FINANCIAL TIMES



Europe succumbs to migrant fatigue

Decoupling exposes some unpleasant truths RANA FOROOHAR, PAGE 21

Storm chasing **Bright outlook** for forecasters

Richmond Park in London yesterday as aband of cold weather grips Europe.

A new generation of European weather satellites is due to launch tomorrow. Meteosat Third Generation—a collaboration between the European Space Agency and Eumestat—will provide 50 times more data than the current statement of the control of the co rent vehicles and increase the accuracy of warnings on imminent storms. "Local detail of storms is incredibly

hard to predict even with the best com-puter modelling," said Simon Keogh of the UK Met Office. Forecasting across very short timescales and distances depends mainly on the quality of rain-fall radar and satellite observations.

MTG will deliver better warnings of severe weather, with economic benefits running to billions of dollars on top of saving lives, Keogh said.



She alleged that other MEPs were seek

ing to discriminate against Qatar.

Italian prosecutors added that Antonio Panzeri, president of a Brussels-

nio Panzeri, president of a Brussels-based non-governmental organisation and a former MEP, had been detained in the Belgian capital, while his wife and daughter had been held in Bergamo on the basis of a European arrest warrant. Both women deny the allegations, according to their lawyer. Panzeri did not respond to a request for comment. Italian MEP Dino Giarrusso said he and many other lawmakers in Brussels had been approached by Qatari officials numerous times since 2019. "They were hoping to improve the country's reputa-tion, especially in the run-up to the Fifa World Cup', said Giarrusso. Additional reporting by Eleni Varvitsioti

Two MEPs held as Qatari corruption scandal shakes European parliament

Belgian judge charges four people • €600,000 in cash seized • Doha denies influence peddling

VALENTINA POP AND ANDY BOUNDS — BRUSSELS SILVIA SCIORILLI BORRELLI — MILAN SIMEON KERR — DUBAI

The European parliament is at the cen-tre of a spreading corruption scandal after Belgian police seized €600,000 in cash and detained two MEPs as part of

cash and detained two MEPs as part of an international investigation into claims that World Cup host Qatar sought to buy influence.

A Belgian judge charged four unnamed people yesterday with "participation in a criminal organisation, money laundering and corruption" following multiple arrests and house searches over the weekend, including the homes of two MEPs and a former MEP's family in taly.

The charges against the MEPs have

already triggered resignations and the suspension of a parliamentary vote on granting Qatari nationals visa-free travel to the bloc, due next week. Parliamentarians have voiced shock at the arrests of the four people – and of the related detention of family members of a former Italian MEP – who were allegedly offered a holiday worth €100,000 by the Oataris.

'They were hoping to improve the country's reputation . . . in the run-up to the World Cup'

€100,000 by the Qataris. Campaigners have lambaste liament's "culture of impunity"

The allegations come as Qatar is the centre of world attention, with the World Cup semi-finals and final to be played over the next week. The matches are the culmination of a tournament the Gulfstate had long sought but which has brought unprecedented scrutiny of its stance on gas rights treatment of

brought unprecedented scrutiny of its stance on gay rights, treatment of migrant workers and the use of its wealth to bolster its role in the world. Belgium's federal prosecutors office said it suspected "that third parties in political and/or strategic positions within the European parliament were paid large sums of money or offered substantial gifts to influence parliaments decision." Prosecutors had previously said Belgian police investigators suspected a

parliament. An official familiar with the investigation confirmed that the coun-

investigation confirmed that the country in question was Qatar.

Doha has rejected any allegations of misconduct. "Any association of the Qatari government with the reported claims is baseless and gravely misinformed," anofficials sid.

While Belgian authorities have not named the suspects, Eva Kaili, a vice-president of the European parliament, has been stripped of her duties in the legislature as well as her membership in Pasok, the Greek socialist party.

Kaili, a former television news presenter, defende Qatar's human rights record last month in the parliament, thailing the country as "a frontruner in labour rights" for its decision to scrap a migrant workers sponsorship system.

Briefing

Riden adviser criticises I ne rerusal of US shale groups to increase drilling amid Ukraine war disruption has been labelled "un-American" by the White Hous chief energy adviser.— PAGE 2

ancial services firm to signal a globally by scrapping the holiday

➤ Beijing eases freight curbs China has taken another step to ease its economically damaging zero-Covid policy after lifting curbs on transport workers that had slowed freight traffic. – PAGE 4

Eon calls for grid support ► Eon calls for grid support
A significant jump in investment
in the electricity grid is needed to
avoid a "big mistake" in Europe's
renewable power push, the chief
executive of Eon warned.— PAGE 2

Surge in bitcoin outflows Fried's FTX triggered investors to pull record levels of bitcoin worth \$1.5bn from crypto exchanges last month in a flight to safety.— PAGE 6

► Japan warms on chip bans China's progress in artificial intelligence and super computers is unlikely to be stalled by US sanctions, Japanese executives at Sony and NEC cautioned. – PAGE 9

Feeling the pinch % of parents who had problems affording food in past year

US scientists boost clean power hopes with breakthrough in fusion energy

Credit Suisse's Greensill loan spotlights risk failures Suspicious collateral ► PAGE 6

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US government scientists have made a breakthrough in the pursuit of limit-less, tero-carbon power by achieving net energy gain in a fusion reaction for the first time, according to three people with knowledge of preliminary results from a recent experiment.

TOM WILSON - LONDON

Physicists have since the 1950s sought to Physicists have since the 1950s sought to harness the fusion reaction that powers the sun but no group had been able to produce more energy from the reaction than it consumes — a milestone known as net energy gain or target gain. Reaching it would help prove the process could provide a reliable, abundant alternative to fossil fuels and conventional wedges received.

The federal Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in California,

STOCK

which uses a process called inertial confinement fusion that involves bombarding a tiny pellet of hydrogen plasm with the world's biggest laser, has achieved net energy gain in a fusion experiment in the past two weeks, the people said.

Although many scientists believe fusion power stations are still decades away, the technology's potential is hard to ignore. Fusion reactions emit no carbon and norder no lone. I will are diversely a serious process.

to ignore. Fusion reactions emit no car-bon and produce no long-lived radioac-tive waste. A small cup of the hydrogen fuel could theoretically power a house for hundreds of years. The fusion reaction at the US govern-

The fusion reaction at the US government facility produced around 2.5 megajoules of energy, which was about 120 per cent of the 2.1 megajoules of energy in the lasers, the people with knowledge of the results said.

