same here are the same than the same here are the same here.

attack in detention. Her family claims he was beaten up by the police.

The authorities have sympathised with Amini's family and promised a full inquiry. They also say the opposition has killed protesters to fam the crisis. The hijah has been a key image of the theocratic state, which after the 1979 slamic revolution made it compulsory for women to cover their hair and body. for women to cover their hair and body. Some Muslims do not want to see the ban overturned but say women should not face violence for refusing to wear the hijab. Others say the circumstances of Amini's death are damaging to Islam. "With Amini's death, the hijab law

will be completely sidelined in prac-tice," said Mohammad-Sadegh Javadi-Hesar, a reformist politician. "Those who didn't believe in hijab are now emboldened to fight against it and those



Grassroots anger: people protest in Tehran after the death of Mahsa Amini, 22, following her arrest by the morality police – Getty Images

who believed in it think its implementation damages Islam and makes the life of women with hijab more difficult."
Ghazal, 45, is religious and her husband's family have links with the regime. "Islam says you can help promote virtue and say it to people only once. If women don't listen, just leave them alone," she said. "Is it good now that the death of this innocent girl has caused everyone to say the worst things about our religion?"

Some deries have also expressed dissatisfaction. Morteza Javadi Amoli, a cleric from an influential family in the holy city of Qon, said this week it was a

holy city of Qom, said this week it was a "strategic mistake to deal with religious nd cultural issues through security and police measures". oumeh, a 58-vear-old housewife

who has been wearing the chador since a teenager, says "everything is falling apart. That's our economy and this is our society." She adds the obligation to wear a hijab should no longer be enforced; her daughter, 20, opposes it. In Tehran and other Iranian cities,

protesters, many of whom look about the same age as Amini, have shown little

fear of security forces. "We will kill any-one who has killed our sister," is one popular slogan. Videos and pictures of the protests in social media show young people face to face with the riot police, throwing stones and chasing soldiers. Others have set fire to state buildings and police vehicles. Women without scarves are shown in front of security

'Is it good that the death of this innocent girl has caused everyone to say the worst things about our religion?'

forces shouting at them, chanting slogans or burning their scarves. Another popular protest slogan is: "Women, life, freedom."

After this week's events, Fatemeh is After this week sevents, ratemen is clear that the Islamic republic should promote Islam only through cultural activities. "Islam is a religion of compas-sion and mercy and would never authorise violence against women. The current approach can put people against each other."

Trump's legal problems pile up in 'terrible week'

STEFANIA PALMA — WASHINGTON JOSHUA CHAFFIN — NEW YORK

Even for an extraordinarily litigious

Even for an extraordinarily Higoperson, one well acquainted with law-suits and courtrooms, this was a mom-entous legal week for Donald Trump. In recent days, the former US presi-dent's definces appeared to crumble in a high-stakes fight with the Department of Justice over his alleged mishandling of classified documents at his Mar-a-

of Justice over his alleged mishandling of classified documents at his Mar-a-Lago estate.

Meamwhile on Wednesday, the New York attorney-general who has been pursuing him for years at last released he fruits of a near three-year investigation. The civil suit filled by Lettita James claimed to be a debunking of the myth of business acumen that is key to the Trump brand. If she prevails, the Trump family business may be in ruins. "She's basically trying to give his business the death penalty." Said Michael Bachner, a former prosecutor who is now a New York defence lawyer.

The US appeals court decision on Wednesday to allow the Doj to continue its inquiry into classified papers setzed by the FBI from the ex-president's Florida estate means Trump again faces the spectre of a probe into possible crimes under the Espionage Act.

David Alan Sklansky, a professor at Stanford Law School, said of the former president." He had a terrible week."

The latest moves have piled pressure on Trumpat at time when he was already facing legal challenges on multiple cronts, from a congressional committee scrutinising his role in the January 6 2021 riots to a grand Jury in Georgie probing potential electoral wrongdoing following the 2020 vote.

They also threaten to slow his momentum with the Republican base ahead for November's middermelections.

entum with the Republican base ahead of November's midterm elections.

of November's midterm elections.
The escalation represents a sharp turnround in Trump's fortunes, Just a few weeks ago, the DoJ faced defeat in the documents probe when a Trump-appointed judge granted his request to appoint a "special master" to review the seized files, which would have delayed the investigation.

However, a panel of three judges at the appeals court, two of them appointed by Trump. wrote the US

the special master's approach showed "Trump is going to be treated like an ordinary litigant". He said: "He's not going to be given special leeway to delay the investigation just because he used to be president."

The DoJ and a lawyer for Trump did

not respond to requests for comment. In February, Trump had reason for

not respond to requests for comment. In February, Trump had reason for relief in his home state of New York, when the two veteran prosecutors at the Manhattan district attorney's office overseeing a criminal investigation into the former president and his family business resigned. But on Wednesday, James issued a forceful reminder that Trump and his empire are still in legal jeopardy, claiming the Trumps had for years enriched themselves by inflating the valuations of their properties to help them secure financing on advantageous terms, and then deflating them for tax purposes. A Trump spokesperson denied the charges, calling the suit "an abhorrent abuse of power" by a Democratic attorney-general.

The New York attorney-general's case will be decided in court. But it could prompt potential lenders and business partners to shy away from the Trump mpire. "Institutions don't generally

'There are difficulties with [the attorney-general's] case, but parts of it are problematic for Trump'

like to lend money to businesses whose livelihood is seriously threatened by governmental lawsuits," said Mark Zauderr, a New York attorney. Valuation cases were often difficult to prove, Bacher noted, but in this case many of the Trumps' claims appeared so outrageous as to be indefensible. Trump, for example, in 2015 valued his penthouse at \$527mn, far more than any Manhattan flat had ever sold for. It was an exaggeration of about \$2500mn,

was an exaggeration of about \$200mn, his chief financial officer admitted under oath. According to James, it was based on a bogus claim that the apart ment was nearly three times its size.

Another problem for Trump is that he voked his fifth amendment right





Come back in a year and tell us if cutting your budget was

would "suffer irreparable harm" if the DoJ were unable to access the files, 103 of which were marked classified. The blows "make it difficult to see how he's going to proceed", said Carl Tobias, a University of Richmond law professor. The former president may challenge the latest ruling with the court's full set of judges. But Tobias argued Wednesday's order and the speed at which it was handed down suggest it is unlikely to be overturned. "It think they're going to

overturned. "I think they're going to defer to those three judges who have already been involved in it," he said.

According to Sklansky, the ruling and



against self-incrimination when questioned. That silence cannot be used against him in a criminal case, but can a civil one such as that filed by James. Prosecutors will claim it implies gulf, and jurors may interpret it as such. "There are difficulties with (the attor-

"There are difficulties with [the attor-ney-generals] case but there are also parts of it that are very problematic for Trump," Bachner concluded. It is unclear how Trump's latest woes will play with voters. Each time he is pursued by the authorities, his support-ers tend to rush to his aide with renewed vigour. But there may also be signs of Trump fatigue: in recent months, fund-raising for one of the biggest political action committees linked to him has all but dried up. While several Trump-backed candi-

dates have won primary elections com-fortably this year, the latest battles may affect Republican candidates in Novem-ber's midterm elections. These are being shaped by voters' pushback against the decision by the US Supreme Court to overturn Roe vs Wade, the 1973 ruling that enshrined the constitutional Additional reporting by James Politi



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INTERNATIONAL

Putin mobilisation brings home stark reality of war in Ukraine to Russians

Many reservists and their families seek to flee country, while activists say conscription has begun

MAX SEDDON — MOSCOW POLINA IVANOVA — BERLIN

After Vladimir Putin ordered the inva-sion of Ukraine in February, Nadezhda urged her son to flee the country, fearful he would be conscripted into the Rus-

sian army.

He ignored her advice. Now, days He ignored her advice. Now, days after the Russian president announced a "partial" mobilisation to add as many as 300,000 men to the military, he is desperately seeking a way out over the border to avoid fighting against his cousin, who serves in Ukraine's armed forces. "This is a war of brother against brother. My son is supposed togo to war against my nephew," said Nadezhda, 64, whose full name the Financial Time shas chosen not to disclose. "It just looks like they're going to pick everyone up. Everyone will get snatched off the street."
Puttin's decision to bolster Russia's

off the street."
Putin's decision to bolster Russia's army with its reserves has brought the war close to home for people such as Nadezhda's son, who had largely managed to carry on living as before for the first six months of the war.

first six months of the war.

The PT spoke to eight people who had been called up to the Russian army, feared they soon would be, or had close relatives who faced conscription. Their names are partially or fully withheld because they face up to 15 years in prison for spreading "fake news" about the military.

In interviews, they painted a picture of a population fearful of being used as cannon fodder — and possibly facing a broader draft than Putin announced.

The mobilisation announcement on

The mobilisation announcement on Mednesday prompted widespread panic among Russia's population and sporadic protests across the country. It shattered an unspoken social con tract in which the public tacitly sup ported the invasion, branded a "specia military operation" by Putin, as long as the fighting stayed far from daily life.

"Everyone is very scared now," said Danil, 22. "If you could find a way to ignore it before, now there's no way."

Flights out of many major Russian cit-ies for the coming days sold out fast and long queues of cars have appeared at land borders. Human rights lawyers reported thousands of requests for help from people who fear being called up. Though the Kremlin insists the mobi-

lisation is "partial" — limited to those who have served in the armed forces before and have combat experience — analysts and lawyers say the text of the decree has been left vague so authorities can scale up the recruitment drive.

"Mobilisation is called 'partial', but no parameters of this partiality, neither geographical nor in terms of criteria, are specified," Ekaterina Schulmann, a Rusan political scientist, wrote on social edia. "According to this text, anyone can be drafted, except for workers of the

military-industrial complex."

One paragraph of the decree was One paragraph of the decree was redacted, the numbered list of rulings skipping from point six to eight. The hidden ruling, the Kremlin's spokesman later explained, referred to the total number of Russians that could be con-scripted. This information, he said, could not be disclosed, though he repeated the 500,000 figure.



Moscow police detain a man protesting against the partial mobilisation announced by Vladimir Putin Russia wait at checkpoint at Finland, on

larly Russia's more remote and poorer regions, military authorities have started conscripting men of fighting age regardless of their background, according to activists and direct witnes

you have, whether you have comba experience or whether you served in the army or not. Conscription notices are being handed out to everyone," said one woman in the far eastern province of Buryatia, a region with a large ethnic minority population that has already suffered significant losses in the war. Her husband, a father of five with no

military experience, received a phone call on Wednesday evening, hours after mobilisation was announced, saying officials were coming to hand him his conscription papers. In another recorded call, which the FT was able to

instructions: he was to come to a meet-ing point by 4am that night, and by 2pm would be on a train to a military base. The couple switched off their phones

and left the city. But they soon found themselves running out of options. Con-scription officers had already come looking for them and checked for them inside their house, friends said, Their home village was not safe either: rela-tives warned them that men had been rounded up there that night. They thought of trying to leave Russia

by driving from Buryatia to Mongolia but feared they were too late. Friends in the long queue of cars told her conscription officers had begun working the line. "It seems crossing the border is no

tion others had begun working the inc' "It seems crossing the border is no longer an option for us," she said. As she spoke, army trucks with the word "people" painted on the side — used to transport recruits — sped past their car. "It's going to be very hard to hide," she said. On the Telegram messenger app, lens of thousands of people have joined mutual support groups, sharing tips about the situation on the land borders and whether border police were letting men of fightling age leave. According to Russian law, once mobilisation has begun, men on the military roll are not allowed to leave their area of residence, let alone the country. But, off, this has not been clearly enforced. Videos began to circulate on social media on "Thursday showing scenes from across Russia of young and middle-aged men bidding farewell to their families and boarding conscription buses.

More than 1,000 people were detained at protests that took place in several Russian cities on Wednesday evening. On Moscow's Arbat street, protechanted for Putin to go to the trenche himself, before police violently dis-persed them. At least 1,386 people were arrested at protests in 38 cities, said

This is the

last dying

breath of

collapses,

the final

death

as it

the system

arrested at protests in 38 cities, said OVD-Info, an independent monitor. "This is the last dying breath of the system as it collapses, the final death threes. It's trying to show that it's still in control, but this is an illusion," said Egor,

a 38-year-old protester. In addition to the sentences of up to 15 years in prison protesters face for "dis-crediting the Russian armed forces", some were handed draft notices by police after their arrest, OVD-Info said

Dmitry Peskov, Putin's spokesman said reports of Russians fleeing the country en masse to avoid the draft were "very much exaggerated". Peskov said

police were within their rights to hand people draft notices at police stations. Vladimir Tsmilyansky, a spokesman for Russia's general staff, said 10,000 people had come to recruitment offices without a summons on Thursday, Russia's priority was to call up men with experience using rifles, tanks and artil-lery, as well as drivers and mechanics,

This were as utivers and mechanics, Tsmilyansky said.

Those on the list of reserve forces are the most at risk for conscription. In the Siberian city of Irkutsk, one reservist told the FT he had been called up for training pre-emptively, four days before mobilisation was even announced.

Moscow polls

'Referendum show' treated with scorn in occupied east and south

Voting began yesterday in four prov-inces in southern and eastern Ukraine in hastily convened referendums on whether to join Russia, to the delight of pro-Moscow officials and the disgust of those residents whose allegiance still lies with Ukraine.

For the Russian-installed officials man

For the Russian-installed officials marshalling the vote, the event is a milestone in the Kremlin's invasion of the country launched seven months ago—even though none of the Donetsk, Luhansk, Zaporizhzhia and Kherson regions are under their full control.

"This is a historic event where we can express our free will and make a choice that will benefit not just us but also our children and grandchildren, choosing a happy and bright future, which absolutely must tie us to the Russian Federation," said Alexander Saulenko, the Russia appointed head of the port city of

tion," said Alexander Saulenko, the Russia-appointed head of the port city of
Berdyansk in the Zaporizhzhia region.
But for many living under Russian
occupation, the vote is about as far as
possible from an expression of free will.
Faullshit. Everyone knows it. Everyone
understands it. The result is predicted,"
said a logistics entrepreneur who fled
Berdyansk this month.
"I have no information on how the
referendum will be conducted and I
don't think even the local [occupation]

referendum will be conducted and I don't think even the local [occupation] administration does," said a man from the southern city of Kherson. "This instruction has come from Moscow. It will be a propaganda show." Like other residents of occupied

regions contacted for this article, they declined to give their name for fear of possible reprisals.

as a fig leaf that allows Russia to in effect as a ng lear that anows kussato in leneral annex large parts of southern and east-ern Ukraine. Moscow also hopes the move will put an end to its battlefield reversals by deterring Ukraine from

counteroffensives. "Russia can't give up people close to her to be torn apart by executioners and fail to respond to their desire to deter-mine their own fate," President Vladimir Putin said on Wednesday after

the referendums were announced.

Ukraine has vowed to continue its fight to retake the territories in the face

of Russian threats to retaliate. With the vote under Russia's com-

of Russan threats to retailate. With the vote under Russia's complete control, the result is a foregone conclusion. "Next week, four regions will join Russia," Olga Skabeyeva, host of acurrent affairs programme on state-owned television, said on Wednesday. Occupation authorities are now pulling out the stops to ensure a good turnout. In Donetsk and Luhansk, ballot boxes will be brought to housing bloes for the first four days and open in poling stations only on the last. In Kherson, there will be a mix of online and in-person voting, although residents who spoke to the Financial Times had no information on how to take part. Evgeny Balltsky, the Russia-appointed head of Zaportzhzhia province, said police would be going from house to house to 'invite" people to vote. Additional reporting by Polina tvanowa and Veronika Samborska

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Pakistan needs debt relief to deal with flood crisis, says UN

Pakistan should seek to suspend inter-national debt repayments and restruc-ture loans after devastating floods trig-gered a humanitarian emergency and imperilled the country's finances, a UN policy memorandum has argued.

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policy memorandum has argue, d.U.
The draft paper from the UN Development Programme, seen by the Financial
Times, proposes that Pakistan negotiate
debt relief with creditors to "stem the
climate change fuelled crisis."
Pakistan's largest creditors include
Chinese lenders, to whom Islamabad
owes more than \$50bn accumulated
through Beijing's Belt and Road Initiative, along with countries such as Japan
and France, the World Bank and commercial bondholders.

The memorandum, which the UNDP
was due to share with Pakistan's government by the end of this week, argues
creditors should consider debt relief so
Islamabad can prioritise financing its
disaster response over repayingloans.
Pakistan's payments could be "suspended at the earliest to free up fiscal
space for urgent disaster response and

recovery, social protection and develop-ment needs", the draft says.

It also proposes some restructuring or debt swaps, whereby creditors would forgo repayments in return for Pakistan agreeing to invest in climate change-resilient infrastructure.