The US Department of Energy has

said energy secretary Jennifer Gran-holm and under-secretary for nuclear security Jill Hruby would announce "a major scientific breakthrough" at the Lawrence Livermore National Labora-trest tengraps

the laboratory confirmed that a suc-cessful experiment had recently taken place at its National Ignition Facility but said analysis of the data was continuing.

askal analysis of the data was continuing. Two of the people with knowledge of the results said the energy output had been greater than expected, which had damaged some diagnostic equipment, complicating the analysis. The break-through was already being widely discussed by scientists, the people added. "If this is confirmed, we are witnessing a moment of history," said Dr Arthur Turrell, aplasma physicist. Additional reporting by David sheppard and Derek Brower

World Markets

MARKETS	CURRENCIES						GOVERNMENT BONDS						
	Dec 9	Prev	%chg		Dec 9	Dec 2		Dec 9	Dec 2	Yield (%)	Dec 9	Dec 2	
0	3974.81	3963.51	0.29	\$/€	1.054	1.047	€/\$	0.949	0.955	US 2 yr	4.32	4.27	
Composite	11130.73	11082.00	0.44	\$/£	1.229	1.222	£/\$	0.814	0.819	US 10 yr	3.54	3.47	
nes Ind	33826.94	33781.48	0.13	£/€	0.857	0.857	€/£	1.166	1.166	US 30 yr	3.52	3.44	
ofirst 300	1735.38	1721.34	0.82	¥/\$	136.595	135.475	¥/€	143.978	141.890	UK 2 yr	3.45	3.35	
oxx 50	3939.22	3921.27	0.46	¥/£	167.917	165.496	£ index	79.486	78.669	UK 10 yr	3.18	3.09	
00	7476.63	7472.17	0.06	SFr/€	0.983	0.986	SFr/£	1.147	1.150	UK 30 yr	3.57	3.51	
II-Share	4087.39	4082.24	0.13	CRYPTO						JPN 2 yr	-0.02	-0.01	
	6677.64	6647.31	0.46			De	. 9	Prev	%chq	JPN 10 yr	0.25	0.25	
ax	14335.17	14264.56	0.50	Bitcoin (\$)		17180	84 17	227.83	-0.27	JPN 30 yr	1.40	1.44	
	27901.01	27574.43	1.18	Ethereum		1277		280.07	-0.19	GER 2 yr	2.14	2.04	
	10000 07	10450 22	2 22	0.01010011						OFD 40	4.00	1.01	



INTERNATIONAL

Biden adviser blasts anti-drilling investors

White House aide says opposition to shale output is 'un-American'

DEREK BROWER - NEW YORK

The White House's chief energy adviser has described as "un-American" the refusal of Us shale investors to increase drilling, even as Moscow's invasion of Ukraine causes havoc on global oil and gas markets.

gas markets.
US oil groups have been under pressure from Wall Street to funnel record profits back to investors this year, despite repeated calls by President Joe Biden to pump more oil to help tame rampant inflation.

"I think that the idea that financiers

would tell companies in the United States not to increase production and to buy back shares and increase dividends when the profits are at all-time highs is outrageous," said Amos Hochstein, President Biden's international energy envoy. "It is not only un-American, it so unfair to the American public.

"You want to pay dividends, pay dividends, You want to pay dividends, Pou want to pay shareholders, You want to get bomuse, do that, too. You could do all of that and still invest more. We are asking you to increase production and seize the moment."

Hochstein's comments came just days after the twinned launch of an EU embargo on seaborne Russian oil imports and a G7 price cap on the coun-try's oil in an attempt by western powers to stymie the Kremlin's income while keeping its crude flowing to the global market. Moscow has repeatedly vowed not to sell oil to countries complying with the cap. On Friday, President Vladimir Putin said Russia would

'It is unfair to the American public . . . We are asking you to increase production and seize the moment'

"even think . . . about a possible cut in production".

Oil prices have swung wildly this ye piking after Russia's invasion to alm spiking after Russia's invasion to almost \$140 a barrel, leading the White House to release crude stored in emergency

Energy supplies. Contingency planning

stockpiles in a bid to cool inflation.

Prices have tumbled in recent days on fears of a global recession, with international benchmark Brent settling at a year-to-date low of \$76.10 per barrel

n Friday.

But further turmoil in global energy

But further turmoil in global energy was likely, especially in Europe's gas market, as the stand-off between Putin and the west deepened, Hochstein said. While an "imprecedented" effort by the US and other liquefied natural gas exporters had left Europe adequately stocked with the fuel for this winter, the "imprecedented" in the fuel for this winter, the "imprecedented" in property would be a support to the property of the pro stocked with the fuel for this winter, the loss of Russian pipeline imports would mean repeating the effort "winter by winter", Hochstein warned.

Extra global LNG supplies would not arrive until plants being built in the US and Qatar came online later this decade,

meaning "the mountain to climb [to build] gas stockpiles for next year is much higher".

"We are really preparing and living from an energy perspective, in Europe and beyond, in a hand to mouth, step by step [way]. Fincinstein said.

The Biden adviser's comments will spark a reaction in the US shale sector, which has complained about mixed signals from a White House that has called for more fossil fuel output while also talking of cutting demand and speeding up a shift away from oil and gas. But Hochstein denied any contradiction, saying the US could "do two things at the very same time, ensuring we have enough [oil] supply for a strong global ecconomy, while accelerating the energy transition".

them to cut their consumption to ease shortages. If that failed, areas hit by cuts would be able to check online the night

before if they were affected.

That would be similar to the types of

7pm in January and February if temper

French grid operator RTE has said ower cuts could still be avoided, espe-

cially as more nuclear reactors come

And some of the contingency plan ning has shown that very short power cuts may be manageable for some sec-tors. Klépierre, which owns and oper-

ates shopping centres in France, said it had carried out trial blackouts. It would

be able to keep fire detectors running and dimmed lights on thanks to genera-tors, allowing malls to open, even if lifts were cordoned off.

But despite the soothing words, the incertainty created by even the threat of power cuts has highlighted the potential political cost to the government.

of power cuts has highlighted the poten-tial political cost to the government.

"If France has to cut its electricity from time to time, how can it claim to be the master of Europe?" said Bruno Cau-très, a political scientist with Sciences Po

rience blackouts between 4pm and

measures envisaged in Britain. the grid has warned households could Renewables push

Europe must invest more in electricity grid, warns Eon chief

Europe's renewable power push will be a "big mistake" unless it significantly increases investment in the continent's electricity grid to cope with mis-matches in supply and demand, warns the chief executive of European energy major Eon.

Leonhard Birnbaum, who took over last month as president of Eurelectric, the European electricity industry body, said the accelerated installation of wind turthe accelerated installation of wind tur-bines and solar panels across the EU as the bloc tries to wean itself off Russian fossil fuels was creating bottlenecks that the grid was not designed to cope with. To support the rapid increase in renewables, Eurelectric estimates, investment in the grid needs to increase by

50-70 per cent to reach €34bn-€39bn a year by 2030.

year by 2050.
"If we accelerate renewables, we need to accelerate the grid," Birnbaum said.
"If we accelerate renewables only, we are making a big mistake."

Despite Europe having younger and generally more resilient electricity grids than the US, he said, reserve capacity designed to offset shortages when the weather was not optimal for renewable power was already stretched by the number of wind turbines and solar pan-els that had been brought online since the war in Ukraine started.

"We have been adding renewables, often using up reserves which we traditionally had in the grid . . . we built a system with lots of reserves. The reserve is gone," Birnbaum said.

Solar capacity in the bloc has increased by 40 gigawatts this year, a 40 per cent increase on the new capacity added during 2021 and enough to supply 12mn homes, according to Solar

ower Europe. Russia's curtailment of most of its gas exports to the EU in retaliation for its

Russia's curtailment of most of its gas exports to the EU in retaliation for its support for Ukraine has forced the bloc to diversify its energy supply rapidly. The European Commission and EU governments have signed agreements to increase shipments of gas from other regions at the same time as pushing for more renewable power.

In May, Brussels said it wanted to increase and EU-wide target for the proportion of renewable energy in its total supply from 40 per cent to 45 per entity and the supply from 40 per cent to 45 per entity and the supply from 40 per cent to 45 per entity and the supply from 40 per cent to 45 per entity and and present and the supply from 40 per cent to 45 per entity and the supply from 40 per cent to 45 per entity and the supply from 40 per cent to 45 per entity and the supply from 40 per cent to 45 per entity and the supply from 40 per entity from 40 p

Alarm rises in France over threat of power cuts

Government's messaging fuels fears over who could be hit and how to protect the vulnerable

SARAH WHITE — PARIS

As falling temperatures test Europe's resistance to a winter energy crisis, France has unveiled contingency plans for possible power cuts — including a stark reminder that in the event of a

blackout elevators would be off-limits.
But far from reassuring the public, the government's messaging — which also numbers could go down — has fuelled concerns over who could be hit and how

to protect the most vulnerable.
"Right now it's just raising a lot of questions and causing more panic than the opposite," said Florence Compte, the headmistress of a primary school in the

the opposite," said Florence Compte, the headmistress of a primary skool in the southern Var region, after hearing classrooms in areas hit by short, targeted cuts would have to shut for the morning, as they would be unheated and unlit.

France is not alone in envisaging power cuts as a last resort to energy shortages this winter. From Britain to Finland and Estonia, several countries expecting strains have warned that networks might have to be cut for short periods. The German central bank has made arrangements to have more emergency cash available in case ATMS are paralysed by outages. From Switzerland to talty, telecoms operators have been lobbying to be spared from blackouts. But few countries have gone as far as France in detailing the possible fallout from programmed power cuts, with most governments choosing to focus on appeals for businesses and households to cut energy usage rather than on contingency plans.

to cut energy usage rather than on con-tingency plans.

In some other large European econo-mies such as Germany and Italy, talk of power cuts has even eased, thanks to high gas storage levels and falls in indus-trial demand as the continent pivots away from Russian gas supplies.

German government warnings over the summer that it might have to intro-duce gas rationing have faded. In Spain, Beatriz Corredor, chair of Redeia, the parent company for the grid operator, told the Financial Times that the coun-try would have no power supply prob-

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and solar power and six gas processing plants.

But France, with its heavy reliance on nuclear energy, is more vulnerable because of a record number of outages and maintenance stoppages at its nuclear power plants this year. That problem has spilled over into countries such as Britain, which normally leans on French power supplies. France's preparations for a worst case energy scenario come after the government was accused of lacking foresight in the early days of the Covid pandemic, when face masks were scarce and hospitals were overrun. However, the public messaging about possible fuel cuts appears to have backfired, forcing President Emmanuel Macron and his ministers to urge people not to panic.

"Stop all this," Macron said this week.

He said the debate over power cuts had become absurd. "We're a great nation, we have a great energy model and we will make it through this winter despite the war."

Prime minister Elisabeth Bornerbeluded an executive from EDF-owned power distributor Enedis for saying people reliant on respirators in their homes would not be spared power cuts like hospitals and nursing homes. She said emergency care provisions would be made.

Officials are now at pains to reassure the public that energy-saving power cuts would last no longer than two hours and be dotted across the country in a "leopard skin" pattern.

People would be warned three days before in televised "red alerts" that strains were building, in an appeal for

the master of Europer® said Bruno Cau-très, a political scientist with Sciences Po university.

Mayors® associations have warned that rural areas could be disproportion-ately affected because of the concentra-tion of priority sites such as hospitals in-cities like Paris, despite official assur-ances to the contrary.

Accusations that politicians and urban elites were removed from the concerns of countryside dwellers helped fuel the anti-government protests of 2018, when Macron had to backtrack on a fuel tax that vould have hit drivers. Some analysts and businesses said the warnings might be scare tactics to encourage more energy savings, and that the government would be likely to use every lever it had, including leaning on large inclustrial groups to make big-ger efforts, before resorting to wide-spread power cuts.

"It can't happen," said the manager of a Franprix grocery store in Paris. "If our "rideg goes out for two hous, everything will end up in the garbage. They're just doing this to frighten people."

Additional reporting by Barney [pops. Martin Arnold, Guy Chazan, Nathalle Thomas and Sam Jones

two hours. everything will end up in the

[grocery store] fridge goes out for garbage

Central banks Rising losses risk bailouts and political pressure



When a company tells its shareholders it expects to make €9bn of losses over the next five years that will more than wipe out all its provisions and equity, it would usually trigger an existential cri-sis. The normal rules do not appear to apply to the Belgian central bank.

The National Bank of Belgium's warn-ing did cause its shares to fall about 18 per cent last week. But it still was able to ure investors that its financial woes would not call into question its stability. "After all, a central bank can continue to operate, at least temporarily, with a neg-ative capital position," said the 172-year-

raising interest rates sharply to tackle soaring inflation and unwinding their massive bond purchases, economists expect many of them to make sizeable

agement. That sum is far larger than in recent years as a result of the European Central Bank's aggressive monetary eas-ing from 2014-21, when negative rates meant lenders paid to deposit money at the central bank.

the central bank.

The scale of the payout on deposits will drag many eurozone central banks into the red, Ducrozet warned, adding that some "could face growing political pressure to be recapitalised".

Some think this will only amount to a

"storm in a teacup", as Danske Bank strategist Piet Haines Christiansen said, pointing out that central banks do not aim to make profits and cannot go bust when they have the power to print money, earning revenue on the produc-

fallen into negative equity in the past

Bank of Belgium, which is 50 per cent state-owned — have been paid to finance ministries. Lower dividends from central banks will, therefore, hit public finances. If the losses get too big, they may need state bailouts that risk

they may need state bailouts that risk increasing political pressure, threaten-ingtheir independence. For the past decade, eurozone central banks have been making healthy prof-its, totalling about <500bn between 2012 and 2021, thanks mainly to income on the bonds they bought during this time and the negative interest earned on commercial bank deposits.

While part of these profits went to national governments, they also used a big chunk to build up reserves that can absorb losses as they unwind their ultra-losse monetary policies. These buffers have come into play since central banks started raising interest rates sharply.

Some central banks are also suffering losses on large bond portfolia equitied. losses on large bond portfolios acquired in recent years. The Reserve Bank of Australia recently announced an A\$37bn (\$25bn) accounting loss on its

pandemic bond purchase programme, leaving it with a negative equity position or A\$12011.

The Office for Budget Responsibility estimated the Bank of England will need £133bn from the government over the next five years to cover losses on its

quantitative easing portfolio. Big central banks, such as the ECB and the US Federal Reserve, can deal with any negative equity by accumulating a

FINANCIAL TIMES

Monday 12 December 2022 FINANCIAL TIMES

INTERNATIONAL

Netanyahu forges Israel's most rightwing government

Liberals and Palestinians fear role of ultranationalists in PM's coalition

Rarely 18 months after he was ousted as Barely 18 months after he was ousted as prime minister, battling corruption charges and estranged from former allies, Benjamin Netanyahu is poised for a remarkable return to power at the head of the most rightwing government in Israell history.

in Israel history.