Pakistan, whose external debts total about \$100bn, was struggling to repay loans even before the unprecedented flooding. The country, which has been particularly hard hit by the global surge in commodity prices, received a \$1.1bn bailout from the IMF last month.

The disaster has amplified the chal-lenges, affecting more than 30mn peo-ple and causing an estimated \$30bn in damage.

The UNDP memo argues Islamabad

"to austainable level".
Sakib Sherani, head of research firm
Macro Economic Insights in Islamabad,
said it would be in Beijing's self-interest
to assist Pakistan. "When a particular
debtor is not in a position to pay, then
sometimes it makes sense for the
lender . . . to go softer for a while."

Sri Lanka kicks off talks with creditors over IMF bailout

Sri Lanka has begun debt negotiations with its bilateral and private creditors, saying it aims to make enough progress in talks to unlock a \$2.9bn IMF loan by the end of this year.

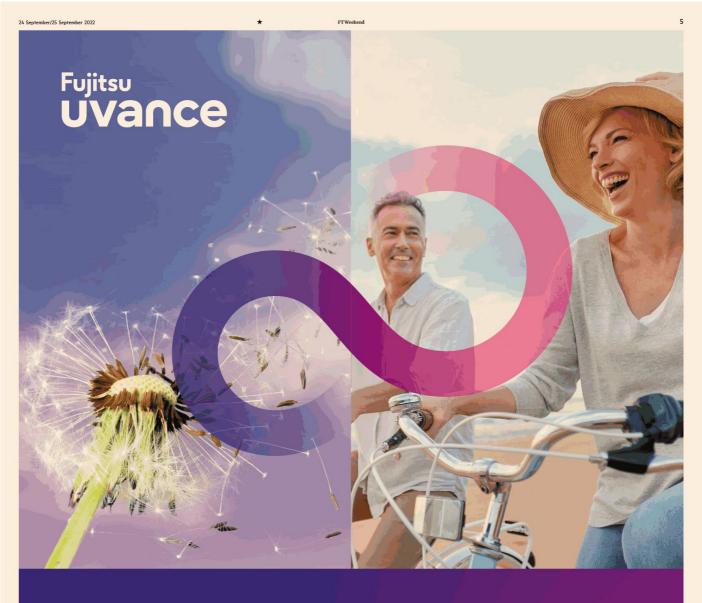
In a presentation to creditors yesterday, strianka's finance ministry and central bank said they hoped to receive final approval for an InMF loan by mid-pecember. They said Sri Lanka's flank awould then aim to complete a restructuring agreement with other creditors by the middle of next year. The timeline was unveiled as the island of 22mn people battles its worst conomic crisis indecades. Sri Lanka, which in May became the first nation in the Asia-Pacific region to default in more than two decades, received preliminary approval for the IMF bailout programme this month. President Ranil Wickremesinghe's government now needs to make progress in debt relief talks with other creditors, which include private bondholders as well as countries such as China, Japan and India.

Under IMF rules, Sri Lanka must

Under IMF rules, Sri Lanka must demonstrate financing assurances from bilateral creditors and 'good faith' talks with private creditors before the fund can finalise the ballout. Analysts do not expect regotiations to be easy. Among other things, they will require a degree of co-operation between arch-irval creditors such as China and India, both of which compete ferceby for geopolitical influence on the island. With sovereign debt distress

fiercely for geopolitical influence on the island.

With sovereign debt distress spreading, exacerbated by high inflation and solwing growth, investors and policymakers globally have taken a keen interest in Sri Lanka smbitions. In their presentation, the Sri Lankan authorities urged bilateral creditors to form an ad hoc "platform", or committee, in order to streamline negotiations and "increase trust and build an environment for constructive discussions". Sri Lanka's foreign debts total about \$50bn, according to the presentation, with the largest portion owed to private bondholders at almost \$20bn. Sri Lanka owes more than \$7bn to China, and smaller sums to Japan and India.



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FT BIG READ. ECONOMICS

With sharp rises in interest rates and currency interventions, central banks around the world are struggling to bring inflation under control, whatever the cost. But have they gone too far, too fast? By Chris Giles and Valentina Romei

The escalating fight against inflation

ith their bills sharpened and talons on display, the world's central banks fully adopted the posture of the hawk this week. Backed by sharp rises in interest rates and currency intervention, they have used pointed language to advertise their singular aim of defeating the scourge of inflation. In one of the most sudden shifts in global economic policymaking in deades, central bankers say they have had enough of rapid price rises and insist they are prepared to act to restore price stability, almost at any cost.

But after a week of dramatic announcements from central banks around the world, at least some economists are beginning to ask — are they

around the world, at least some econo-mists are beginning to ask — are they going too far, too fast? The US Federal Reserve has been by

far the most important actor in this shift of temperament. On Wednesday, it raised its main interest rate by 0.75 percentage points to a range between 3 and 3.25 per cent. At the start of the year, this rate had been close to zero.

this rate had been close to zero.

The Fed signalled that this was far from the end of its monetary policy tightening, with members of its interest rate-setting committee predicting rates would end 2022 between 4.25 and 4.5 per cent – the highest since the 2008-09 financial crisis.

In the summer, Fed chair Jay Powell In the summer, Fed chair Jay Powell talked about higher borrowing costs ending with a "soft landing" for the economy without a recession and a gentle glide down in inflation rates. On Wednesday, he admitted that was unlikely. "We have got to get inflation behind us. I wish there were a painless way to do that," Powell said.

The Fed's plan to curtail consumer

1:25

and business spending in a bid to reduce domestic inflation has been replicated elsewhere, even if the

policy

'Monetary

bility. "On balance they feel . . . that is a risk they have to take."

An added complication is the models that central banks use — which did not foresee such rapid price rises as the pandemic cased and the war in Uranine began — are no longer working well in describing economic events.

Ellie Henderson, economist at Investee, worries that "the usual tools and models, which would typically guide such [central bank] analysis, can no longer be relied upon as they are now operating in parameters outside ranges of which they were estimated."

In this uncharted world, Jennifer McKeown, head of global economics at Capital Economics, believes it is difficult to argue that central banks are going toofar.

"while this is the most aggressive."

"while this is the most aggressive tightening cycle for many years, it is also true that inflation is higher than it has been for decades," she says. "Inflation expectations have risen and labour markets are tight, ocentral banks are rightly concerned about the potential for second-round effects from energy prices to wages and underlying inflation."

But an increasing number of econo mists, led by some big names such as Maurice Obstfeld, former chief econo-



mist of the IMF, think central banks are now being excessive in their actions to raise interest rates and that the effect of all this tightening will be a global recession. The World Bank also expressed similar concerns this week.

Antoine Bouvet, an economist at ING, says that "central banks have lost faith in their ability to forecast inflation accurately", which has led them to focus more on today's actual rates of inflation.

"Combine this with the fact that they seem to think that the cost of overshoot-ing in their policy tightening is lower than undershooting and you have a rec-



causes of mgn innation are different. In Europe, the extraordinary prices of natural gas have sent headline rates of inflation to similar levels as in the US, but core inflation is significantly lower. In emerging economies, declining cur rency values against the US dollar, which hit a 20-year high this week, have

driven import prices higher. The Swedish Riksbank kicked off the copycat action on Tuesday with a 1 per-centage point increase in its interest rate to 1.75 per cent, its biggest interest rate rise in three decades.

Switzerland, Saudi Arabia and the UAE also announced a 0.75 percentage point increase each, which for Switzerland meant ending the period of nega-tive rates that started in 2015. The Bank of England on Thursday raised its main rate by 0.5 percentage points to 2.25 per cent, the highest since the financial cri-sis, with a near promise of further rate

sis, with a near promise of turtner rate rises to come. Even in Japan, which has long adopted negative interest rates, the authorities felt the need to act to tame inflation. Its finance ministry intervened in currency markets to prop up the yen on Thursday

WOLKS MITH pusning the country's underlying inha-tion rate to a highly unusual 2.8 per cent a lag, [so] rate in August. Economists at Deutsche Bank noted the risk is

that the Fed will notice belatedly that it has

gone too far if it now raises rates well beyond 4 per cent'

that for every one central bank around that world that is currently cutting inter-est rates, there are now 25 banks that are raising rates — a ratio that is way above normal levels and has not been seen since the late 1990s, when many central banks were given independence to set monetary policy. Nathan Sheets, global head of interna-

tional economics at Citi and a former US tional economics at Citl and a former US
Treasury official, says central banks are
"moving so rapidly that as they put
these rate hikes in place, there really
hasn't been enough time for them to
judge what the feedback effects are on
the economy."
Central bankers have been reluctant
to admit that wande arrose in keening

to admit they made errors in keeping interest rates too low for too long, pointinterest rates too low for too long, point-ing out that these assessments are much easier to make with the benefit of hind-sight than in real time. But they now want to take action to demonstrate that even if they were tardy in beginning to take action against

Powen was crear that the US central bank would not fail on the job. "We will keep at it until we're confident the job is done," he said on Wednesday. Sweden's Riksbank was characteristically blunt in its assessment. "Inflation is too high," it said. "Monetary policy now needs to be tightened further to bring inflation back

to the target. to the target.

The new stance on monetary policy has been developing through 2022 as the inflation problem became more persistent and difficult for central bankers. By the time many gathered at Jackson Hole in August for their premier annual conference, the mood had shifted decivable towards the merater action that is

conference, the mood had shifted deci-sively towards the greater action that now being played out around the world. Christian Keller, head of economics research at Barclays Investment Bank, says that "since Jackson Hole, central bankers have decided that they want to err on the side of hawkishness". "For the first time in perhaps decade they have become afraid of losing con-trol of the [inflation] process," says Kel-er, highlighting how central bankers now say they want to avoid the mistakes of the 1970s. Central banks "are taking

With the new attitude, markets are pricing that by June next year policy rates will rise to 4.6 per cent in the US, 2.9 per cent in the eurozone and 5.3 per cent in the UK — projections that are between 1.5 and 2 percentage points higher than at the start of August.

By raising interest rates, central bank-ers are not seeking to lower the peak rates of inflation that have been caused outside the US by soaring gas and food prices, but they are aiming to ensure inflation does not stick at a rate that is uncomfortably higher than their taruncomfortably higher than their tar-gets. This could happen if companies and employees begin to expect higher inflation, leading to price rises and demands for higher wages. They are willing to ensure that there is

pain in terms of an economic downturn to demonstrate their credibility in hit-ting their inflation targets. Sheets says that, having misread

inflation last year, central banks would rather overdo it now. They are balanc-ing the prospects of a recession against the risk of a sustained inflationary epi-sode that would undermine their credi-

ipe for over-ugitiening, ne expiains. 1 would characterise this policy choice as almost overshooting by design."

According to Holger Schmieding, chief economist at investment bank Kuroda, above. 'We have got to get inflation behind us,' says

chief economist at investment bank Berenberg, "monetary policy works with a lag, [so] the risk is that the Fed will notice only belatedly that it has gone too far if it now raises rates well beyond 4 per cent", resulting in unnec-essarily long and deep recessions.

essarily long and deep recessions, on one really knows what is too far and not far enough in this environment. Central banks therefore want to ensure they eradicate inflation, allowing them to correct course and lower interest rates

later if necessary.

Krishna Guha, vice-chair at Evercore
ISI, says there is a "serious risk" that

ISI, says there is a "serious risk" that central banks are overdoing the tightening, but he contends the Fed is right to err in the direction of doing too much.

"At the global level, as well as at the US level, it is probably better to overdo it han underdo it and risk a 1970s redux," says Guha. "But that of course only makes the outcome of overdoing it more likely."

Obituary

A garlanded novelist who understood her craft

Hilary Mantel

"Writing", Hilary Mantel told me in an interview at the end of 2020, "is the arena of penil." The author, who has died at the age of 70, wrote 17 books with style and vast imagination. She had a knack for the intricacies of the human psyche and spun life and closeness into historical fiction.

Her 12th book, Wolf Hall, the first in her Thomas Cromwell trilogy, catapulted her to unquestionable fame. She was in her late fifties when it won her the Booker Prize in 2009. The second Booker would arrive with her follow-up, Bring up the Bodies. The Mirror and the Light, published in 2020, brought her that rare book-world fanfare, queues lining the streets.

She was a brilliant novelist, short story writer and critic, one who understood closely her own sense of craft. She knew the necessity of practice and routine, while never denying the elusive magic that snakes its way through. As a person, she was decent, generous, sly, honest. She read contemporary fiction by younger writers with interest, paid attention to the news cycle.

Mantel was born in Glossop, Derbyshire, and grew up in Hadfield, a small town near Manchester, then Cheshire,

where she attended a convent school. She was brought up by her mother and stepfather (whose surname she took). She transferred from the LSE to the University of Sheffield to study law, where she met her husband Gerald McEwan (who she married twice). "The story of my own childhood is a complicated sentence that I am always trying to finish, to finish and put behind me", she wrote in her 2005 memoir Giving up the Ghost. In that bracing yet playful book, she describes the beginning of a life-long struggle with endometriosis that began as a teenager and remained undlagnosed until her late twenties, when searching through a textbook she recognised her illness on the page. Her university doctor had sent her to a mental health clinic, convinced she was imaging her symptoms. When he caught her writing, he decided her stories were dark evidence of madness and told her to stop. Mantel has campaigned to raise awareness and research for the disease. Gerald's job as a geologist led them to Botswana in the 1970s for five years and Saudl Arabia as "an intensely lonely kind of life. My mind often goes back there." Gerald gave up his job to work for

Mantel. In 2010, they bought a flat in

Mantel. In 2010, they bought a flat in Budleigh Salterton, Devon, where they have lived and worked ever since, Mantel setting off up the hill to her office every day, keeping her writing and living neatly separated.

Mantel was president of the literary festival there, and recently auctioned her desk for more than 44,000 to provide funds for its literacy outreach work. But they had plans to move to Ireland — "Brexit is making me very unhappy", she told me in 2020. "I think it would actually break my heart to leave here. But there are considerations that make me uncomfortable in England now."

A recurring theme in her writing was death, or alternatively, how the dead survive the allevieness of the past, what is forgotten and what returns. Her 2005 novel Beyond Black, about a medium called Alison, "was all about how can the dead speak."

A penetrating and funny critic, she and published pieces in the London

dead speak?"

A penetrating and funny critic, she had published pieces in the London Review of Books since 1987. She received a damehood in 2015 but has been outspoken about the monarchy. A lecture she gave at the British Museum in 2013 made the front pages of national



Powell

She knew the necessity of practice and routine, while never denying the elusive magic that snakes its way through a story

newspapers, when she described Kate Middleton as a "shop-window mannedum". The (shrewd) criticism of the monarchy, and what is expected of women in the public eye, was twisted into a personal attack. A short story about the imagined assassination of Margaret Thather, 20 years in the writing, courted controversy too. A gracious, wise writer, but a cheeky one too, she saw through authority, whether it was the Catholic church, the monarchy or the Conservative party.

Meeting writers can be a disappointment, but Mantel was everything you wanted her to be. Her first and only agent, Bill Hamilton, said: "We will miss her immeasurably, but as a shining light for writers and readers she leaves an extraordinary legacy,"

Mantle believed in things beyond our understanding and had an openness to possibilities. In a recent Q&A with the FT, she was asked if she believed in the first in a recent Q&A with the FT, she was asked if she believed in the interest in the property of the control of the property o

24 September/25 September 2022

The IPCC have declared a climate change code red for humanity.

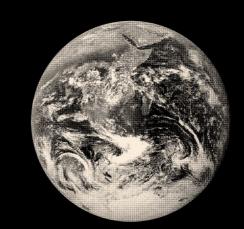
Corporate climate action has potential, but it's currently voluntary... and failing.

The very people giving the seal of approval to business climate action - like the Science Based Targets initiative (SBTi) are allowing companies to write their own questionable rules, without checking whether those rules are even being followed.









FASHION WEEK SHOWS

Inflation hits the catwalk





In Milan, Prada hints at a shift to stealth luxury while Moschino opts for air-filled inflatable collars

Prada has had a remarkable turnround over the past three years, which it owes partly to Raf Simons, the former Calvin Klein designer it hired as co-creative Klein designer it hired as co-creative director on the eve of the pandemic – as well as to an improved digital communications strategy. Sales were up 22 per cent year-on-year to £1.9hn in the first half of 2022, exceeding expectations. Can pread skep the magic going? Its latest show in Milan, titled "Touch of Crude", suggests that it can: the designers lined the walls of their showspace at the Prada Fondazione in black craft the Prada Fondazione in black craft.

paper punctured with windows, behind which moved luridly lit images of interiors shot by Nicolas Winding Refn, director of the 2011 film Drive.