Following an unexpectedly clear-cut victory in last month's election, the Likud party has clinched provisional deals with all five of the far right and religious groups with which Netanyahu, 73, hopes to form a government. Last week, Israel's president granted Netanyahu a further 10 days to finalise the process.

The outline of the new government has been hailed by supporters, who see it as a once-in-a-generation chance to remake Israel in their own deeply conservative and religious image. But the anti-Arab, homophobic and sexist rhetoric of some of its potential key figures, along with plans to dismantle judicial checks and balances, have sparked a

'Israel is being transformed from a democracy to a theocracy'

Ron Huldai, mayor of Tel Aviv

backlash from liberal opponents and

growing unease among Israel's allies.
"This election really is a turning point," said Dahlia Scheindlin, a political analyst and pollster. "It is a significant break from the past in terms of how

extreme they are."

Much of the furore surrounding the new government has centred on two ultranationalists with a history of provocative anti-Arab rhetoric, Itamar Ben-Gvir and Bezalel Smotrich. An alliance headed by the pair and brokered by Netanyahu came third in last month's election, giving them leverage to demand roles that will give them huge sway over relations between Israelis and Palestinians — both in Israel and in the West Bank, which Israel has occupied since 1967.

Ben-Gvir was previously convicted of inctement to racism and, until a couple of years ago, kept in his house a picture of a Jewish extremist who gummed down 29 Palestinians in a mosque. He will be national Security minister, with expanded powers and responsibility for Israel's police.

Smotrich, a settler leader who once dubbed himself a "proud homophobe", said last year that Israel's first leader, David Ben-Gurion, made a mistake by not expelling all Arabs in 1948. He had sought the defence portfolio, but US officials were sufficiently concerned to lobby strongly against it, and instead he is set to be finance minister.

Palestinian officials fear that the appointment of the two men, who oppose Palestinian statehood and back the expansion of Israeli settlements in Much of the furore surrounding the

expansion of Israeli settl

the West Bank - which most of the

international community considers illegal – will erode any lingering prospect of a two-state solution. "They will employ [their new powers] to complete the processes . . . of the gradual and silent annexation of the West Bank," the Palestinian Authority said last week.

An outer when all

An outcry has also erupted over Netanyahu's decision to make Avi Maoz — an ultranationalist known for his virulent opposition to LGBT+ rights — head of a body promoting Jewish iden-tity and give him powers over some extracurricular activities in schools.

not countenance any erosion of LGBT rights, and dismissed concerns that Maoz — who once said a market gest contribution to society was marry ing and raising a family — would have an outsize influence over education. But liberal and secular Israelis are

alarmed. More than 50 municipal offi-cials and 300 school principals have protested against Maoz's proposed role. "Israel is being transformed from a democracy to a theocracy," Ron Huldai, the mayor of Tel Aviv, told Channel 12 News last week. Another big domestic clash is looming

over the incoming government's plans to overhaul Israel's judiciary. Among the ideas proposed are allowing a major-ity of lawmakers to override High Court rulings; giving politicians control over appointing judges; and cancelling the offence of breach of trust — one of the charges against Netanyahu in his corruption trial.

ruption trial.

Proponents argue the changes are needed to bring to heel an increasingly activist judiciary that has used powers it was never formally given to favour a

broadly leftwing agenda. But critics see them as an assault on Israel's checks and balances that could

Israel's checks and balances that could also help extricate Nectampalu from legal woes. "There will be a government without restraints or oversight." Avi Himi, head of the Israel Bar Association, told the Haaretz news site.

Netanyahu has denied any wrongdoing, and he and his allies have insisted that the legal reforms will not affect his trial. Given their broad ideological alignment, Netanyahu and his allies were expected to form a government relatively quickly. But as talks have dragged on, some analysts have begun to wonder whether their rancorousness indicates that the coalition could prove less durable than its comfortable majority might suggest.

less durable than its comfortable majority might suggest.
Shalom Lipner, senior fellow at the Atlantic Council, said the far-reaching demands Netanyahu's partners had sought to lock in during negotiations reflected their concerns that "once [he] resolves his personal problems, he will be far less inclined to meet their demands".

Lipner added: "They're eminently conscious of the fact that their moment in the sun could be time-limited."

Europe's next generation of weather satellites to launch

CLIVE COOKSON - LONDON

The first of a new generation of Euro-pean weather satellites will launch tomorrow, aiming to provide 50 times more data than is currently possible so that meteorologists can increase the accuracy of their forecasts, particularly of imminent storms.

The €4.3bn Meteosat Third Generation (MTG) system will consist of three satel-(MTG) system will consist of three satel-lites in geostationary orbit positioned 36,000km above the equator over Africa. They will provide images of Europe every two and a half minutes, including the first comprehensive observations of lightning from space.

When fully deployed in 2026, the new satellites will provide 50 times more

Evans, director-general of Eumetsat, the 30-state European weather and environment satellite agency, which will operate the system.

Meteorologists are most excited by

Meteorologists are most excited by the boost that MTG observations will give to forecasting the immediate future —up to two hours ahead. Nowcasting, as it is called, is critical for warning about severe weather, particularly intense storms, in time for the authorities to

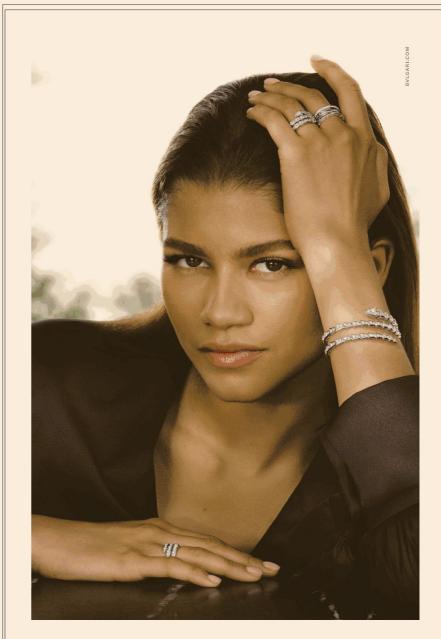
storms, in time for the authorities to take remedial action such as evacuating people before floods hit.

MTG is a collaboration between two pan-European intergovernmental organisations. The European Space Agency, which is in charge of the system's development, is contributing £1.4bn while Eumetsat provides



'This election really is a turning point. It is a significant break from the past in terms of how extreme they are

Benjamin Netanyahu, middle row centre, with leaders of political parties last month



BVLGARI

INTERNATIONAL

Beijing lifts Covid curbs for freight workers

State Council eases stifling policy in face of protests and economic downturn

PRIMROSE RIORDAN AND GLORIA LI

China has lifted tough pandemic restrictions on transport workers that have slowed the flow of freight in the country, as Beiljing rapidly eases its economically damaging zero-Covid policy.

The order to local governments follows moves to reopen the country after nearly three years of a stilling strategy to fight Covid-19 that has led to lockdowns and border closures, hitting business.

The State Council, China's cabinet,

authorities should not subject them to constant PCR testing. The country's roads and ports had been riddled with checkpoints at which drivers have had to show a recent negative PCR test and health code, congesting the flow of cargo and slowing the nation's economic recovery.

"[Local governments should] make every effort to ensure the transportation service of vaccines, antigen detection reagents, medicines, masks and other medical materials," the State Council added in the notice.

China also eased restrictions on air

China also eased restrictions on air

sudden about-face on the virus

The sudden about-face on the virus followed nationwide protests and an economic slowdown spearheaded by a property liquidity crisis. But the reopening has led to concerns of a deadly "exit wave" of Covid cases because of inadequate healthcare resources and low vaccination rates among the delerly.

China reported just 10,815 new Covid-19 infections for December 10 and no new deaths. But analysts said considering the drop in testing requirements

In central Beijing at the weekend, reets and shopping malls were virtustreets and shopping malls were virtually deserted as many people stayed home. Residents who had contracted Covid told the Financial Times that they were isolating in their homes without notifying the authorities of their cases.

notifying the authorities of their cases.
"The transitional phase will probably be bumpy as the country may need to grapple with surging cases and increasingly stretched health systems. Nearterm, we may see growth dip," said Jing Li, HSBC's chief economist for Greater China

China.

"But with vaccination rates increasing

time, we are likely to see a subsequent strong recovery." China has a gross domestic product growth target of 5.5 per cent this year but HSBC's forecast is 5 per cent. China's leading epidemiologists, such as Zhong Nanshan and Li Lanjuan, have

as Zhong Nanshan and Li Lanjuan, have assured the public of the milder nature of the Omicron coronavirus variant in state media interviews in recent days after being largely out of public view for

months.

Their reappearance has provoked a backlash from people online, with some querying the timing, saying the epidemiologists used to emphasise the high infectiousness of the variant in domestic media but now advocate for reopenium lineavith the onvernment.

tackle Haiti's gang violence

International plea

Dominican Republic calls for help to

The president of the Dominican Republic has called on the interna-tional community to intervene in Haiti without delay to halt gang violence, instead of making speeches about help-ing the stricken Caribbean nation.

"The international community needs to be more responsible," President Luis Abinader told the Financial Times in an Abinader told the Financial Times in an interview. "If it's really concerned about Haiti, it needs to go and help there. Thas to help Haiti against the gangs who are raping boys and girls every day," he will be a supply the supply and girls every day." Haiti's interim prime minister Ariel Henry called in October for an international military force to stop armed gangs from terrorising the country, saying the supply and the supply the supply and the supp

ing there was a risk of a major hu

The US has tried to win agreement on a multinational force but has met resist ance from regional allies. They are con-cerned about being seen to prop up Haiti's unelected interim government, which came to power after President Jovenel Moïse was assassinated in July last year. They want to see a broader political consensus inside the country before committing to intervention but Abinader said the situation demanded immediate action.

"You have to help pacify Haiti,"
Abinader said. "Not with speeches about 'we are going to help', but with real actions . . . The Haitians themselves can't . . . The person who asked for a force was the Haitian PM. If he asks

for it, it's because he needs it." The Dominican Republic's flourishing economy, based around tourism, dutyfree zones and regional logistics, has been sucking in large numbers of Haitian migrants in recent years, many of whom illegally cross the border between

whom illegally cross the border between the island's two nations. Abinader's gov-ernment has responded by deporting record numbers of Italitans. Volker Türk, the UN high commis-sioner for human rights, last month called on the Dominican Republic to stop deporting Haitlians and the US has criticised the mass detention of sus-pected illegal Italitan migrants for days in what it says are overcrowded detenin what it says are overcrowded deten-tion centres, sometimes without access to food or lavatories.

ion centres, sometimes without access to food or lavatories.

But Abinader was unrepentant about the policy, which has led to around 20,000 Haitlians a month being sent home from the Dominican Republic since August. "We have a border with one of the world's poorest countries, perhaps among the two or three poorest countries in the world, with a very weak government where a significant part of the territory is ruled by gangs," he said. "As president of the Dominican Republic, thave to protect my country."

Abinader's government is building a security fence along the border with Haitit to deter illegal migration. The first section will be finished next year and by 2024 it will extend across about half of the frontier, with surveillance technology covering more mountainous areas. The president rejected criticism of the border fence, saying "it's the same as the US is doing with Mexico".

The Dominican Republic has been among the fastest growing economies in Latin America and the Caribbean over the past two decades, helped by a consensus around business friendly policies and a thriving tourism industry.

Real estate. Housing affordability

China property woes push young to rent

Potential buyers are doubting whether a costly new home is

still a sensible investment

CHENG LENG — HONG KONG
THOMAS HALE — SHANGHA

A few months after her wedding this year, Lilian Li moved from the southwestern Chinese city of Chongqing to an apartment near Beijing's financial dis-

But while Chinese newly-weds typi-cally see property ownership as an essential next step after marriage, Li and her husband are instead renting a two-bedroom apartment in the capital for Rmb13,000 (\$1,868) a month.

To buy an identical apartment, Li and her family would need more than Rmb5mn just for the down payment—the equivalent of more than 30 years' rent. "My husband and I had a deep consecutive when the life in the consecutive statement is a second to be a second to versation about the life we want, and we reached an agreement not to buy," said Li, 28. "We don't want to owe our parents a massive down payment or to fall heavily into debt."

Increasing numbers of young Chi-

nese, the main buyers of urban homes, are making the same decision — with potentially far-reaching implications for the nation's troubled property

tor the nation's troubled property market.

Affordability is a thorny issue for homebuyers in China, where average house prices have nearly doubled over the past decade. Rents have also increased, but by much less. The ratio of the cost to buy residential properties to their monthly rent was above 600 in big cities in June 2022, according to calculations by real estate data company Zhuge Zhaofang, In 2007, the ratio was 400 or below.

below.

A ratio of more than around 200 is considered a warning signal of a potential property price bubble, according to a report by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, a state think-tank.

In Beijing, the average apartment now costs about Rmb69,000 a square metre, according to real estate data provider creorice.cn.

according to real estate Guard Prist-time buyers typically rely on family support and debt to purchase a living space in big cities. But the woes of real estate developers such as Evergrande, which defaulted last year as a grande, which defaulted last year as a liquidity crisis gripped the property sec-tor, have left many buyers with unfin-ished homes. That has prompted poten-tial purchasers such as Li to question



A couple pose for wedding photographs in Shanghai. Newly wed Chinese typically see

opportunity.

Chinese home sales by floor area in 100 cities were down about 20 per cent year on year in October, according to a survey by China Index Academy, a real estate research company. While sales have not fallen as fast in prime areas of big cities, the pessimism across the market has dented confidence. And while new homes remain expensive, average prices across 70 cities were down 2.4 per cent in October from a year ago, the seventh consecutive month of decline, government data showed.

"With no wealth-creation effect, what's the point of buying properties like crazy? Why not just rent?" said Victoria Zhan, a young banker who has postponed plans to buy an apartment in suburban Shanghai this year.