Adding to the eeriness were the clothes themselves: wool boiler suits in industrial grey, some topped with boxy coats or blazers, and graphite- and bark-coloured knit jumpers and pencil skirts exposed, and thigh-high slits were ripped into the fabric rather than cut and sewn. In their show notes, Simons and Prada said they wanted to reflect "a sense of the hand, a touch of the crude, a rawness that evokes fragility." Playing on the other definition of "crude" were pastel jumpers and long, narrow skirts sheer enough to show the models' underwear beneath — but in a season of so much exposed skin, they looked relatively demure. Industry watchers look to Prada per-Industry watchers look to Prada per-

Industry watchers look to Prada per-haps more than any other show to see where fashion is heading next, and this collection hinted at a shift to a quieter luxury — subtler and less decorative.
Colours were similarly muted at
Tod's, where designer Walter Chiapponi

mixed svelte brown suede dresses and aubergine-coloured leather coats with sporty canvas jackets and khaki trou sers. The brand has continued to under perform in spite of Chiapponi's aesthetic reboot, which has established the brand in ready-to-wear and ushered in new handbag and shoe styles, many stamped with a gold "T". Earlier this week, Italian market watchdog Consob approved founder Diego Della Valle's bid to take the group private where, one hopes, its fortunes will improve. At Gucci, financial analysts have been

waiting for the magic to stop for years Its ascent under creative director Ales-sandro Michele and chief executive Marco Bizzarri was so steep and swift — sales last year hit €9.73bn from €3.5bn aking it one of the sector's est-grossing brands — that a









Prada's subtle luxury; a look from Moschino's inflation-inspired collection; muted colours at Tod's

Left: identical twins in Gucci's new collection

was not immediately clear. Models walked out in looks that drew from east and west, high fashion and folkloric costume: tailored skirt sufts cut from a print of wrenches and missiles, red sequin pyjamas and cheongsam dresses, prairie skirts and platform wooden clogs, paisley-print flares and woollen blazers. Social-media catnip in the form of gremlin dolls were tucked into and latched to handbags; one was worked into a sapphire blue evening dress.

The connection with twins became clear midway, when the show's photographic backdrop was cranked up to the ceiling, revealing that an identical show —shown on identical twin models—had been taking place on the other side. The models then took another lap for both audiences, this time hand-in-hand. Twins, Michele wrote, "are well aware

audiences, this time hand-in-hand.
Twins, Michele wrote, "are well aware
of not being at the centre of the universe", and that twinship shows us "the
sense of co-belonging and sisterhood
that should guide our trip through this
planet". At a time of war and political division, Michele appeared to want to remind the audience that we as humans are thoroughly alike, sharing, in his

words, a "common creatural destiny". In recent years critics and audiences have come to expect designers to weave big statements into their collections -

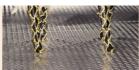
big statements into their conections— the overturning of Roe vs Wade and the war in Ukraine being recent examples. Jeremy Scott took up that challenge head-on. "Everyone has been talking about inflation—housing, food, gas," the American designer observed before his show for the Italian label Moschino. "So I brought inflation to the runway!"

It was a thoroughly camp take: air was pumped into inflatable collars, lapels, pockets and boots; the peplum of a trim rubber-duck-yellow sheath dress was moulded into the shape of an inflatable ring, floor-length evening dresses were stacked with colourful pool floaties. Topping these confections were hats in the shape of life preservers courtesy of the milliner Stephen Jones.

It was a fun, and funny, subversion of the cultural heft fashion designers are now expected to wield. Scott believes sharply creased at the elbows and hips as if they had been worn for weeks. Swaths of paper-like fabric trailed dresses and blazers, and moto-style jackets and pencil skirts were cut from distressed black leather.

The most memorable pieces were the heets of dyed silk tacked on to dresses - the bleeding edges of the dye were left

The fact that it hasn't fallen is largely due to good marketing and a seemingly endless arsenal of ideas from Michele. His Milan show delivered again. Calling it "Twinsburg", he wrote in his notes about having "two mothers" - his mother is a twin, and instilled in him an "eternal fascination for the double What that had to do with the collection





simply that his role is to spark optimism and joy. "I think myself and a lot of other people feel we're drowning in negativity and delusion [right now]," he said. Is he worried about inflation affecting

his business? "A little," Scott replied. "It makes everything hard for everyone."

Lauren Indvik is the FT's fashion editor

once found his rainbow-sequinned and feathered dresses too daring could easily find something to wear here.

While some were more pared-back in their approach, Erdem Moralioğlu went

London Fashion Week – keeping calm, carrying on and getting creative

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The Queen's state funeral didn't stop British designers delivering one of the best seasons in recent memory. Lauren Indvik reports

In the 24 hours after Queen Elizabeth
Il passed away, it looked as though
London Fashion Week would not go
ahead. Burberry announced that it
would pull its Saturday show (now
rescheduled for September 26),
followed by Raf Simons. Dinners and
parties were called off.
In the end, shows that overlapped
with Monday's state funeral were
moved or scrapped, but most designers
stayed the course — "After two-and-ahl years of covid, we couldn't afford
not to," said designers acknowledged the
Queen's passing by dedicating their
collections to her, commencing with a
moment of silence — or, in the case of
Richard Quim, sending out 22 black
looks with film montages of the late
monarch as a backdrop.
It was good that they did carry on,
because it was a standout season. In
spite of soaring inflation and the
setbacks of the past two-and-a-half
years, designers delivered strong
collections that hald the foundations for
future business growth.
Having made a name in womenswest

years, designers derivered strong collections that laid the foundations for future business growth. Having made a name in womenswear with her darkly romantic clothes and reasonably priced accessories, Simone Rocha debuted her first full menswear collection. She fused feminine with utilitarian, softening a black nylon bomber jacket with full blouson sleeves over a frilly white skirt; embroidering a white shirt with pilnt camoniale flowers. It was a display, Rocha said backstage, of "trying to harness all of the emotions of the last two years". The customer for gender-fluid men's clothing is niche stoken to take it up, her female clients certainly will. Women have already been shopping from Steven Stokey Daley's two-year-old menswear label SS Daley. The designer, whose brand is steeped in the lesters that aristocratic author vita Sackville-West and her childhood the letters that aristocratic author Vita Sackville-West and her childhood friend Violet Trefusis sent each other during their lengthy, tumultuous love affair, and so he peppered his show with a wider range of women's looks. Artificial turf with white flowers

called to mind Sackville-West's garden at Sissinghurst, and models walked in what Daley calls "chic gardening gear": a striped seersucker suit stencilled with

bluebells, botanical-print shirts layered oueceus, ootamcar-print shirts rayered over canwas trousers and shorts, and a full-sleeved blouse under an apron-like black dress. These were fitted on a range of bodies, including larger men—while the women's catwalks have become more size-inclusive, the same has not happened on the men's, and this was a welcome stem forward.

become more size-inclusive, the same has not happened on the men's, and was a welcome step forward.

Daley is the most recent recipient of the LVMH Pirze for young designers, and the superior fabrics and finishes of this collection are one good outcome of the €300,000 prize money. Another is the "quadruple" surge in interest from buyers wanting to place orders.

Designers Emma Chopova and Laura Lowena, who already have a considerable industry following, made their catwalk debut with a fun, edectic—if not universally flattering—mishmash of cartoon-drawn shirts, leather-belted kilts, tinsel vests and ruffled arty dresess. Nensi bojaka, who won the LVMH Pirze in 2021, has been carefully plotting the growth of her nascent brand, adding to her signature black bra-top dresses and suits slinky dresses in plink and lilac, spliced denim and two styles of shoes.

In the early stages of the pandemic, most designers had to prune back their collections, homing in on reliable bestsellers. Now experimentation is again in the air. There was a wonderful simplicity to the lightweight dresses and softly draped cotton skirts that Molgodard showcased—a departure from the bright, voluminous tille confections he is known for.

Halpern presented seleck cocktal dresses in black and leopard-print

Halpern presented sleek cocktail fresses in black and leopard-print relvet and sinuous, semi-sheer tulle fresses. A customer who might have

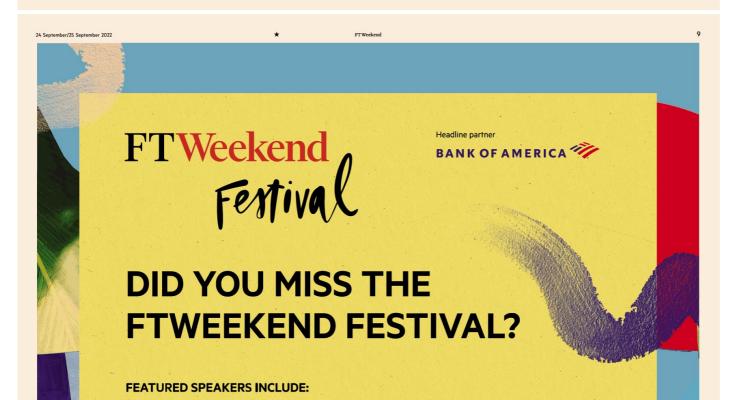
in the opposite direction. He and his team spent time observing art restorers at museums, including London's V&A and the National Gallery, and he showcased clothes that were sumptious in their excess of fabric and decorative detail. There was a floor-grazing trench coat cut from 20 metres of chartreuse cotton faille and embroidered in an 18th-century floral design, dresses cut from fringe cloth digitally printed to look like shredded paintings, and beaded flapper dresses shrouded in olok like shredded paintings, and beaded flapper dresses shrouded in organza as if pulled from storage at the V&A. These were not clothes for selling in shops, but collectors' items. In contrast, Korean designer Rejina Pyo's muted, softly tailored suits were just right for the professional women who are her customers, but her high-slit and buttoned dresses and skirts were too sheer and strained uncomfortably on the models.

Christopher Kane was back for the first time since the pandemic and his show at the Roundhouse theatre in Canden was a reminder of his immense talent. His clothes are conversation starters. Using Roe ws Wade as a starting point, he drew on female anatomy and medical illustration, incorporating anatomical drawings of arms and legs on silk evening dresses. Ite took the theme further by highlighting in silver glitter the breasts on a semi-sheer black vinyl dress, and designing clear plastic bodices whose bands echoed the shape of the models' lungs underneath, it was, he said, a "brutal beauty".

It has been 10 months since Virgil Abloh died and Louis Vuitton has yet to announce his replacement as artistic director for menswear. Louis Vuitton Louis Mitton of the Cook of the models' lungs underneath, it was, he said, a "brutal beauty".

Jonathan Anderson's show held at a Soho video arcade. Anderson, creative director at LYMH-owned Loewe, has been grappling with questions around our relationship with digital technology, as well as the meeting of 'fake and natural'. And so he printed stock photos of dolphins and palm trees on to bodysuits, and strung keyboard letters stamped with his initials on slim, sporty dresses of crinkled slik. There were also one-shouldered dresses that looked as if they had been fashioned from a plastic bag carrying a goldfish, and a sculpted steel minidress shaped like the back of Apple's candy-coloured iMacs from the early 2000s. It was food for thought in a week of resilience and renewed creativity. renewed creativity.







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The FT View



FINANCIAL TIMES

The Truss government's big economic wager

Chancellor Kwarteng's fiscal statement has set economy down a hazardous path

So much for a "mini-budget". Barely two So much for a "mini-budget". Barely two weeks into his new job as UK chancellor, Kwasi Kwarteng announced the biggest tax cuts in half a century. This will be atx-cutting, regulation-slashing and energy-subsiding government on a historic scale – funded by borrowing and the hope of future economic growth. Fiscal discipline will take second plact to stoking the economy. With growth sluggish since the 2008 financial crisis and inflation near 40-year highs, Brit-ain's economic model needs a revamp. Yet this opening salvo in "Trussonomics" represents a hefty political and economic gamble.

True, the growth plan was pro-busi-

nomic gamble.

True, the growth plan was pro-business, offering up lower taxes, improved
investment reliefs and reduced red tape.
The Liz Truss government aims to build

on Britain's strengths in financial services and accelerate infrastructure development, and acknowledges the importance of simplifying the tax system. Striving for higher growth is a good thing, But relying entirely on achieving such growth to fix the hole in public finances that the overall economic strategy will create carries huge risks.

Some fiscal easing was necessary to tackle the cost of living crisis, but the chancellor's splurge borders on the spendthrift. Britain's economy is fragile. Debt as a percentage of economic output is at its highest since the early 1960s. Upward pressures on borrowing costs are worrying: the Bank of England this week signalled further interest rate rises — partly in anticipation of higher borrowing—and will sell glist, via its quantitative tightening programme. The £45hn of newly announced tax cuts, alongside the package already unveiled to help consumers and businesses with best on an unsustainable with early menustrativable eventure with debt on an unsustainable soaring energy costs, will leave the country with debt on an unsustainable

path. Rigidly sticking to fiscal orthodoxies in a crisis is not always wise, but boldness must be balanced with the boldness must be balanced with the meed to maintain confidence in the UK's economic credibility, sterling has been tumbling, auguring more imported inflation. It fell again, to a 57-year low against the dollar of below \$1.09, foll; yields jumped too. Plugging Britain's record current account defict also relies on international financiers buying British seast or lending tilt Presenting such a assets or lending to it. Presenting such a radical plan without independent fore-casts from the Office for Budget Respon-

casts from the Office for Budget Responsibility is not reassuring.

This makes the specific measures in the growth plan all the more pivotal. Raising trend growth significantly is one way to put the public finances back on a solid footing, but the odds are stacked solid footing, but the odds are stacked against achieving this. In the short run, tax cuts will only stimulate demand in an already supply-constrained economy. This will stir up price pressures, which the BoE will push back down on,

setting up potential tensions with the government.

Measures that raise the economy's significantly is

one way to put

finances back

on a solid footing, but the odds are

achieving this

the public

Measures that raise the economy's supply capacity will be more important. New Investment Zones could bolster capital expenditure, but will take time to develop — and may simply displace activity from elsewhere. Accelerating furstartcure projects and supporting business investment is commendable, but will also take time to lift potential growth. The plan contains little to boost skills and reverse the surge in economic inactivity since the onset of the pandemic.

inactivity since the onset of the pandemic.
While the details are yet to be finalised and policies may evolve, it will now be up to the government to prove that it can deliver its growth ambitions. The need to meet other spending commitments—including on stretched public certices and defences, will each test the ments — including on stretched public services and defence — will only test the strategy further. Financial markets will continue to pile on the pressure. This fiscal statement has set the British econ-omy down a hazardous path.

Opinion Russia

Putin has overplayed his hand in Ukraine



Alexander Gabuev

wo weeks after Russian president Vladimir Putin launched his invasion of Ukraine last February, of Russia that neither conscripts on reservists would be sent to the front. Only professional military personnel would be fighting, he promised.

This week, however, he announced a mobilisation that could send up to Imn Russian men to the battlefields in Ukraine in coming months. The Kremlin has also announced sham referendums in the Ukrainian territory occupied by Moscow that may result in those areas being annexed to Russia next week, and Putin has threatmed to use nuclear weapons to defend them.

The Russian leader's reckless moves have one goal: to turn the tables in a

ve one goal: to turn the tables in a

The president's reckless moves have one goal: to turn the tables in a war that he is losing

war that he is losing. These actions are unlikely to deliver victory, but they do increase the risk of a potential collision between Russia and Nato.

Putin's original plan — to take Ukraine in three days — was thwarted by the fierce resistance of the Ukrainiby the fierce resistance of the Ukraini-ans and by western support for Kyiv. Now we are seeing plan B, formed in response to developments on the ground. During the summer, Russia concentrated its forces and firepower in the Donbas, in eastern Ukraine Annexing this region and other occu-pied territory in the south will allow Putin to claim he can now use all means necessary - including nuclear weapons — to protect these new regions of Russia, should Kyiv try to

The Kremlin hopes that this combiblackmail will make the US and European leaders rein in their military support for Ukraine, and that the west will advise Kyiv to abort its

counteroffensive.

If no peaceful negotiation can be reached which legalises Russia's occu-pation, the Kremlin won't be sorry: it can continue to attack random targets in Ukraine with the single goal of pre venting the country's reconstruct Western interest in the conflict, it is hoped, will soon dwindle because of the energy war unleashed by Russia, and the US could give up on Ukraine altogether should Donald Trump or someone like him win the White House in 2024. A broken and dysfunctional Ukraine would ensure Putin's victory.

riouse in 2024. A broken and dysunictional Ukraine would ensure Putin's
victory.

The spectacular success of the
Ukrainian counteroffensive in early
spetember has prompted the Russian
president to fast-track his plan: even
the complete occupation of the Donbas looks unantainable with the
resources currently available to the
kremlin. Since the annexed territories
will be declared Russian as of next
week, the Kremlin will be able to send
conscripts to the front lines to fill the
gap while the mobilised force is being
equipped and trained, which could
take four to six months.