The research department of China International Capital Corporation forecast that the number of Chinese renting would grow by 200mn to reach 300mn by 2005.

The cooling enthusiasm for home-

The cooling enthusiasm for home

buying comes as the government moves to make more affordable rented housing available to young people as part of President XI Jinping's drive for "com-

'With no wealth-

creation effect, what's the point of

buving properties like crazy? Why not just rent?

President X J Jinping's drive for "common prosperity".

Authorities are pushing more government-subsidised rental homes on to the market and have introduced "accommodative policies" for the sector including low-interest loans for developers of rental housing.

Qiqi Zhang, a Shanghai-based managing director at US private equity group warburg Pincus, which first invested in rental property in China in 2013, said high house prices in big cities still put "a lot of pressure" on young people.

The government "really wants to promote rental housing to solve the accommodation needs of young people", Zhang said.

modation needs of young people.

Zhangsaid.
In January, China's housing ministry
announced a target of 6.5mn units of
affordable homes to be built in 40 ctites
over the five years to 2025, enough to
house 13mn young people and new residents.

The government's promotion of the

rental housing market is increasingly intertwined with its support for property developers struggling to complete residential construction projects.

Financial regulators last month called for increased state-led conversion of unfinished homes to rental housing, and revealed more sophisticated financial routes to help banks and investors buy out unfinished projects. In response, the government of Kaifeng city in China's central Henan province said it planned to buy more than 1,000 unfinished apartments next year from Evergrande to turn into rental homes. China Construction Bank, the country's second-largest bank by assets, said it had set up a Rm50o'h rental housing fund to buy out unfinished residential construction projects in more than 20 cities.

cities.

Li said renting rather than buying would save her and her husband money and so help them maintain their quality of life. "We can buy an apartment in Chongqing when we are getting old and ready to retire," she said. "Before that, I

Bolsonaro ends weeks of silence to rally supporters as presidency draws to a close

BRYAN HARRIS — SÃO PAULO

Outgoing Brazilian president Jair Bol-sonaro has broken a near six-week sonaro has broken a near six-week silence after his election defeat in October, telling supporters they will decide his next steps.

"Who decides where I go are you. Who decides which way the armed forces go are you," the rightwing populist told radical supporters, who are calling for a military intervention against the elec-tion of leftwing leader Luiz Inácio Lula

The once-fiery Bolsonaro remained holed up in the presidential palace in Brasília for almost 40 days, eschewing professional appointments and the reg-ular social media self-promotion that to be at the forefront of this fight, to take our party to a more important level," said Valdemar Costa Neto, president of the party, known as the PL. "It is very ortant that he travels around Brazil that he continues to engage in politics."

Two sources close to the outgoing president, who is believed to be suffer-

ing from an infection that has caused his legs to swell, say he has been taking a break and plotting how he will return to the fray. "It's just a breather. The presi-dent will be back with a bang, I can assure you," said one close ally of the Bolsonaro family.

Allies say that the former army cap-tain is also wary of making any public statement that might put him in legal line with protesters and politicians questioning the legitimacy of the polls. In the comments to supporters on Fri-day, Bolsonaro did not endorse calls for

a military intervention, but said: "Nothunited . . . and they are responsible for our freedom." the armed forces are

One individual who met the president

following the election said: "He [Bolsonaro] knows if he travels the country and starts making rallies, he could say something that might be considered anti-democratic. That worries him."

Bolsonaro had publicly admitted before the election that he feared prosecution when he lost presidential immu-nity. He faces multiple legal cases,



including one that accuses him of spreading fake news during the Covid pandemic.

pandemic.

Despite a large show of popular support for him immediately after the elec-. demonstrations have since dwin dled and only a core of radical Bolsonard

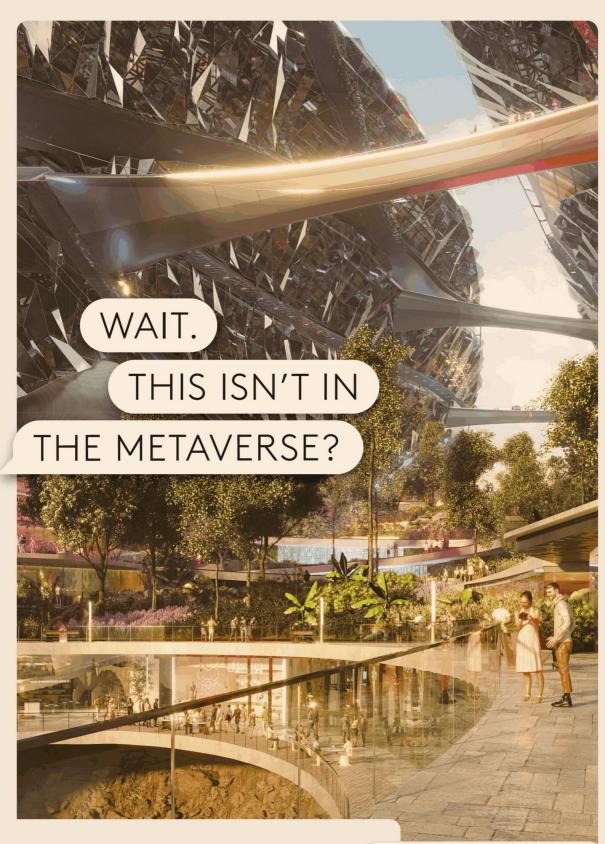
dled and only a core of radical Bolsonaro supporters remain outside the country's military bases. "In the immediate aftermath of the elections, Bolsonaro expected a strong political, military and popular outpour-ing against the results. But, as time went by, it became clear this movement was mache" said Husso Consura a professor weak," said Bruno Carazza, a profes at the Dom Cabral Foundation, a business school. "So instead of being a lame duck, he decided to just disappear Costa Neto has tried to coax Bolsonaro

tion of his party, with an office, a team of lawyers and even a salary." Bolsonaro's leadership of the Brazilian right is also threatened by the emer-gence of more moderate, technocratic figures. In the recent elections, the gov-ernorships of São Paulo and Minas Gerais — two of Brazil's biggest states were both won by rightwing candidates who eschew Bolsonaro's more extreme rhetoric and policies.

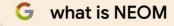
"Bolsonaro's ability to be an effective oposition leader is affected by the facts opposition leader is affected by the facts that the bolsonarismo is not organised in one single political party and that other leaders have emerged, who could be seen as more interesting by the elites," Carazza said.