Now the choice facing many Russian
men is to go to prison for refusing to
fight or to enter the fray — with a high
chance of getting killed. Protests
against the mobilisation have broken
out across the country but, for now,

against the mobilisation have broken out across the country but, for now, the scale of resistance is too small to present a real danger to Putin.

A far bigger challenge for the Russian president's plan B is Ukraine itself. The Kremlin believes the Kyiv government is controlled by the west, and that pragmatic leaders in the US and Europe could avoid escalation and the risk of a collision between Nato and Russia, if they so wished, by halting the Ukrainian advance and pushing president Volodymyr Zelenskyy to accept Putin's terms. The reality, however, is that Ukraine has both agency as a highlyterms. The reality, however, is that Ukraine has both agency as a highly-motivated fighting force and nearly unlimited moral capital in the west. Not only will the Ukrainian army not vacate the territories annexed by Moscow, it is very likely to redouble its efforts to liberate more territory before the Russian reinforcement

have no option but to keep going.
While the manpower may not be
available right now, he could ramp up
air power and missiles to bombard Ukraine's critical infrastructure. If that doesn't stop Kyiv, he could threaten the use of tactical nuclear

weapons.

Given the Russian president's impulsive manner and how much he believes is at stake for his regime and his legacy, any decisions are unlikely to be a result of dispassionate discussions in the Kremlin. Also worrying is that the communication channels between Russia and the west are broken, including between senior military leaders. As we enter the most frightening chapter of this crisis yet, Nato leaders face difficult

The author is a senior fellow at the Carne gie Endowment for International Peace

Letters

Remembering an era when British fashion dressed to thrill

The article "The making of an It dress" (HTSI, September 10) persuaded me to write to you with a small, and I suppose fairly insignificant, snippet of information that might be of interest.

In my dressing room at home I have a now cancelled royal warrant, with my name on, for Horrockses Fashions Dress Makers to HM the Queen. The

photograph positioned alongside it is for a dress from Mary Quant's Ginger Group. Both of these companies were owned by my family business Alexon Group, which regrettably no longer exists and where I was once chief

I am long since retired and am now in my 80th year, but the pride in a

company founded by my late grandfather, and in the British clothing

industry, is as fierce as ever. When I left our business in the early 1980s, we employed over 1,500 people making clothes in factories in South Wales, County Durham and London and exported them all over the world. Sadly the British clothing industry is no longer the powerhouse it once was, but the memory lingers on and to see two of our dresses in your selection of dresses that defined an era was thrilling. On behalf of all of us who worked for that great company I thank you for your recognition.

Anthony Stanbury

Southrop, Gloucestershire, UK

Predictive text really gets its knickers in a twist

its knickers in a twist
I read with interest the article in Life &
Arts on how the Uniqlo brand is
starting a repair and mending service
as part of its sustainability plans
(September 17).
This is commendable, but will the
technology be able to cope?
During lockdown, I emailed my
ocusin to say I was "darning my vest"
and I could feel our fierce grandmother
looking over my shoulder. Only to
discover my phone's predictive text
had changed the email to "earning my
best". By the time my cousin and I had
finished educating Mr Predictive on
underwear, if we keyed in "liberty" he
hastened to add "bodice" — what we
will all probably be wearing this winter.
Jane Swan
Palebole Commedil UK.

Observations on Britain iarred with this visitor

After reading Simon Kuper's observations on current day Britain, which he seems to think is worse than the dystopic world of Stanley Kubrick's A Clockwork Orange ("Despair, decay, disaster. Enter Liz Truss", Spectrum, September 3), I was amazed by how much he knows about a country he hasn't lived in for 20 years.

My frequent travels in England paint a slightly brighter picture. No evidence that I could see of the country "turning into Brazil". Quite the contrary. That said, I promise to look more closely during my next visit.

It's not just the Left who want UK to be a republic

want UK to be a republic
Matthew Engel dismisses two different
templates for a republic (The Weekend
Essay, Life & Arts, September 17).
First, where the president is both head
of state and political leader, as in
France and the US, Engel writes about
a "megalomaniae" former American
president who has become an
"idolatrous cult".
Second, where the president's role
lies above party politics, as in Germany
and Italy. This option could result in a
"figure off the telly" becoming
president of Great Britain, according to
Engel.

Engel.
Of course, there is a cultural bias here. A French writer might amuse himself imagining the ridiculous spectacle of a dandified pretender to the vanished French throne turning France into a monarchy.
With the passing of Queen Elizabeth II, a serious debate needs to start. Engel rightly flags the remarkable absence of

a constitution in Great Britain. We also need to examine the desirability of the monarchy itself.

It is perfectly possible to combine mainstays of contemporary British conservatism – subscribing to a small state, cautious immigration policies and unfettered freedom of speech — with wanting our country to modernise and become a republic. Support for a republic in Great Britain is not the exclusive preserve of the left.

My guess is that British monarchists will be surprised at how many republicinars are out there, and how diverse their backgrounds — republicans who, until now, and especially during the later years of the Queen's reign, have held their tongue. Nick Foster Brussels, Belgium

More Prince, fewer princes

What a lovely piece by Robert
Armstrong on male fashion at the
Venice Film Festival (Life & Arts,
September 17): humane, topical,
provocative in the very best sense.
Perhaps you could invite him to
write more widely for the FT Weekend,
Reading all iterary imagination with
more Prince and fewer princes would
be quite wonderful.
Gareth Jones
Hong Kong

Royal funeral has business winners and losers too

Emma Jacobs highlights the missteps of businesses and organisations ("The best royal tribute would be to keep calm and carry on", Opinion, September 17) in the midst of a royal funeral.

funeral.

It has been odd how this has played out. Center Parcs has gained the reputation as an unreliable provider of holiday accommodation and the organisers of The Guinea Pig. Awareness Week have garnered awareness that they could only previously have dream of.

Perhaps the real winners of this week's news are the manufacturers of ballpoint pens, which never leak.

David Coombs.

What are you giving Dad for Christmas, Harry?

IOT CHTISUTIAS, TIATTY:

In "The Aesthete" (HTSI, September
17) Harry Lambert, the man behind
Harry Styles' wardrobe, is asked what
was the best gift he had given recently.
"Two boxes of clothes that I didn't wear
any more to my dad," he said. Such
generosity, Mr L senior "was very
excited about it". Roll on Christmas.
Tum Monzey. n Mooney en, County Wexford, Ireland

Business needs selfish reasons to be green – on the quiet

Notebook by Gillian Tett



his week world leaders have been flocking to the United Nations General Assembly, known as UNGA, in New York, keen ess face to face after years of disruption. The last time they were gathered at the summit in 2019, global gathered at the summit in 2019, globo-politicians were accused by 16-year-old Greta Thunberg of failing the world's youth with their response to global warming. This time around, a contrasting figure attempted to take the high ground in the climate debate On Monday, Andrew "Twiggy" Forrest, a pugnacious Australian mining magnate with an estimated forture of 19515-6bn, amounced this

fortune of US\$15.6bn, announced that his metals group Fortescue would spend more than \$6bn to stop using fossil fuels in the part for fossil fuels in the next few years. These would, he said, be replaced with renewable energy sources, such as

green hydrogen.
Some are sceptical about the green transformation of a businessman who admits his environmental record is far from blameless. And mining traditionalists might have doubts over whether the still-young technology behind green hydrogen is up to the task. But the plain-speaking Forrest not only insisted that it made sense for companies to become less exposed to the vagaries of global energy markets, but that the transition would slash energy costs in the long term. Not to mention boost the fortunes of

companies such as Fortescue.

"Disconnecting from the global energy market removes a lot of ri

he told me. "We are looking at initial returns of 14 per cent, rising to 25 per cent." Even Warren Buffett would leap out of bed for that, he added. out of bed for that, he added.

If this turns out to be true, then
hooray for him. But this year it's
striking that relatively few other
executives are following Forrest in

executives are following Forrest in trumpeting their green commitment Back when Thunberg was excoriating sceptical politicians such as Donald Trump, corporate leaders were all too eager to proclaim their environmental virtues. A couple of years ago, my colleagues and I were inundated by pitches from hyperactive public relations executives who wanted us to feature their environmentally conscious their environmentally conscious CEOs. Many of those executives are currently keeping their heads down, talking quietly about their commitments or preferring to act through collective industry groups. Forrest partly blames the shift on the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

"Everyone is whingeing about inflation not climate change [so] chief executives are going a bit quiet,' Politics is poisoning the debate too. In the US, Republican leaders such as Mike Pence, the former vicepresident, have lambasted pro-green policies as "woke capitalism", and some Republican-controlled states are introducing new rules that would

penalise investment companies with green products, such as BlackRock. With the midterm elections looming, few CEOs want to offend

Republican politicians slated to win.
There's another, subtler factor too There's another, subtler factor too: many executives fear that if they boast about their green strategies too loudly, it will prompt activists to become extra-vigilant about scrutinising their companies. This raises the chances that they will be

raises the chances that they will be accused of "greenwashing" if the company's claims do not entirely match their practices. There is an irony here. Even as the political backlash against ESG swells in some quarters, behind the scenes there is a feverish amount of activity being desert in a development. there is a feverish amount being devoted to developing —Lla anergy sources. On the renewable energy sources. On the edge of this year's UNGA there was much dealmaking and fundraising, as financiers scoured the event looking for the hot new thing, be that hydrogen or lithium.

Moreover, while companies are quieter, there is little evidence that they are abandoning their sustainable strategies. Almost no CEOs today will actually stand up and say that they are opposed to getting greener. In some senses this shift in the zeitgeist is a victory for activists such as Thunberg; not that they will necessarily celebrate it. Green warriors correctly complain that warriors correctly compliant that decarbonisation is still proceeding too slowly to avert damaging climate change; many dislike the fact that it is profit — not just fear — that is motivating those such as Forrest. The truth is that, if we're going to fix this problem, both will need to play their part

Opinion

Central bankers fighting inflation need good fortune as well as skill

Merryn Somerset Webb

industrial markets to terminate inflation with little delay".
That it did not was a function of two things. First, politics. The Fed was "caught up in the philosophic and political currents that were transforming American life and culture"—in particular, the idea that "provision for battimes" was no longer a private but a public responsibility. Add the consequent bias to deflict spending to the rise in regulation across the economy and the hight taxes that discouraged business investment and the result was inevita-

stage of the process of making monetary policy".

In the audience in Belgrade sat Paul Volcker, the new Fed chair, and the man now known for doing exactly what Burns felt he could only do in abstractslaying inflation. By mid 1981 monetary policy's hard man had interest rates up to near 20 per cent and inflation on the run. By the time he left in 1987 it was knocking around 5.5 per cent.

A few years later Volcker gave a talk titled "the Triumph of Central Bankino?" No wonder today's central hankino?" No wonder today's central hankino?"

moment in the battle against the wage-price spiral. There was also a sharp rise in low tax-incentivised investment in the US, alongside a very helpful produc-tivity boom. Add to all that the eventual oil price crash of 1986, the dawn of glo-balisation and the beginning of the com-puter age, and you get the picture: Vol-cker got lucky.

The Bank of England may be about to get

labour market still very tight, the risk of a (not unjustified) wage price spiral remains very high. If you are using the 1980s as a refer-ence point for the speed at which infia-tion can be slain by smart central bank-ers, you might want to bear the lessons of Volcker and Burns in mind. Central banking success is more a matter of luck than skill

thanskill.
Outside the US you might also want to keep a close eye on UK prime minister Liz Truss. There is something of the Reaganomics in the tax slashing regula-

That is almost impossible to do in the US. The S&P 500 is trading on a forward price-to-earnings ratio of around 17 times – a bit above the historical average at a time when most other things are rather worse than average.

You could argue it is just about fair value if you assume interest rates won't go beyond 5 per cent and think in terms of earnings yields. But nothing else quite works: the current Typear forecast from GMO succests an annual real return for

tis hard not to feel sorry for Arthur Burns, chair of the US Federal Reserve, when you look back at the unpleasant inflationary years of the 1970s. He clearly felt his failure

deeply (and it was a failure — inflation ran at an average of 6.5 per cent a year during his tenure) if the title of a lecture he gave in 1979 in Belgrade is anything to go by. He called it "The Anguish of Central Banking". It is useful reading today for any investor wondering where to put their money in an era in which inflation is climbing again.

The problem, Burns said, was that the Ped had "in the abstract" the power to "have restricted money supply and created sufficient strains in financial and

ble: an automatic "inflationary twist". Second, monetary policy is very tricky. Contrary to the belief of most central bankers, there is no definitive model that works: "monetary theory... does not provide central bankers with decision rules that are at once firm and dependable", as Burns put it. We might know that "excessive creation of money" will cause inflation, for example, but this knowledge "stops short of mathematical precision". The result? Surprises and mistakes at "every

ers all want history to remember them as a Volcker not a Burns. But note the question mark in his title. A recent paper from the analysts at Ned Davis Research points out that Volcker had the kind of back up from domestic and global politics Burns could barely have dreamt of. Volcker had Ronald Reagan's supply side revolution.

Reagan slashed regulation and broke the air traffic controllers union in 1981, firing 11,539 air traffic controllers in one go. Volcker saw this as a "watershed"

lucky with Truss as the Fed did with Reagan

This history matters. Look at the environment in which current Fed chair Jay Powell is operating and you might wonder how he can be a Vokker without Volcker's luck. There seems little chance of a low-tax, low-regulation productivity boom under President Joe Biden. There is no scope for another burst of globalisation and, with the US

tion ripping, productivity pumping rhetoric her government offers — as Friday's mini-budget unveiled by chancel-lor Kwasi Kwarteng demonstrated. The Bank of England may be about to get lucky.

None of this helps us particularly in knowing where inflation will end up: given most forecasts have been wrong so far, we must I am afraid ignore most forecasts. But the fact that we cannot know does help us a little with our investments — in that it should

US equities of minus 1 per cent. Anguish

The writer is editor-in-chief of Money Week

This charismatic and formidable politician is on her way to becoming the country's first female PM, writes Amy Kazmin

hree years ago, Italian fire-brand Giorgia Meloni was in Rome's largest piazza, promising tens of thou-sands of supporters that she yould defend "God, the fatherland and the family" from the threat of illegal immigrants, Islamisation and leftist pol s "bent on their knees, licking the feet of the French and Germans

teet of the French and Germans."
Today, Meloni, president of the Brothers of Italy party, stands on the cusp of history, tipped to become Italy's first ever female prime minister — and its first leader with far right roots since frenched distance to make to receive the second of the control fascist dictator Benito Mussolini. She plunged into Italy's neo-fascist move ment as an introverted and volatile teenager who had been raised by a single mother; now, as the country's likely new premier, she will inherit an

nenviable set of new challenges. Italy's economic outlook has dark ened considerably since Russia's inva-sion of Ukraine, and concerns are mounting about the sustainability of its massive public debt. The EU also faces an existential test as it tries to rally a

an existential test as it tries to rally a united response to Russia's aggression. Meloni has long been a charismatic anti-globalisation rabble-rouser, lashing out at the international financial markets, the EU's "anti-democratic diff", the "LGBT lobby", and others she accuses of trying to "destroy our identity and our civilisation to turn us into undefined citizens of the world."

More recently, Meloni has sought to tone down her rhetoric and present herself as a pragmatic, mainstream conservative who will continue incumbent prime minister Mario Draghi's policies, including the supply of weapons to Ukraine and effective implementation of a e2000h, EU-funded economic reform programme.

Ukraine and effective implementation of a 2000h, EU-funded economic reform programme.

For many Italians going to vote on Sunday, Meloni, a high school graduate who lives with her partner and young daughter, is just the latest novelty in a crowded political market that has delivered nothing but years of political instability, economic stagnation and declining living standards. "The wind is blowing in favour of this young woman, who is seen as different," said Roberto D'Alimonte, a political science professor at Rome's LUBS University. "The sentiment is, they've tried everybody except Meloni so left sty her as a last resort. But it's without much enthusiasm."

Born in Rome, Meloni spent her first years in a well-heeled neighbourhood, but moved to the blue-collar Garbatella district near her maternal grandparents after her father abandoned the family. While Garbatella had a strong leftist tradition, the youth wing of the Italian Social Movement — founded by Mussolini loyalists just after second world war—also had a branch office near her family's flat.

In 1992, as Italy's political establish-

In 1992, as Italy's political establish-In 1992, as Italy's political establish-ment was rocked by a massive corrup-tion scandal and mafia violence, Meloni, then 15, joined up with the neo-fascist youth militants — many of them also social misfits from troubled homes — who considered themselves warriors against a rotten society.



Person in the News | Giorgia Meloni

A far-right firebrand poised to lead Italy

In her autobiography I am Giorgia, Meloni, an avid childhood reader of fantasy fiction, recalls finding a "second family" and sense of belonging among the young activists. They revered Tolkien's Lord of the Rings — with its heroic hobbits battling malevolent forces who threatened their pastoral idyll — as a sacred text and even dressed up as its characters during community outreach efforts. In this crowd, Meloni stood out for fiery speeches that belied her diminitive stature. She was, according to her friend and longtime political ally Marco Marsilio, "a very serious person, very committed and above all very loyal ... She kept her word, you could always count on her being there."

While Meloni was rising rapidly through the far righty routh movement, her mother party was rebranded and welcomed into the mainstream by Prime Minister Silvlo Berlussoni. She

Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi. She was elected to parliament in 2006, aged 29, and two years later, Berlusconi tapped her to become Italy's youngest

ever minister, awarding her the youth portfolio.
Meloni's riskiest gambit came six years later, when she and a few others broke from Berlusconi's sleaze-tainted mainstream conservative movement—which was supporting the government's austerity measures — to launch

The wind is blowing in favour of this young woman, who is seen as different'

Brothers of Italy, which was closer to her ideological roots. Through her sheer charisma, networking ability and tireless work ethic, Meloni turned the tiny political start-up (which won just 4 per cent of the vote in the 2018 general election) into Italy's most formidable political force. She shrewdly stayed in the consention particularies the town of opposition party during the tenure of

Draghi, an uber-technocrat. The world is now waiting to see which Meloni will emerge as premier: the pragmatistic or the far-right ideologue who has made a virtue of relusing to compromise on her values. "Giorgia Meloni always had these two faces — she has always been very able to mix an institutional façade with strong far-right values," said valerio Alfonso Bruno, a fellow at the UK-based Centre for the Analysis of the Radical Right. "She is transgressive in a way that is similar to Donald Trump — this strongman personality, she has been able to normalise these conspiracy theories that were not seen in Italian politics."

politics."

But Meloni will find herself walking a difficult tightrope if she does come to power. "It's easy not to make compromises when you are in the opposition," Bruno warned. "But when you are in the executive, it's more complicated."

Additional reporting by Giuliana Ricozzi amy.kazmin@ft.com

Sums no longer add up for the Phantom of Broadway

John Gapper



Phantom of the Opera, the longest running musical on Broadway, shuts in February after 35 years. The curtain is descending on Andrew Lloyd Webber's work, with its 130 cast members, crew bead replica of the Paris Opera House

The entire production defies gravity. Musical theatre has been the mainstay of Broadway since the 19th century, and London's recent revival of Cabaret sh how important it is to the West End. But the business of running grand musicals that require huge audiences to pay steep

Cameron Mackintosh, joint producer of *Phantom* with Lloyd Webber's Really Useful Group, is fond of quoting Alan Jay Lerner, the American musical librettist. "You know what a *succès d'estime* is, don't you? A success that runs out of steam." Mackintosh and Lloyd Webber's financial achievement with shows such as Cats and Phantom was to stop them

as Cats and Phantom was to stop them from doings.
Phantom had been seen by almost 20mn people on Broadway by earlier this month, grossing \$1.35n. It is still running in the West End, after closing temporarily during the pandemic, and has played to 145mn people in 41 countries since opening in London in 1986. It might not match classical operas as a work of art, but you cannot argue with a cash machine.

might not match classical operas as a work of art, but you cannot argue with a cash machine. However, the machine can suddenly break down, as Phantom has found on Broadway since it returned post-pandemic last year, with a \$10 migrant from a US government fund to revive heaters. "Phantom is an enormous beast of a show, with a lot of staff and performers, and costumes and wigs." Mackintosh told me. "To start it today from scratch would be prohibitive." The biggest difficulty is not the initial investment in a new production, enormous though this can be; it is that musicals are very costly to keep going. Mackintosh compares them with yachts. "It is like owning a boat: the happiest days are buying and selling it. It is extremely expensive to run." Musicals are a prime example of the "cost disease" in performing arts identified by the economist William Baumol in 1966. Rising salaries and other costs cannot be offset by higher labour productivity because each performance requires the same number of people for the same output. Short of losing the chandelier, it is a struggle to make Phantom more financially efficient.

The drag has become greater with high inflation. Mackintosh estimates that the weekly cost of putting on Phanton Canada and the cost of putting on Phanton Canada and the cost of putting on Phanton Canada and the cost of putting on Phanton Canada and Canada

tom on Broadway has risen from about \$850,000 before the pandemic to nearly \$950,000, with further rises in energy and other expenses to come. Since it has been grossing only an average of \$850,000 weekly this year, the sums no longer addur. nger add up.
This is reinforced by the fact that

long-running musicals in cities such a London and New York tend to become increasingly dependent on tourists. Locals will be attracted to limited runs of new shows, and revivals such as The Music Man, but shows such as Phantom rely more on visitors. Fewer have been visiting New York than before Covid hit, particularly from Asia.

As demand falls, tickets get dis-counted and the economics of the older musical sag. *Phantom* has played to 71 per cent capacity audiences on Broad-way this year, compared with Hamilton's 96 per cent, at an average ticket price of \$93 against Hamilton's \$213. Announcing that it will shut in February should make it a hotter ticket as the deadline

approaches.

This will probably not be the last New man; Phantom may be revived in the future, perhaps in a more viable form. It will carry on touring the world for limited runs in cities from Sydney to Vienna. If the tourists will not come to Phantom, it will come to them.

"The Broadway musical is not dead but things will be tougher. There will be orchestras," says Matthew Rousu, a fan

Long-running musicals in cities such as London and New York tend to become dependent on tourists

of musicals and professor of economics at Susquehanna University. The band will play on, but with flewer players.

That raises an existential question about the future of spectacular musicals on the scale of Phantom or Les Misérables. Musicals tend to be venture financed, with a syndicate of investors bearing the high risk of closure before a new production earns back its initial outlay, for a small chance of getting very rich (caté original London investors received a 60-fold return).

The halo effect of a huge hit on Broadway has historically been enormous: it is the reason why there are so many productions of Phantom. Making musicals smaller will limit the risks, but it will also reduce the chance of a new one becoming a global phenomenon and generating cash for decades.

Mackintosh did very well at the peak of the grand musicals business: his production company paid him a £35mn dividend at the end of 2019, before the pandemic and today's inflation surge, then none as the crisis struck. When the curtain finally falls on Phantom, he may shed a tear.

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Gas guzzler Europe's appetite for LNG

Apple poised to smash iPhone price records with new launch

Clamour for 'Pro' models ◆ Average \$940 spend looms ◆ Boost for margins



PATRICK MCGEE - SAN FRANCISCO

Apple is expected to break its average irhone price record twice in the coming months as customers choose to buy costlier "Pro" models that boost the tech giant's margins.

costlier "Pro" models that boost the tech glant's margins.

Demand for the new i Phone 14 unveiled this month is already robust enough to project that the global "average selling price" – or ASP – will rise to a record \$892 in the September quarter and \$944 in the December quarter, according to Counterpoint Research, a data provider, which bases its projections on consumer demand, market intelligence, and talks with suppliers.

The current record is \$873, achieved inthe fourth quarter of last year.

The average selling price of iPhones is a key Apple metric for Wall Street, as smartphone sales still account for roughly 50 per cent of the group's revenues. The upward trajectory of these prices – from just \$690 in late 2015 – is all the more significant given that Apple opted not to increase prices of its devices this month at its flagship annual

product release, a decision some analysts called the event's biggest surprise.
What's driving the trend is the popularity of iPhone 14 Pro and Pro Max models, which feature a faster chip, a 48-megapixel camera and a new information hub called "Dynamic Island".
When research group Evercore ISI surveyed some 4,000 consumers this month it found that 56 per cent of likely iPhone buyers planned to buy a Pro model, versus 41 per cent last year. It anticipated that ASPs in the next year would be around \$940, about 10 per cent higher than in the iPhone 13 cycle. "We are increasing our iPhone revenue estimates for the next four quarters on the back of stronger than expected ASPs," Evercore analyst Amit Daryanani told clients.
The figures suggest Apple finds itself

The figures suggest Apple finds itself in a much better position today than in January 2019, when it was forced to issue its first revenue warning in 16
years on the back of iPhone sales weakness in China

It has since taken greater market share in China thanks to the launch of

Average iPhone selling price to exceed \$900 for first time



5G-enabled iPhones in 2020 and the downfall of Huawei, which has been hobbled from selling 5G phones follow-ing US sanctions. Between late 2020 and late 2021, Apple's market share in China rose from 15.9 per cent to 23 per cent, according to Counterpoint. "Other Android manufacturers —

entered the premium segment, but pre-mium brand status cannot be built over-night," said Counterpoint analyst Archie Zhang.

Zhang.
Globally, the premium market for phones costing above \$400 has outperformed overall sales for nine straight quarters, with Apple taking 57 per cent market share last quarter, Counterpoint

market share last quarter, Counterpoint data shows.

The ultra-premium segment — phones above \$1,000 — nearly doubled last quarter from a year ago, with Apple capturing 78 per cent of the market.

The upward trajectory in the iPhone's ASP reflects the success of a strategy Apple began in 2018 when it stopped reporting how many iPhones it was selfing each quarter. That move had sparked "peak iPhone fears," whereas Apple argued it was shifting focus from volume to revenues and margins.

Today, analysts believe Apple is in another transition to shift from ASPs towards "lifetime user value" — a stratey of increasing revenues from its more

towards "lifetime user value" — a su ac-egy of increasing revenues from its more than 1bn iPhone users with an expand-

Citi to curb PE lending as stricter capital rules bite

Citigroup is dramatically scaling back the amount it lends to asset managers including private equity firms as the US bank races to meet tough new capital rules, according to people familiar with

The type of lending from which Citi is line financing, a niche but important business for Wall Street banks that want to develop deep ties with dealmaking clients, especially private equity groups. Citi's existing book totals roughly

\$65bn and the bank is preparing to slash that to about \$20bn in the coming

nonths, one of the people said. There is high demand for the lending rom buyout groups in particular, which use money pledged by fund investors as collateral for the short-term bank loa to close deals in advance of receiving cash from their backers.

Citi declined to comment.

The group's move underscores the impact of new capital requirements implemented by the Federal Reserve that threaten to curtain lending by large US banks. This week Jamie Dimon, chief executive of JPMorgan, warned that the rules posed a "significant economic risk" that would restrict the flow of credit to US companies and consumers. Citi, like JPMorgan and Bank of America, is being forced to increase its buffers

as a global systemically important bank, requiring it to hold more capital relative to its risk-weighted assets.

Banks can meet the requirements by retaining more profits or raising new equity, but most are opting to reduce the

nount of assets on their balance sheet. It comes in the middle of a restructur ing of the bank under chief executive Jane Fraser. The lender is grappling with a 2020 consent order with US banking regulators under which it agreed to upgrade its processes and technology



gest private equity clients about the impending changes, according to people

impending changes, according to people briefed on the conversations. One buyout executive said that most large Wall Street banks were still committed to subscription-line financing but that Citi, which has been a top-three player in the business, was scaling back. Another buyout executive interpreted the move as a sign that Citi may be embarking on a broader reconsideration of its role in the lucrative but risky market for providing credit to private equity groups. equity groups

Aerospace & defence

Airbus holds to delivery target despite supply chain squeeze

Airbus has backed itself to meet its ta get of delivering about 700 aircraft by the end of the year but warned it would be "anything but a walk in the park" as the aviation industry continues to battle supply chain constraints

The world's largest plane maker said yesterday it was grappling with "multiple crises" but that issues with the supply chain were tis greatest challenge. Like other global manufacturers, Airbush as struggled with shortages of raw materials and electronic components

materials and electronic components and the availability of labour as demand rebounded in the wake of the pandemic. Soaring inflation, uncertainty over the war in Ukraine and energy costs have deepened the pressure.

war in Ukraine and energy costs have deepened the pressure. Dominik Asam, Airbus chief financial officer, said the company had delivered 582 aircraft through to the end of August, leaving about 320 planes still be delivered to meet the target. The company, Asam told a capital markets briefing, was "fully engaged" to deliver on its commitments, "yet against the backdrop of disruptions in

global supply chains, delivering around 700 aircraft in 2022 is anything but a walk in the park".

Airbus in July cut its original year-end delivery target from 720 to "around 700" aircraft. The company said it was targeting a monthly production rate of 65 in early 2024 — some six months later than originally forecast. Airbus said at the time, however, that it was sticking with its plan to reach a monthly rate of 75 jets by 2025.

Guillaume Faury, chief executive, yesterday reiterated the rate of 75 jets a month. Airbus expects to produce about 50 amonth by the end of this year.

"Based on the visibility we have now from the supply chain, we think it's manageable, but I will not tell you that it's easy," Earry said of the 700-plane target.

The bottleneck in the supply of

The bottleneck in the supply of engines, however, which has caused friction between Airbus and engine makers tion between Airbus and engine makers including CFM International, is easing. The number of "gliders" — aircraft that have been built but are sitting in storage without engines — had declined to single figures, said Faury, from 26 in July.

Personal & household goods. Beauty products

Chinese male cosmetics customers defy derision of 'sissy boy' culture

Fledgling market for men is

set to double over three years despite Beijing's crackdown

EDWARD WHITE AND JUNE YOON — SEOUL GLORIA LI — HONG KONG ERI SUGURA — TOKYO Chinese president XI Jinping has attempted to halt the rise of "sissy boys", the pejorative term for young men judged to be effeminate, as he attempts to reform the country's worth culture. to reform the country's youth culture

and encourage masculinity

and encourage masculinity.
But as Xi approaches his second decade in power, he might have to get used to Chinese men with a penchant for smoky eyeliner and fake eyelashes — and the companies catering to them.
"I think I'm more masculine than most straight guys," said Xi Er, a 28 year-old using a nickname for anonymity." Id are go to work wearing a skirt. Dare they? They're restrained by their biases."

biases."
Following several years of double-digit growth, China's fledging male beauty market is expected to top \$10hn this year, and double again over the next three years, as local and foreign busi-

nesses target hundreds of millions of

new customers.

Xi Er, who works in the tech sector and lives in the southern megacity of Shenzhen, said he started wearing make-up on a trip to Thailand in 2017 to celebrate graduating from university

He now uses Xiaohongshu — a Chi-nese super app that is a blend of Pinter nese super app that is a Diend of Pinter-est, Instagram, Amazon and TripAdvi-sor - to post videos on topics such as the "benefits of wearing press-on nails at (the) workplace as a dude". XI Er rates a clutch of new Chinese brands among his

Men's beauty is still a fraction of the broader Chinese market but is expaning quickly in line with other Asian markets including South Korea and Japan Goldman Sachs has forecast total cosmetics spending in China will hit \$120b but \$202b, from about \$82b in 10201. In China, the beauty market has been dominated by a clutch of foreign branichulding France's L'Oréal, South Korea's AmorePacific, Japan's Shiseido and American group Estée Lauder. Despite the threat posed by Xi's crack-down, analysts said China remained a critical market for beauty companies. "China is the only region in the world Men's beauty is still a fraction of the

that is growing, so cosmetics companies need to manage these political chal-lenges and continue to sell their prod-ucts," said Yu Sato, a cosmetics industry analyst in Tokyo at SMBC Nikko, the

panese brokerage. The boom in men's beauty comes as The boom in men's beauty comes as homegrown chinese companies are winning market share from foreign rivals. Chinese brands including Dear-BoyFriend and Make Essence are booming, reports jing Daily, a specialist publication covering China's luxury market, in part because they directly market to first-time make-up users, initiating them into the beauty world.

Mark Tanner, manasqing director of

them into the beauty world.

Mark Tanner, managing director of
China Skinny, a Shanghai-based market
research group, pointed out a paradox;
younger Chinese consumers are
increasingly patriotic but "toe the line
"This page and the page of the line." less". This means many prefer to support local brands but shrug off the "sissy boy" crackdown.

boy"crackdown.
"The post-95s are among the most
nationalistic of the consumers we've
seen in a long time. At the same time,
they are much more independent ... and not being too conforming."
Tanner said.
The trend poses a challenge to beauty

Korean beauty groups led by AmorePa-cific and LG Household & Health Care benefited from the massive popularity of K-pop and Korean dramas. In 2015, South Korea overtook the US and Japan in China's cosmetics market to become

the second-biggest player after France. Today, LG Household & Health Care and AmorePacific make more than 30 per cent of their sales in China. Brands including AmorePacific's Hera, Innisfree, Laneige and Sulwhasoo have long been household names in China, but



waning demand is taking its toll. Hera is reported to have closed nearly all its stores in the country and Innisfree, Amore's core mid-market brand, is slashing its locations from 600 to 140.

Overseas groups hope ecommerce will help them to retain market share, but analysts warn bigger challenges are emerging. Domestic brands are often better at understanding local tastes and

quicker to act on new trends.