As Bolsonaro's term draws to a close at

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Pit of despair Zambia's lead mining pollution suit against Anglo American is set to become an ESG test case operar Hain, page 21

Companies & Markets

Doubt cast on collateral for Credit Suisse's Greensill loan

- Liberty invoices called into question
- ◆ Bills made \$140mn lifeline possible

Credit Suisse provided an emergency \$140mn loan to Greensill Capital based partly on invoices to companies that deny ever doing the business stated on the documents

The Swiss bank provided the loan in October 2020, less than five months before the collapse of Greensill, a supply chain finance firm that counted former British prime minister David Cameron as a senior adviser

Invoices issued by metals magnate Sanjeev Gupta's Liberty Commodities and sold to Greensill formed part of the

The bank accepted the collateral even after one of its biggest clients warned over a suspicious invoice

collateral for the loan, according to doc-uments seen by the Financial Times and people familiar with the transaction. Yet

people lamiliar with the transaction. Yet several of the parties named on the invoices have told the FT they did no business with Liberty. The apparent failure to spot that sus-picious invoices were pledged as collat-eral casts fresh light on risk manage-ment failures at Credit Suisse. It also raises new questions over the

ment failures at Credit Suisse. It also raises new questions over the practices at Greensill and Liberty. The commodities company is part of Gupta's GFG Alliance, which is being investigated by the UK's Serious Fraud Office and French police over suspected fraud and money laundering. GFG has consistently denied any wrongdoing. Credit Suisse's loan had a clause dictating that the collateral value had to be equal to or greater than the \$140mn

borrowed. The terms of the debt agreement only allowed invoices on Green-sill's balance sheet to count towards this tally if the party named on the bill was investment-grader atted.

In the days leading up to Greensill's collapse, Credit Suisse produced a schedule of receivables dated February 2021, detailing \$99mn of these eligible invoices naming 12 different companions. invoices naming 12 different compa-

The FT has seen invoices that Liberty ommodities sold to Greensill naming seven of these same companies. Four of them — Cargill, Mitsui Bussan Metals, Toyota Tsusho Asia Pacific and Itochu Singapore — told the FT they had no record of any transactions with Liberty Commodities. The others declined to comment or could not be reached.

Credit Suisse accepted the bills as col-lateral even after one of its biggest clients — Swiss commodities trader Trafig ura — had warned the bank that Liberty Commodities appeared to have raised financing through Greensill using a sus-

mancing invoice,
The FT revealed last year that Credit
Suisse's Greensill-linked supply chain
finance funds contained suspect
invoices from Liberty Commodities. It

invoices from Liberty Commodities. It has not been reported previously that the lender's investment banking division accepted the same bills as collateral for a corporate loan it made to Greensill. Despite the suspicious collateral, the \$140 mn loan has since been repaid because Credit Suisse had first-ranking security on other Greensill assets, including \$50 mn of cash.

The invoices the FT has seen all refer to sales of nickel supposedly carried out already, including precise details of when and where the metal was delivered. Greensill's administrator Grant Thornton declined to comment.

Bitcoin retreat Investors pull record holdings from crypto exchanges after collapse of FTX



Investors pull coins from crypto trading venues



Investors are pulling record levels of bitcoin from crypto exchanges as the collapse of Sam Bankman-Fried's FTX stirs fears over the safety of their

assets.

FTX, once the darling of the crypto industry, filed for bankruptcy protection in mid-November after an \$8bn hole emerged in its balance sheet. New chief executive John Ray described a lack of basic risk management and Bankman-Fried has admitted to poor internal controls. Its rapid descent has a alarmed investors who keep and trade their assets on other centralised crypto exchanges, leading to record levels of withdrawals of bitcoin, the most widely traded crypto token. FTX failed last month with potentially more than Imn creditors.

Last month, investors pulled 91,565 bitcoin, worth atotal of close to \$1.5 ho based on the November average price of around \$16,400, from centralised

exchanges including Binance, Kraken and Coinbase.

That marked the largest bitcoin

outflow on record, according to data from CryptoCompare. It is unclear whether the coins are being sold or

moved to private wallets.

The rush for the exit comes as the price of bitcoin has plunged 64 per cent this year and is currently trading around \$17000.

cent this year and is currently trading around \$17,000. Withdrawals in October were also high, at 75,29 bit hotin, as crypto traders pulled their funds following a crisi-laden summer which included the collapse of digital asset lenders Celsius and Voyager Digital. Rival exchanges have rushed to distance themselves and their practices from the chaos at FTX in an effort to ease customer nerves and limit potential market contagion.

ease customer nerves and muni power tial market contagion.

But the record outflows highlight investors' wariness of bitcoin as the digital asset industry faces increased scrutiny from global regulators. In the first seven days of December, 4,545

bitcoin were withdrawn from central ised exchanges, compared with inflows of 3,846 bitcoin in the same period last year, according to Crypto-Compare.

Compare.

In a sign of the detrimental impact of FTX's collapse on its once-rival exchanges, credit rating agency Moody's placed US-listed Coinbase's bond rating on review for downgrade in late November, citing "the increasing likelihood of sustained declines trading volumes and client engagement, two essential revenue drivers".

Eric Robertsen, global head of research at Asia-focused bank Standard Chartered, wrote last week: "While the bitcoin sell-off decelerates, the damage has been done."

He predicted that the pain for crypto investors would continue well into 2023. "More and more crypto firms and exchanges find themselves with insufficient liquidity, leading to further bankruptcies and a collapse in westor confidence in digital assets," he added.

EY scraps US merit bonuses as economic mood darkens

EY has told its US staff they will not be getting holiday bonuses this year, becoming the latest large firm in the financial and professional services sectors to signal a challenging economic outlook.

The news was delivered on Friday in an all-hands meeting at the Big Four accounting firm, which is planning to split its historic audit business from a tax and advisory business that has grown rapidly in recent years. Staff were told the economic outlook

had darkened in the US and globally had darkened in the US and globally, according to people who were on the call. For the past two years, EY US has paid merit bonuses to top performers around this time, on top of the main bonuses awarded at the end of its fiscal year in June, but there would not be funds available for the scheme in 2022,

"While EY continues to experience strong revenue growth, we have elected at this time not to fund our additional, discretionary mid-year programme given the changing economic environ-ment," EY confirmed in a statement to

the Financial Times. "We remain steadfast in our commitment to being a leader in recognition and rewards. This includes our inten-tion for planned annual performancebased bonuses and ongoing recognition awards," it said. The mid-year scheme

could be resurrected in future years. Goldman Sachs chief executive David Solomon was among several bank executives to warn the US was flirting with the possibility of recession next year.

The investment bank Jefferies has already told its staff to expect "a more difficult compensation season" and a sharp slowdown in corporate dealmaking is likely to cut bonus payouts at

snarp storeurs. Pring is likely to cut bonus payouts at other banks, too.
EY's global leaders had called the period to June 2022 "one of the most successful years in the history of the organisation", with strong double-digit percentage growth in revenues in the US led by the consulting and financial transactions businesses. The Americas

led by the consulting and linancial transactions businesses. The Americas region, which is dominated by the US firm, posted revenues of \$21.1bn, up 13 per cent on the previous fiscal year. The firm's global leadership is prepar-ing to put it splan to split EY to votes of its 15,000 partners around the world by next spring, but financial details are still to be narrowed down.

Financial Notices

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Technology. Meltuan and Pinduoduo

China's internet darlings leap forward for growth

Pandemic winners adapt to renewed competition with

relaxed curbs after zero-Covid

NIAN LIU AND KTAR HEADAGOUT
Two Chinese internet companies that have emerged as corporate winners through the pandemic are adapting to renewed competition as the country begins to shed its zero-Covid policy. Food delivery group Meituan and bargain shopping app Pinduoduo raked in a combined Rmbill-8hn (\$1.7bn) in profit during the three months to the end of September as shoppers shifted to spending on food delivery and bulk purchases of staple consumer goods.

spending on food delivery and bulk purchases of staple consumer goods.