Tanner said that for the Korean and Japanese cosmetic groups in China, the "golden years are over". He added: "Korea, in particular, was ahead of the curve for the 'effeminate men' craze... It is not just a case of showing up any more with a 'Made in Korea' sticker on the back. But it is like this with but shout every category and

with just about every category, and every foreign brand . . . you've got to workalotharder."

Japanese luxury giant Shiseido is among the brands doubling down on China bets, as is its toiletries unit, which sunnofflast year

Clinia oets, as is to other estinit, which spun offlast year
Yuki Takahashi, chief operating officer of the new company, Fine Today Shiseido, which sells men's mass-targeted skincare items in China, said Beljing's drive to eradicate coronavirus was

a bigger problem for sales than Xi's antiissy boy" crackdown. "The largest China risk for us right

"sissy boy" crackdown.
"The largest china risk for us right
now is logistics under the government's
zero-Covid strategy. We have handed
over power to the local team to deal with
these business continuity plans, so they
can handle issues with speed."
Meanwhile, many business leaders
are trying to recover from last year,
when XI's common prosperity campaign wiped hundreds of billions of dollars off the value of Chinese companies.
Despite that threat, XIE's experience
points to signs of greater acceptance
among ordinary chinese.
On the day that Shenzhen lifted a
Covid lockdown in late March, XIE'r met
a group of clients. Usually, his make-up
routine involves primer, foundation and
Kim Kardashian-inspired contouring
before applying brushstrokes of salmon-pink blush to his cheeks.
Complementing his dyed red hair, xi
far Added apo of gildter to his red smoky
eye and wore a Marvel-themed T-shirt
with a pair of pink sequinned trousers.
All the clients i met on that day complimented my fashion sense," he said.
Additional reporting by Maiqi Ding in
Beijing

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COMPANIES & MARKETS

https://digital.olivesoftware.com/olive/odn/ftasia/printpages.aspx?doc=FTA%2F2022%2F09%2F24&ts=20220923200426&uq=20220804103507

LICHCH HIVESTOLS are first in line at the UK bargain bin

The Top Line Tom Braithwaite



buccaneering spirit, unshackling entrepreneurs and companies to roam the globe pillaging other countries' assets. And so it has. For the French. This week billionaire Xavier Niel grabbed a £750mm slice of Vodafone; the UK's biggest telecom group. France's Schneider Electric announced it would swallow one of the UK's oldest tech companies, Aveva; and French

utility Suez paid £2bn for a UK recycling company.
The flurry of cross-channel deals on a single day followed telecoms entrepreneur Patrick Drahi buying 18 per cent of BT last year, while French stellitle group Eutelsat is preparing to acquire the UK's OneWeb. Is this a dastardly plot orchestrated by former Rothschild banker Emmanuel Macron, the French president branded a frenemy of the British state? Bankers point instead to

currency since the 2016 Brexit vote.
The current burst of French inbound
M&A to the UK is unusually large. Data
from Refinitiv suggests the highest
volume in at least a decade and the

volume in at least a decade and the highest value since 2013.
But there have been decades of such deals. Vodafone's sale of mobile operator Orange to France Telecom in 2000 tops the league table, according to Bloomberg data, at £315h. Ad group Publicis paid more than £1bn for smaller rival Saatchi & Saatchi that same year. Both were top-of-the-market deals compared with today's rummage sale.

rummage sale.
Activity in the other direction is far less common. UK-based private equity firms such as CVC, Permira and Bridgepoint have done some deals. BT paid £12.5bn in 2014 for mobile operator EE, a joint venture between France Telecom and Deutsche

rencn wave. France is always quick to worry about foreign takeovers, most notoriously branding yoghurt maker Danone a strategic asset to thwart a bid Danone a strategic asset to thwart a bid from Pepsi in 2005. In 1997 the president of the French National Assembly got it backwards, complaining that "although it is very difficult for French companies to buy large foreign companies, the reverse is not true". At that moment, French cement group Lafarge was pulling off a hostile takeword of British building materials company Redlands. In the UK, there is usually little angst as even iconic British brands are flogged to France. Luxury group LYMH, run by Niel's father-in-law Bernard Arnault, is a repeat customer, with deals ranging from shirtmaker Thomas Pink in 1999 to distiller Glenmorangie in 2004. The Beatles'

deals, the

US is the

real threat in Britain – as a listing destination

and as the home of potential

acquirers

2011. Gatwick airport went to Vinci in

2011. Gatwick airport went to Vinci in 2018.
But is the UK any more rational? In 2016 then prime minister 'Theresa May celebrated the takeover of the UK's only internationally significant tech company, Arm, by Japan's SoftBank. Conservative governments have since embarked on a badly received begging campaign to persuade SoftBank to relist the chip designer in London. If Arm does end up being floated, SoftBank narrulally prefers New York, which offers a deeper market and higher earnings multiples. The US is the real source of the threat to the UK – not just as a listing destination but as the home of potential acquirers. With the ammunition of a strong dollar, expect American companies to join the French at the UK's bargain bin.

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Swiss banking boss pressed to deliver as markets turn



Ralph Hamers Chief executive, UBS

Weeks after announcing that UBS, the world's biggest wealth manager, would be embarking on a major push into the crowded US market late last year, chief executive Ralph Hamers received an interesting proposition. Advisers for Wealthfront, a

Advises for wealthin, a Californian start-up that uses artificial intelligence to sell investment products, suggested UBS should buy the business. A deal would allow Hamers, who

made his name as a digital champior running Dutch lender ING, to put his stamp on the bank with its first big ition since the financial crisis

Yet after agreeing to pay \$1.4bn in cash for Wealthfront, UBS ditched the deal this month without an explanation. Days later the bank announced it would return more money to shareholders, though senio executives said the two decisions

Hamers, who was picked two years ago by then UBS chair Axel Weber to ago by their oscillar has made growing its presence in the US and developing a digital wealth manager for so-called mass affluent customers a central plank of his strategy.

But the aborted acquisition has set But the aborted acquisition has se back those plans and now the 56-year-old Dutchman is under pressu to deliver, along with three influenti executives at the bank's top table. Colm Kelleher, the bank's internationally respected chair, Naureen Hassan, the recently installed tech-sawy head of the bank's US business, and the fiercely



The market is closely watching how the dynamic will play

ambitious Iqbal Khan, whose role as nt chief has just been expanded and is widely seen as a future CEO, all have a keen interest in

nuture CEO, all have a keen interest in the strategy for the American market. "There are a lot of internal politics going on," said a banking executive close to the UBS hierarchy. "The market is closely watching how the dynamic will play out."

By several measures, Hamers has enjoyed a successful first two years at the helm. The Swiss bank emerged from the pandemic with a series of record-breaking results as its wealthy clients benefited from central banks pumping liquidity into the system.

pumping liquidity into the system. The turnoil at its fierce rival Credit Suisse has also been helpful, allowing Hamers to settle into the role without too much scrutiny. Although outwardly it appeared to be business as usual, Hamers has spent the time reorganising his executive team and making internal structural changes.

"Everyone in Switzerland has been

focused on Credit Suisse for the past

'said a Zurich-based banke

UBS because it has been denoted through the cycle."

When UBS annoted an \$861mn trading loss tied to the collapse of family office Archegos last April, for example, the news was overshadowed. example, the news was overshadov by the \$5.5bn loss at Credit Suisse.

"No one has been too concerned by UBS because it has been delivering

Hamers began unveiling his grand strategy for the bank last October. When Kelleher was named chair a few when kellener was harmed can a re-months later, his experience as a former president of Morgan Stanley was heralded as a good fit for the strategy, given the US bank's leading role in the country's wealth market. Kelleher has taken Hamers under

Kelleher has taken Hamers unuer his wing, according to people familiar with their relationship. The 65-year-old Irishman has coached Hamers in how to talk with international investors, who are less interested in an agile working culture and more focused on three-year profit targets.

Ralph Hamers: aborted acquisition of Californian start-up Wealthfront has dealt a blow to ambitious US growth plans—Jason Alden/Bloomberg

At their weekly hour-long catch-ups, the plain-speaking Kelleher has banned Hamers from using buzzwords such as "ecosystems" and "purpose", the people said.

The pair embarked on a US roadshow to persuade more US asset managers to become top shareholders in an attempt to drive the bank's valuation closer to Wall Street peers. The feedback, according to people with knowledge of the talks, is that investors were receptive, but they are waiting to see Hamers deliver on his strategy. USS declined to provide a comment for this article.

Analysts viewed the Wealhifront

comment for this article.
Analysts viewed the Wealthfront
acquisition as more symbolic than
transformative, given the lack of
clarity over the fintech's financials and
its \$27bn of assets under management

ompared with UBS's \$3.9tn.
The bank made the case to investors that Wealthfront would provide investment services to UBS's Workplace Wealth Solutions platform and also bring in hard-to-recruit tech staff, according to people briefed on

those discussions.

But the tumbling fintech valuations this year left Wealthfront's \$1.4bn price tag looking expensive.

price tag looking expensive.
Hamers' record on previous tech
deals has also come under recent
scrutiny. This year ING completed the
wind-down of a controversial
payments subsidiary, Payvision, that
Hamers bought in 2018 for €360mn.
ING has also losed down Yolt, a
personal finance app launched in 2016.
With the long bull run in stock
markets over and the global economy
slowing, Hamers must now execute his
strategy against a far less forgiving
backdrop. Owen Walker

BUSINESS WEEK IN REVIEW

Spac surrender

 Chamath Pallhapitiya, one of the big boosters of special purpose acquisition companies, has thrown in the towel, returning \$1.5 no to investors after fail-ing to find targets. The former Facebook executive, who once labelled himself the Warren suffett of his era, said this week that two of his wehicles would liq-que the properties of the properties of the properties of the properties. era, said this week that two of his vehicles would liq-uidate, blaming valuations and volatility for his ina-bility to find deals. Palihapitiya, pictured, became the face of the boom in blank-cheque companies, partnering with Brit-

partnering with Brit-ish venture capitalist Ian Osborne to launch several Spacs as the market took off. He used Twitter to promote his deals and rally retail invesget access to public companies that often



had no revenue or even a product.

 Jamie Dimon, chief executive of JPMorgan, has warned US lawmakers that capital requirements for large banks pose "a significant economic risk" that is curtailing their capacity to lend to homebuyers and other customers. Dimon said "the continued upward trajectory" of capital requirements is making it harder for banks to meet customer needs just as "storm clouds" are gathering on the horizon for the US economy. Dimon lamented that JPMorgan, the largest US bank with \$3.8tn in assets, must set aside more than \$200bn in additional capital because of the impact of new rules. Dimon's remarks reflect the tension US regulators have faced since the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis, when steps were taken to

JPMorgan chief, Jamie Dimon, says capital requirements for large banks pose 'a significant economic risk' that curtails lending capacity

address weaknesses in the banking system. Critics such as Dimon have complained that capital requirements rules are now too strict.

The German government is to nationalise Uniper in a deal that takes the utility's bailout cost to €29bn after it was brought to the brink of insolvency following Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Berlin's lifeline for the country's biggest importer of natural gas is the biggest corporate bailout in Germany since the global financial crisis in 2008, when the government provided a €480bn lifeline to the banking sector. Germany, which had already planned to take a 30 per cent stake, is now completely "buying out" Uniper's previous owner Fortum for €480mn. Berlin will also take on a €7.5bn credit line previously provided by the Finnish energy company to Uniper.

▶ Blackstone has agreed a £300mn deal to sell Butlin's back to one of the families that it bought the UK resort group from last year. The US private equity

£300m

group will sell Butlin's, which operates holiday centres in Skegness, Minehead and Bognor Regis, to the Harris family. The family is one of three that founded Harris family. The family is one of three that founded Bourne Leisure, the parent company of Butlin's, in 1964. They sold Bourne, which also operates the Haven and Warner Leisure holiday businesses, to Blackstone last year for about £50n, while keeping a minority stake. The Harris family is buying back the Butlin's operating business, which accounts for about 15 to 20 per cent of Bourne's earnings, a person with knowledge of the matter said. Haven and Warner Leisure will remain in Blackstone's hands. The nev deal will mean that Blackstone has taken back a deal will mean that Blackstone has taken Dark booth £600mn of the £30n it paid for the group. In July the private equity group offloaded Bourne's real estate assets in another £300mn deal with the UK's biggest private pension fund, the Universities Superannuation Scheme.

Under the hood Aldi kicks Morrisons out of the Big Four supermarket club

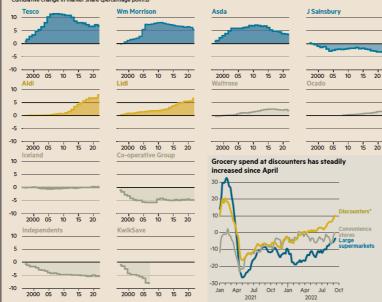
German discounter's focus on price and improved ranges has helped it win UK share and break into the elite retailers category

The Big Four supermarkets are no more. Discounter Aldi has surpassed Wm Morrison to become the UK's fourth-largest supermarket as measured by Kanlar's rolling 12-week market share data. The development spells the end of a long period when Tesco, J Sainsbury, Asda and Morrisons — the "Big Four" — dominated UK grocery retailing with a model generally based on wide choice and large out-of-town superstores. Most of German-owned Aldis market share gains have come since the financial crisis. They were in no small part down to strategic miscalculations by the Big Four, which chose to prioritise profitability over preserving sales volumes at a time when household incomes were under acute pressure. Ald's market share today is very similar to that of KwikiSave a homegrown discounter, in 1993. KwikiSave traded from a similar number of stores and its business model — blink hase volumes arms.

number of stores and its business model — high sales volumes acros limited product ranges, low prices, operational simplicity — had much in common with Aldi's. Yet its startling speed and it finally collapsed in 2007.

And while KwikSave was the only 1990s, Aldi has a wingman. Compatriot Lidi has also expanded in the UK and in recent months has grown market share at an ev faster pace. Taken together, Aldi

The Big Four lose market share to the d Cumulative change in market share (percentage po



COMPANIES & MARKETS

Dealmakers relax on the Riviera, defy the gloom and target retail investors

Private equity conference exudes confidence as industry model faces biggest test since 2008 crisis

On the golden sands of the French Riviera, just along the beach from an evening game of volleyball, dark-suited private equity executives crowded into a marquee for a drinks reception and did their best to ignore the crisis hitting their industry.

Cocooned at a conference this week in one of Europe's most exclusive destina-tions, top dealmakers exuded confi-

tions, top dealmakers exclusive deasing-tions, top dealmakers excluded confi-dence even as the conditions that the liled a decade-long private equity boom went into reverse.

For years, almost everything has gone right for the buyout industry's billion-aire bosses. Now, as rates rise and their model faces its biggest test since at least the 2008 crash, private equity is looking to what dealmakers hope will be their next revolution: an unprecedented wave of money from retail investors.

"When the markets stabilise it will be termendous time for private equity" and an influx of retail money is "a mat-ter of when", not if, Verdun Perry, glo-abl head of Blackstone Strategic Part-ners, said on the conference's main stage this week.

Buyout groups have spent the past

Buyout groups have spent the past few years striking record numbers of deals at often eye-watering valuations, using growing amounts of debt. Now they are holding businesses whose bor-rowing costs are rising just as their earn-ings fall.

ings fall.

Investors specialising in distressed debt could barely contain their glee at the prospect of these companies falling into trouble.

"For the first time since the global into trouble.

"For the first time since the global financial crisis and for very different reasons, we are beginning to see cracks in a real way across the board," said Matt Wilson, a managing director at Oaktree, during a panel fiscussion at the event.

"The confluence of lower earnings, lower cash flow and higher borrowing costs is going to be a very challenging situation. We're very excited about what we see in front of us right now...it's hard to see a path to a soft landing." And as some argue that the top of the market has been reached, others are becoming concerned about the industry's practices.

Mikkel Svenstrup, chief investment officer at Denmark's largest pension fund ATP, compared private equity with a pyramid scheme.

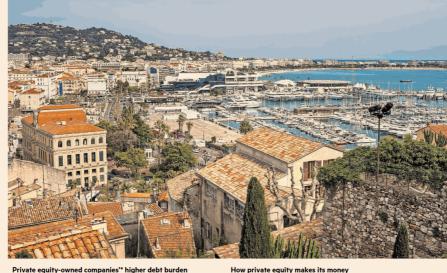
He complained about the industry's use of "continuation funds", a fast-grow-

use of "continuation funds", a fast-gro ing model in which a private equity group sells a company to itself by shift-ing it between two of its own funds. And he said he was "looking very carefully" at "all those tricks they do to kind of manipulate" returns figures

That has not damped all dealmakers' spirits. Speaking privately on the sidespinis. Speaking privately on the side-lines, a top executive at a European buy-out group said he was confident that "the golden age of private equity is just en age of private equity is just

One of the main reasons for optimism is the hunt for cash from individuals, in contrast to the pension funds, endov ments and sovereign wealth funds that have so far propelled the industry's growth – what senior figures describe as the "democratisation" of private equity.

Some of that money will come from the very wealthy. Morgan Stanley and Oliver Wyman said in a report last year



Private equity-owned companies' Debt to ebitda ratio (% of companies)



dealmakers gathered on the Riviera, where Ariane de Rothschild, below, spoke of the need for

brought in

Virginie Morgon, chief executive of the buyouts group Eurazeo, said at the conference. The industry would raise money from people with €5,000 or €10,000 to invest, she added.

Ariane de Rothschild, who chairs the Franco-Swiss private bank and as manager Edmond de Rothschild, warned of the need for "a strong govern-ance framework in order to avoid misunderstandings and potential reputa-tional damage" when ordinary investors were being brought in.

that people with between \$1mn and

that people with between \$1mn and \$50mn to invest would commit an extra \$1.5m to private markets by 2025.
But the industry is also targeting people further down the income ladder,
"We're talking real democratisation," Virginie Morgon, chief executive of the

were being brought in.

Amid the parties and panels, executives warned that the industry was caught in limbo as private valuations—of the companies buyout groups own and of unlisted private equity firms themselves—have not fallen in line with

"It's been a very tough year for a lot of [stock market] investors," said ATP's Svenstrup. "It's kind of interesting, right, because private markets seem to still keep their valuations . . . Eventually they will converge. Whether that's to the upside or the downside, time will

a great

business

when you

industry's

not about

buying high

and selling

higher, it's

never been

about that'

can. Our

During the conference, Goldman Sachs' Petershill Partners, a London-listed group that owns minority stakes in private equity firms, reported an accounting loss as it marked down the value of its investm

The move highlighted how rising interest rates have made buyout firms which receive a steady stream of cash from the management fees they charge investors — less valuable. Shares in Blackstone, Apollo Global Manage-ment, KKR, Carlyle Group, EQT and Bridgepoint have all fallen this year by more than the S&P 500.

But the valuations of privately held buyout groups have not necessarily fol-lowed. "One thing we've been asked about a lot recently is, has our valuation, our approach changed with what's hap pening in the public markets?" said Tiff any Johnston, a managing director at Blue Owl, which buys minority stakes in private equity firms. "And it really

hasn't . . . we've found we've just been 'You buy

hasn't . . . we've found we've just been able to be very consistent." As even insiders question the indus-try's model — amid hopes to lure in retail investors — private equity is for-mulating its defence.

mulating its defence.
George Osborne, the UK's former
Chancellor of the Exchequer who was at
the conference as a partner at his
brother's venture capital firm, Syards
Capital, said the industry had to invest
'for the longer term', looking through
the energy crisis, inflation and the
'trageigroblem' of the wair in Ukraine.
Orlando Bravo, co-founder of Duyoust
Syarun Thomas Bravo, which ploughed

group Thoma Bravo, which ploughed tens of billions of dollars into software deals at the peak of the market in th past few years, was among the most bullish at the event.

"You buy a great business when you n . . . our industry's not about buying high and selling higher, it's never been about that," he said.

He dismissed Svenstrup's comparison of private equity to a pyramid scheme, saying: "Oh my gosh, the opposite. It's the best way of ownership in the world!" Additional reporting by Chris Flood

Dublin sheds final shares in rescued lender BoI

Thirteen years after pumping in cash to rescue Bank of Ireland, the government has finally exited the country's largest lender, the first of the three institutions bailed out during the financial crisis to return to private

BoI hailed the move as a "milestone" and Paschal Donohoe, the finance min-ister, said it freed taxpayers' cash for

"more productive purposes".

"The gradual disposal of the state's investment in Bank of Ireland into a rising market has been successful in delivering on this objective for our citizens," heard in a statement.

ering on this objective for our citizens," he said in a statement.

The government invested €4.7bn in Bol between 2009 and 2011 in a sector-wide crisis sparked by a reckless mort-gage lending spree that ended up crashing the entire trish economy.

The government had now recovered almost €6.7bn, the ministry confirmed, with the price for its phased disposal rising to an average of €6.17 per share from an initial €4.9c.

Shares in the bank were up 1.37 per cent at €7.55 in afternoon trading yesterday.

"The completion of the sale of the

terday.

"The completion of the sale of the state shareholding in Bank of Ireland is a very positive moment for Irish taxpayers, for Bank of Ireland, and for the sector as a whole," said Gavin Kelly, interim group chief executive.

"This is a milestone moment for Bank of Ireland as we move conclusively beyond the financial crisis, and is a very important step towards full normalisation of our relationship with the state," he added.

The covernment exit was expected to

he added.

The government exit was expected to trigger renewed calls from the lender for an executive pay cap and employee bonus ban imposed after the crisis to be quashed, one senior official at the bank said.

Bankers have long argued the meas-ures crimp their ability to attract and retain talent

Francesca McDonagh, who stepped down as chief executive and moved last month to Credit Suisse, has been vocal in calling for the legislation to be hanged.

However, the other two banks that

still count the government as an tor, Allied Irish Banks and Perm TSB, would take a dim view of the Bol being exempted if they were not, despite them still remaining majority state-

AIB, Ireland's second-biggest bank is still 63.5 per cent state-owned. PTSB is 75 per cent state-owned, however that will decline to 62.4 per cent later this year when the lender issues new shares in part exchange for the Ulster Bank assets it is buying from NatWest

Group.

Ulster Bank and KBC are in the Unster Bank and KBC are in the process of exiting the firsh market, a shake-up hailed by the sector as a "oncein-a-generation" growth opportunity. Donohoe said the state's stakes in PTSB and AIB were together still worth more than £4.90m.

Despite its return to private hands, BoI has one piece of unfinished busi-ness: it is the only one of the three big lenders yet to be fined for its part in a tracker mortgage scandal.

The bank is expected to receive a



Scoreboard≡

Inside the business of sport

Scoreboard is the new FT newsletter on the business of sport, bringing you unmissable stories and analysis on global dealmaking and corporate growth in a multi-billion dollar entertainment industry.

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Commodities. Demand surge

European appetite for LNG leaves emerging nations starved of gas



Developing economies face energy crises that prolong a reliance on dirtier types of fuel

SHOTARO TANI — LONDON
BENJAMIN PARKIN — NEW DELHI

An overwhelming appetite from Europe for liquefied natural gas to replace Russian pipeline exports is leaving developing countries starved of gas and creating a market for traders to profit

creating a market for traders to profit from a rush to secure supplies. China, India, Brazil, Pakistan and Bangladesh will have the highest rate of decline in demand for liquefied natural gas this year, down 34.5mn tonnes compared with last year's forecast, according to data from the commodity analytics firm ICIS, compiled for the Financial Times.

according to data from the commodity analytics firm ICIS, compiled for the Financial Times.

That equates to roughly 9 per cent of global LNG supplies in 2021.

Increasingly, they are being outbid for expensive LNG by richer countries trying to fill the hole left by Russia curbing its energy exports.

Demand in Europe, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Thailandi sexpected to increase by a total of 46.6mn tonnes this year. Europe, including the UK, accounts for 85 per cent of the increase in demand, according to ICIS.

That imbalance not only threatens to push many emerging economies into energy crises that may prolong their reliance on dirtier forms of fuel. LNG traders are also looking to profit from differences in prices on global markets because these countries often use the spot market to buy the commodity.

Countries such as Pakistan and Bangladesh "have been hanging on and been paying as much as they can in this bidding war, mainly with Europe, on spot cargoes", said Alex Slow, lead Asia gas analyst at ICIS. "We still hear them going out trying to bid at lower prices

going out trying to bid at lower prices

Europe will see the biggest demand increase in LNG in 2022



and sometimes they do get that odd cargo here and there. Unfortunately, it is not enough for all."

With the level of LNG demand increase outstripping the declines destroyed, "it is safe to say that [the LNG market] will continue to be tight until 2025-26 when some of the bigger LNG supply plants come online," Slow added. That squeeze has lifted the average price for the Asian benchmark spot, or cash, market this year nearly 140 per cent higher than last year. Some traders have now spotted an opportunity in the market.

Long-term contracts that had been signed years ago are linked to

Long-term contracts that had been signed years ago are linked to benchmark prices that are far lower than the current prices.

Even if LNG traders pay penalties to skip a contracted delivery, they can make a hefty profit by selling in the spot market where prices are much higher. The spotlight recently fell on a former singapore-based unit of Gazprom, which had an obligation to supply Gall, india's state-run gas distributor, for 20 years under a deal signed in 2012.

In its earnings call in early August, Gall revealed that it had not been receiving the contracted amount of LNG from the former Gazprom unit.

from the former Gazprom unit – n

called SEFE Marketing & Trading after Germany took control of its parent — since May, with LNG traders suspecting its selling the cargoes meant for Gail on the spot market.

SEFE, which stands for Securing Energy For Europe, said in a statement to the Financial Times that this was because it was managing its LNG stocks as it was "currently without a considerable part of its gas supplies" after what it called "Russian sanctions" on the group.

"With European markets getting even tighter, (the Singapore until ju suing the contractual mechanisms in its agreements to manage the situation," it said.

said.

One LNG trader said that, since the summer of last year, when gas prices started to rise in both Asia and Europe, he has seen "several instances" of industry performers cancelling their long-term contracts and selling the cargoes on the spot market at a higher margin despite "risk of completely destroying trust".

ing trust."

Toby Copson, global head of trading and advisory at Trident LNG, a gas trading company, said if traders could make more profit by cancelling the cargoes and selling it on to someone else at a hefty uptick, "they are going to do

Pakistan has been facing an acute ga shortage as high prices of LNG have been particularly

south Asia

that every time." He added: "The . . . It is nothing new. If you are on the other end of that trade it is frustrating, and with the market being so tight now it will have disastrous consequences

The developing countries that have not been able to secure LNG are increasingly turning to dirtier forms of

Consultancy Wood Mackenzie said small industries in India are switching to fuel oil and liquefied petroleum gas for heating while oil-fired power generation has surged fivefold in

for heating while oil-fired power generation has surged fivefold in Pakistan and 45 per cent in Bangladesh. The high prices of LNG and other fuel sources have been particularly painful for countries in south Asia, which are leavily dependent on imported natural gas for electricity generation. Both Pakistan and Bangladesh, for example, have experienced widespread power outages in recent months.

In Pakistan, the fuel shortages have prompted a surge in demand for alternatives such as coal from neighbouring Afghanistan, where the Tallban has promoted exports to its energy-starved neighbour. Some researchers estimate that Afghanistan's coal exports to Pakistan have doubled this year.

"European and Japanese storage is filling up significantly but there are questions about how long that's spoing to last," said Sam Reynolds, energy finance analyst at institute for Energy Economics and Financial Analysis. If Europe does not cut gas consumption, "come March of next year, we could be at the exact same place where it has to be soaking up more LNG", Reynolds added. "And so countries in emerging Asia are going to grasp at any opportunity they can to keep the lights on and that may mean dittier fuels, that may be greater imports from nearby countries."

Investors retain short bets against yen despite BoJ action

The Bank of Japan's intervention to prop up the yen comes as hedge funds and asset managers have sulft up large short positions against the currency. With bil-lions of dollars on the line, many say they are staying put for now. The yen has falled the citim to the

The yen has fallen victim to the remarkably strong dollar this year, reaching its weakest level against the US currency in 24 years yesterday, just before the Boj's move. It has been losing value since the start of the year, espe-cially after the Federal Reserve signalled tis intention to implement rate rises at one of the fastest clips in years. That weakness has attracted bets

from investors wagering the yen still has further to go. And despite the BoJ's attempt to strengthen the currency, ors and analysts said they did not expect a massive unwinding of the short tions any time soon.

They argued the only way the yen would appreciate meaningfully for a sustained period was if Japan's central bank raised rates or if the Fed loosened monetary policy. Neither is widely

The \$1.2tn of foreign currency reserves that the BoJ holds is likely to provide a buffer. But investors stressed

The core reason why the yen has been weak is the [Bol's] monetary stance, and that hasn't changed'

the reserves were limited and provided a temporary solution. "The BoJ may succeed in dislodging some quantity of short interest in the short term, but

succeed in dislodging some quantity of short interest in the short term, but longer term it is not a sustainable policy," said David Rossmiller, head of portfolio management at Bessemer Trust.

Speculators have a net short position worth roughly 57bn against the yen, according to data from the Commodity Futures Trading Commission — the largest since early June.

"It doesn't change anything because the core reason why the yen has been weak is the [Bo]'s] monetary stance, and that hasn't changed, despite interest rates going up materially in the rest of the world," said a hedge fund truder who has shorted the currency.

The dollar has this year risen to its strongest level in decades as the Fedembarked on its monetary tightening campaign. The dollar index, which measures the greenback against a basket of six rivals, hit a fresh 20-year high on Wednesday after the US central bank raised interest rates by 0.75 percentage points for the third time in a row.

Higher interest rates on US Treasuries have attracted foreign investors, also bolstering the dollar. Japan has been particularly hard hit because its central bank has held interest artes in negative territory since the great financial crisis. However, some analysts predict the BoJ will do more to arrest the sliding yen, viewing list week's intervention as the first of multiple steps.

Deutsche Bank's London HQ deal shows tumbling prices for commercial space

Deutsche Bank's new London head-quarters is being sold after having its price cut significantly, a disposal that lays bare the impact rising rates have had on commercial property prices.

Lendlease, the Australian developer that redeveloped the capital's Elephant and Castle neighbourhood, has struck a deal with UK landlord Landsec to buy 21 The office block is not scheduled to be completed until early next year and Landsec will finish it before handing it on. The company estimates it will have turned a profit of £145mn on 21 Moorfields once the sale completes shortly. Even at a discount, the deal is wel-

come evidence for property agents and investors in London that a step-up in costs has not totally killed the market. "[The] investment in the City of

in the world's key gateway cities," said Neil Martin, European chief executive Landsec chief executive Mark Allan

signalled to the Financial Times earlier signalled to the Financial Times earlier this year his intention to sell off London offices to trim a debt pile of about £4bn and reinvest in development projects. Beyond a smattering of deals, the London office market is moving slowly, early Backbann

lights on'

'Countries in emerging going to

grasp at any opportunity they can to keep the

Brussels casts doubt on intervention to help stretched energy groups

PHILIP STAFFORD — LONDON
ALICE HANCOCK AND SAM FLEMING
BRUSSELS

European authorities have played down their ability to intervene in the down their ability to intervene in the region's derivatives markets to help stretched energy companies after privately admitting energy price volatility was not due to the "market malfunctioning". EU capitals, which had been looking at ways to intervene in Europe's energy markets to tackle six months of volatile and soaring prices.

The cost of buying and selling gas.

electricity and power has fluctuated wildly since Russia's invasion of Ukraine and been exacerbated by water breakdown of about half of France's from third parties and was also considered the benchmark for the global natural gas market. Large utilities that consume and

Large utilities that consume and produce vast quantities of energy have particularly felt the squeeze as they rely on futures markets to help guarantee the price they will receive, and ensure that power and electricity is supplied to will receive the more consumer to the process. that power and electricity is supplied to millions of homes. To open and maintain their positions,

Moortields, Deutsche's City of London base, for £809mn. The deal displays the chilling impact of rate rises and an expected recession on the market.

on the market.

Landsec was hoping to raise closer to
£1bn from a sale, according to office
agents in the capital, and 21 Moorfields
was valued at almost £900mn only in

March this year. Since then, rising rates and inflation have added to the costs facing investors and developers and seen the market

seize up.

"It's a large-scale deal [but] 12 months ago [21 Moorfields] would have been a lot pricier," said James Beckham, head of central London investment at estate agent CBRE.



The 21 Moorfields site in the City of

A similar impact has been left across commercial real estate sectors with activity stalling in recent months as many sellers opt to withdraw buildings from the market rather than accept lower prices. Where deals are being struck, discounts are the norm.

struck, discounts are the norm.
Last week, Prologis, the world's biggest warehouse owner, agreed the purchase of a portfolio of last-mile logistics facilities in Europe from real estate investment manager MARK for EL.6bn.
MARK had sought more for the portfolio but, according to the company's boss Marcus Meijer, it opted to sell directly to Prologis at a discount rather than launch a long compatitive process.

than launch a long competitive process against an unstable geopolitical and economic backdrop.

The European Commission said that stress in markets such as electricity futures "seems to reflect acute uncertainty on market fundamentals" such as supply and demand, according to a presentation to diplomats on Wednesday that was seen by the Financial Times.
Underscoring the lack of options, the European Securities and Markets

European Securities and Markets Authority also on Thursday recom-mended the commission look at ways of clarifying existing standards on collateral to help ease the demands on energy producers.

ever, officials raised doubts about the degree to which collateral rules could be broadened.

The conclusions will come as a blow to

Stress in sectors such as electricity futures 'seems to reflect acute uncertainty on market fundamentals'

nuclear fleet, raising the cost for households and businesses.

Last month, Ursula von der Leyen, Commission president, said the crisis had exposed the limitations of Europe's electricity market design and it needed a new market model that "really fund

wednesday's presentation pointed out that the EU's benchmark gas contract, called TTF, was based on market transactions with no judgments

they have to make regular margin payments to clearing houses, the utilities that sit between two parties in unities that sit between two parties in a trade and prevent a default from infecting the rest of the market.

As prices have soared

As prices have soared, the demands for utilities that have hedged their power sales — often months or years in advance — have ballooned to the point

advance — have ballooned to the point where few can afford to post more money, so creating aliquidity crisis. Some countries, such as Sweden, Finland and Germany, have had to step in and provide credit guarantees to local utilities to help them through the pinch. One EU diplomat said any interven-

tion needed to be made with caution.
"Let's not spill over from energy markets into financial markets," they said.

COMPANIES & MARKETS

On Wall Street

Heat is on stablecoins to deliver original promise



hen stablecoins emerged in the crypto world, they were touted as an answer to the inherent volatility of many digital assets. Most stablecoins would be backed by hard assets such as a currency, anchoring its value. For some stablecoins, it has clearly not quite worked out like that, with one very prominent token named terra USD imploding inspectacular fashion and another, tether, facing continued questions over its asset backing. Confidence in the sector is not high, it is fair to say, with some critics even questioning whether stablecoins should awmakers to show more transparently that it is delivering on the original promise of stablecoins of firm asset

promise of stablecoins of firm asset backing. Gary Gensler, the Securities and Exchange Commission chair, reite Gary Gensler, the Securities and Exchange Commission chair, reiterated a call this month that stablecoins need more regulation, saying he would work with Congress to develop it. In a more immediate move, a New York court this week has struck a blow to crypto industry giant Tether over the disclosure fulformation the second control of the fulformation the second control of fulformation the fulformat of information on the reserves backing its own eponymous stablecoin. Tether's USDT token is widely used in

cryptocurrency markets for trading bitcoin and other major digital assets. It is the largest stable coin in circulation with a market value of about \$70bn. But there have been long-running questions over the quality of its asset backing.

Rather than publish a formal audit of its assets, Tether provides attestations of

their value. In 2021, both Tether and tnervaule. In 2021, both retner and sister crypto exchange Bittinex paid an \$18.5mn penalby after New York's attorney-general accused them of covering up "massive" financial losses. "Tether's claims that its virtual currency was fully backed by US dollars at all times was alle." Lettia James said at the time. Tether and Bitfinex admitted "no wrongodine".

time. Tether and Bittinex admitted "no wrongsdoing."

The New York court ruling turns up the heat on the company once again. A lawsuit, filed in the US District Court for he Southern District of New York in Jun 2019, alleges Tether and Bitfinex shared false information about the tether stablecoin and engaged in market manipulation. Tether has called the case

'Tether's claims that its virtual currency was fully backed by US dollars at all times was a lie'

meritless. This week, Judge Katherine Polk Failla ordered Tether and Bitfinex to produce information in line with plaintiffer quests, describing said documents as "undoubtedly important, as they relate to the backing of tether and crypto commodities transactions". Charley Cooper, bide fexecutive of ISA, a blockhain firm, said: "A court of law has now weighed land said you have to turn over these documents to prove you were backed the way you said you were. It's no longer a please, it say ou have no choice." Bitfinex declined to provide comment on the court rulling.

Bittimex declined to provide comment on the court ruling,
Tether has said the court ruling was a "routine discovery order and does not in any way substantiate plaintiffs" meritless claims." The company added that thad already agreed to produce documents "sufficient to establish the counts and the country of the country reserves backing USDT, and this dispute merely concerned the scope of

documents to be produced". In August, Tether said it would focus on moving to releasing attestations from a quarterly to amonthly basis, working with accounting firm BDO Italia. Tether also said this represented the "next step in the company's path toward a complete audit". Meanwhile, the court's decisionalso comesat a time when a draft stablecoin bill is being negotiated by Congressman Autrick McHenry and Congresswan Maxine Waters, who serves as chair of the House Committee on Financial Services.

the House Committee on Financial Services.
According to acopy of the draft bill seen by the Financial Times, regulators would consider the ability of an issuer to maintain reserves for tokens on "at least a one to one basis" in any application to operate in the US. And reserves would have to comprise assets such as the US currency, Treasury bills, repurchase agreements and central bank reserve deposits. Stablecoins backed by code and algorithms—similar to the now infamous terra stablecoin that imploded—would be out in the cold.
"It reflects the widely held view among regulators and lawmakers that there is too much risk in the sector and the sector should not be relied on to self-regulate," said Charlie Steele, a former US government Lawyer and now partner at

government lawyer and now partner at Forensic Risk Alliance, a regulation

onsultancy.

Individuals familiar with the draftsay it is unlikely the bill will become lawti year, with one person suggesting that would take "an act of God". However, draft stands to inform how the 118th Congress — to be elected in No

approaches stablecoin regulation. "Rather than start fresh after the midterms, we're already somewhere in the game," said Cooper. "It is serious to the extent that it will serve as the framework around stable coins next year

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The day in the markets

What you need to know

cks and oil slide at end of turbulent ek for global markets Barrage of central bank rate increases

UK mini-Budget pushes up gilt yl y historic magnitudes and pound s

Strokes tumbled at the end of a tumultuous week and oil prices recoiled to levels last seen before Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine as fears over the health of the global economy rippide through financial markets.

Wall Streets's SEP SOO and the techneavy Nasdaq Composite both lost about 2 per cent, putfling the indices on course for a fourth consecutive daily fall.

Across the Atlantic, the Stoxx Europe 600 dropped 2.5 per cent to close more than 20 per cent below its January high, putfling the regional gauge in "bear market" territory.

Those sharp moves came days after the US Federal Reserve fired the starting gun on another round of Interest rate rises by international central banks.

Concerns have intensified in recent months that authorities will turn the screens on monetary policy so aggressively that they squash demand, compounding an economic slowdown. Those worters have fuelded volatile trading this week with emphatic swings in stock prices and bond yields.

Rising US interest rates and the borning threat of a recession in the worlds largest economy prompted Wall Street bank Goldman Sachs to cut its year-end forecast for the SGP 500 index to 35,00 — implying a decline of about 4 per cent from Thursday's closing level.

WTI 110 100 90 Sep 2021 2022 Sen

Oil prices have tumbled to their lowest since January

In a further sign of recessionary fears gripping markets, international oil benchmark Brent crude slid more than 5 per cent to its weakest level since January, at below \$86 a barrel — pushed lower by expectations of waning demand. Meanwhile, in an announcement that weighed acutely on UK markets, new chancellor Kawas Kwarteng unveiled a "mini-Budget" including details of a package aimed at stimulating growth in Birtlain's stagnating economy. package almed at stimulating growth in Britain's stagnating economy. London's FTSE 100 closed down 2 per cent. UK government bond yields jumped

by historic magnitudes across all

maturities in a reflection of concerns over the cost of the government's borrowing strategy, which will be financed in large part by selling gilts.

The 10-year gilt yield soared 33 basis points 10.383 per cent, bringing its rise for the week to more than 60bp — one of the biggest increases on record. In currencies, the pound slid more than 3 per cent against the dollar to below \$1.00, its weakest point since 1985.

The dollar rose 14, per cent against a basket of six peers to hit a fresh 20-year high. Harrier Clarfelt, Chris Flood, Nikholas Megaw and Colby Smith

Markets update

	海流	0	•		*3	•
	US	Eurozone	Japan	UK	China	Brazil
Stocks	S&P 500	Eurofirst 300	Nikkei 225	FTSE100	Shanghai Comp	Bovespa
Level	3682.50	1545.21	27153.83	7018.60	3088.37	111060.54
% change on day	-2.01	-2.28	-0.58	-1.97	-0.66	-2.64
Currency	\$ Index (DXY)	\$ per €	Yen per \$	\$ per £	Rmb per \$	Real per \$
Level	112.108	0.971	143.285	1.090	7.111	5.239
% change on day	0.678	-1.120	0.837	-3.197	0.422	1.084
Govt. bonds	10-year Treasury	10-year Bund	10-year JGB	10-year Gilt	10-year bond	10-year bond
Yield	3.737	2.021	0.240	3.828	2.693	12.329
Basis point change on day	6.150	5.900	0.000	33.800	1.700	-8.500
World Index, Commods	FTSE All-World	OII - Brent	OII - WTI	Gold	Silver	Metals (LMEX)
Level	374.01	85.73	78.33	1671.85	19.59	3655.30
% change on day	-2.18	-4.81	-5.77	0.01	0.38	0.22
Yesterday's close apart from: Curr	encles = 16:00 GMT: S&P. Bove	spa. All World, Oil = 17:00 G	MT: Gold. Silver = London om	fix. Bond data supplied by T	ullett Prebon.	



Main equity markets FTSE 100 Index 1760 7360 dammadama da 3520 1520 Biggest movers

Domino's Pizza in-williams (the) 1.31 1.16 -10.82

0.52 -8.31 -7.86

1.78 1.35

Wall Street

Europe

London



a phase 2 study on the emission of the study of the study

criteria" of collaborator AstraZeneca, so a phase 3 frial would not proceed. A cautious appraisal weighed on Wayfair after USS cut its price target for the online furniture store.

The broker said it was operating against a challenging backdrop marked by high customer acquisition costs.

T2 Blosystems, which specialises in the detection of pathogens that cause sepsis — a life-threatening response to an infection — jumped on announcing an exclusive distribution agreement for the Baltic region.

The group's capid test instruments would now be sold in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia — an area that had a higher than average incidence of sepsis per population than western Europe, said T2. Gold miners tracked a slide down for the precious metal, which fell to its lowest level in more than two years.

Newmont, Bartick, Kinross and Gold Fields all retreated. Ray Douglas

groups servicing the real estate, credit and insurance industries, said consumers in its main market of residential mortgage finance were 'holding back on property purchases because of ... soaring interest rates, extreme inflation and fears of recession'.

rates, extreme initation and tears of recession."

German battery maker Varta plummeted as it withdrew its guidance. Projections for its financial year and the third quarter of 2022 were pulled owing 16 further increases "in the cost of energy and the prices of raw matertals". Swiss lender Credit Suisse dived following a report that it was sounding out investors for a new injection of capital.

out investors for a new injection of capital.

Reuters said the lender had contacted investors to gauge interest in a fresh capital raise and was even exploring a US exit for its investment bank.

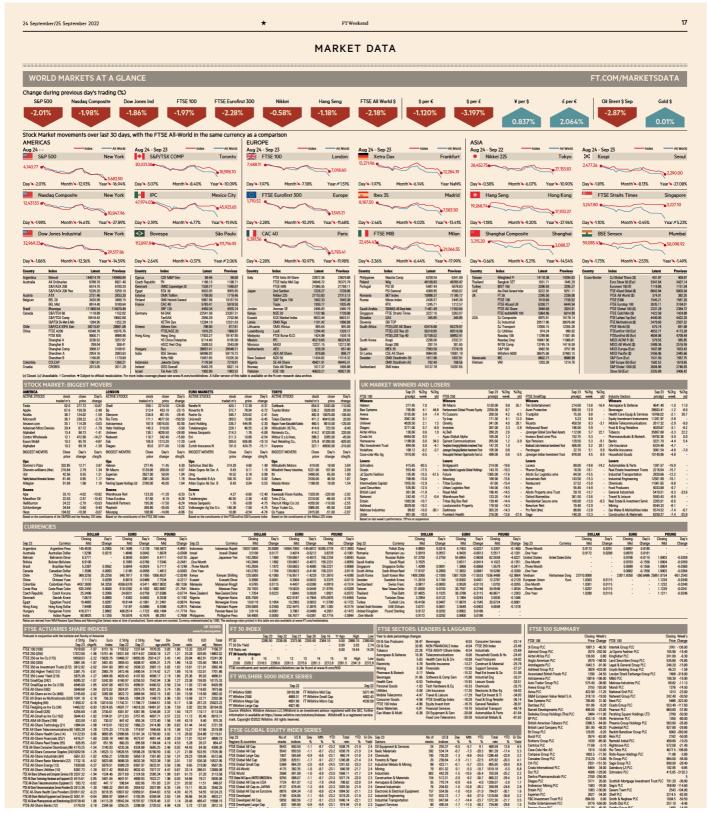
This speculation did not wholly surprise analysts at Citi, who recalled that Credit Suisses' Outgoing chief oxecutive and chief financial office (Thad) confirmed plans to attract third-party capital' for the securitised products business',

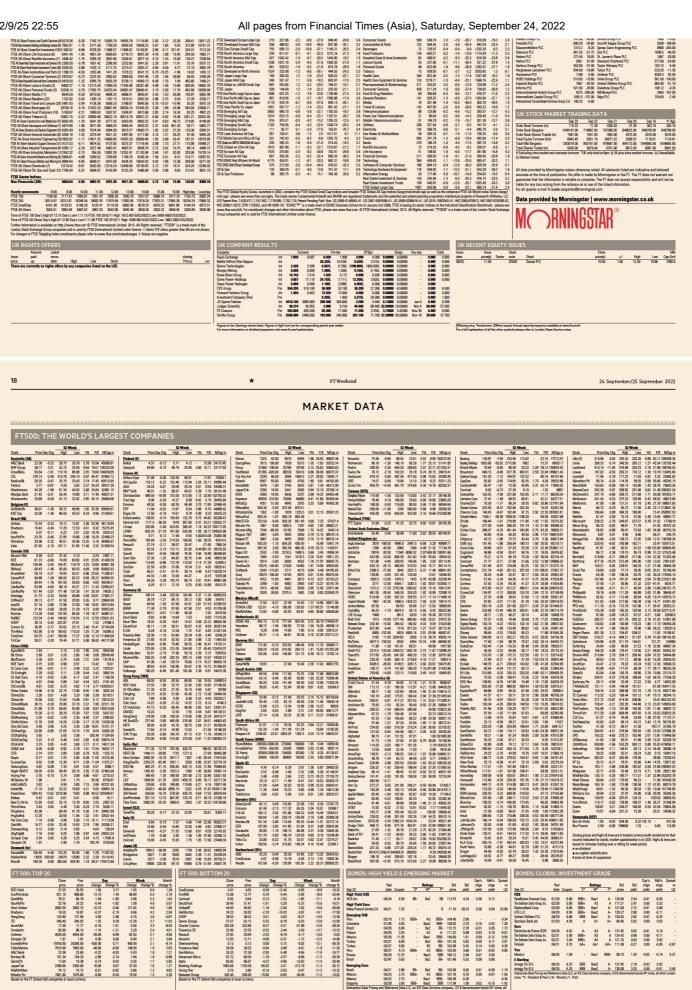
Credit Suisse later denied that it was planning to leave the US. Ray Douglas

ontaining to spinors, which included a potential sale of the group."

The retailer said macroeconomic conditions had "radically changed over the 15 months since Made's IPO", reflected in a decline in discretionary concurrence received.

the 15 months since Mades IPO', reflected in a decline in discretionary consumer spending and the "destabilisation of supply chains". A J Bell said no matter what option Made picked, it looked "like existing shareholders may be wiped out or be left with a mere fraction of their original investment". Made listed at about 200p but was now trading below 5p. Oll and gas group Egdon Resources rose sharply on news that the UK government was lifting the fracking ban in England. Brendan Long, analyst at broker at WH Ireland, said Egdon was set to benefit from the policy as it was 'one of the largest holders of onshore acreage in the UK prospective for hydraulic fracking." TheWorks.co.uk, which sells arts, crafts and stalionery, soared after swinging to pre-taxy profit of 10.2m no fro the year ending May 1, up significantly from a loss of £28m a year earlier. It also reinstated its dividend with a payment of 2.4p per share. Ray Douglas

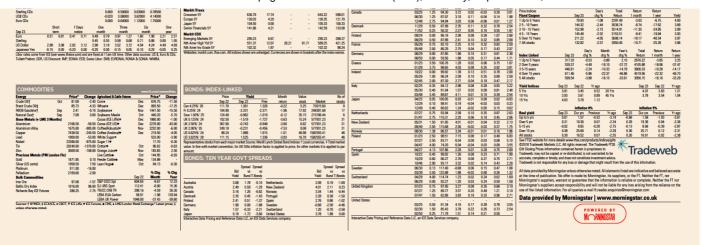




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Sep 23

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