Meituan and Pinduoduo also increased sales by 28 per cent and 65 per cent year on year, respectively. During the same period, Tencent's revenues slid while Alibaba's grew just 3 per cent.

But as Beljing announced wide-ranging relaxations to President Xi Jipining's contentious zero-Covid restrictions last weak both convenier are safetiment from the content of the property of the property

week, both companies are seeking alter-native revenue streams.

"These are the two highest quality npanies in China's internet land. said Robin Zhu, an analyst at AB Bern-stein. "They were both agile in the face of the Shanghai lockdown," referring to the weeks-long shutdown of China's bigto break up the stranglehold of ecom-merce group Alibaba, which forced some merchants to sign up exclusively for its popular Taobao and Tmall shop-ping platforms.

ping platforms.

In the three months to the end of September, Pinduoduo's online marketing services revenue — which includes mere

services revenue – which includes mer-chant advertising spending – grew to Rmb28.4hp, as 8p er cent increase from the previous year.

Meituan was able to raise prices as competitors retreated and spending on food delivery soared.

"Meituans profitability has improved during the pandemic as people have been unable to travel or leave their homes," said Li Chengdong, head of the Haitun ecommerce think-tank.
"They've been spending more money on local services such as food delivery."
Meituan's pre-eminence may prove

on local services such as food delivery."
Meituan's pre-eminence may prove fleeting. Beijing's regulatory clamp-down on anti-competitive behaviour has opened the door for new performers funded by rivals with deep pockets.
Douyin, the chinese version of social media app TikTok, has announced a partnership with three companies to provide food delivery services, putting it in direct competition with Meituan.
Li said this move meant restaurants would probably shift some advertising spend from Meituanto Douyin.

spend from Meituan to Douyin. Alibaba is also poised to fight for mar-

ket share, having cut spending in recent months. "Alibaba dialled back its price

the hotel and travel booking segment, its most profitable business before the pandemic.

pandemic.
Meituan and Pinduoduo are both
trying to secure future revenue streams,
the former through its travel and Velplike restaurant directory service and
the latter through Temu, a Shein-like
fast fashion app targeting western shopners.

Analysts said Meituan and Pinduoduo were able to make decisive moves putting them ahead of the competition during lockdowns because the pair were still founder-led.

still founder-led.
Meituan's Wang Xing is still steering
the company as chief executive and
while Pinduoduo's Colin Huang has formally stepped down as CEO, he is still
the largest shareholder and continues to play a central role in guiding the com-pany's direction, according to two peo-ple close to Pinduoduo.

Insiders said Meituan executed deep spending and personnel cuts which aided its profitability.

In the results of an April investigation



of the industry, the powerful Cyberspace Administration of china said tech employment remained stable, despite its battering regulatory campaign and depressed share prices.

Pinduoduo and Meituan did not respond to requests for comment.

Despite Meituan's growth and profitability, investors have been shaken by main shareholder Tencent's move to divest lisstake in the group.

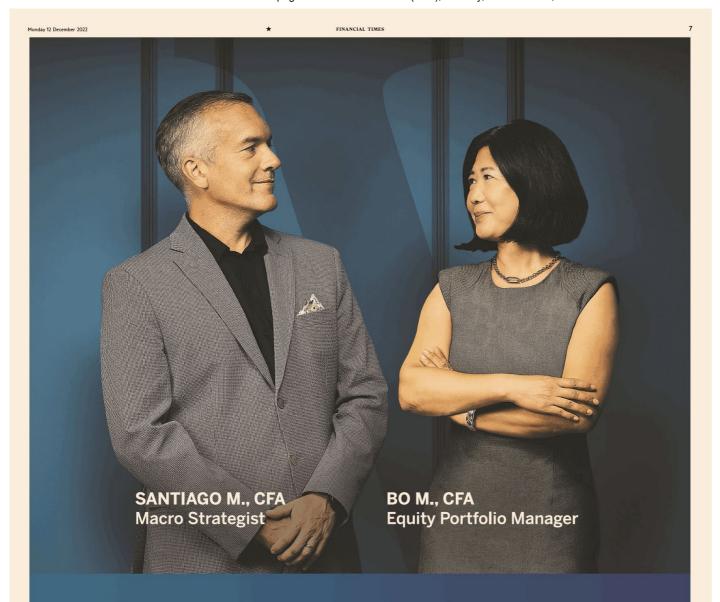
Meituan's Hong Kong-listed share price has fallen more than 20 per cent in the past 12 months to HKS1889 (524) while Pinduoduo's Nasdaq stock has risen nearly 50 per cent to 591.

Pinduoduo benefited as shoppers stuck at home turned to hunt for bargains on its hit app.

But after reporting a bumper quarter of accelerating sales growth and increasing profits, early backer Neil Shen of Sequioia Capital China, considered the country's top venture capitalist, decided oexit its board and cash out some of the fund's agins.

Shen last month said he was stepping down "to focus on my other interests and engagements". Entities affiliated with Sequoia filed to sell as much as \$390mn worth of Pinduoduo shares on

The departure comes as Pinduoduo seeks to make inroads in the territory of another Sequoia-backed company, Shein, after it launched fast-fashion business Temu in September, targeting



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COMPANIES & MARKETS

Spain's Mango reassesses its reliance on China

Clothing group forced to rethink its supply chain amid fallout from pandemic and friction between Beijing and the west

PARNEY JOPSON
PALAU-SOLITA I PLEGAMANS, SPAIN
In 1970, a young Turkish immigrant
named Isak Andic began importing
blouses from the country of his birth to
Spain, bringing something different to
people living under a dictatorship.
Aged 17, he traded them first as a
wholesaler in Barcelona, then opened a
store and also sold them from the back
of a car he drove around the country. It
was the start of a fashion business that
14 years later he would name Mango.
Today, Andic's status as Mango's sole
shareholder he would name Mango.
Today, Andic's status as Mango's sole
shareholder he smade him one of the
richest people in Spain and his empire
has expanded to about 2,600 stores
worldwide. It continues to buy clothes
from Turkey and 18 other countries.
But the pandemic and a war in
Europe, together with friction between
Beijing and the west, are forcing a
rethink of its supply chain and China's
central role in Its operations.
Ton Ruiz, appointed as chief executive by Andic in 2020, said that globalisation had enabled companies to
become "super efficient" in limiting
production costs in tranqual times. "But
tin the end, what we've realised is that
things can change from one moment to things can change from one moment to

He recalled recent shortages of Tai wanese microchips and the European car factories that were brought to a halt by the lack of a Ukraine-made wire harness. "The whole [supply] chain is only as strong as its weakest link," he said.

In Mango's case, the chain is mind bogglingly complex. The retailer procures its glittery €40 party dresses, €15 Γ-shirts and €100 winter coats from 408 suppliers that own some 1,000 fac tories, three-fifths of them in Asia. Apple, which recently warned of disrupted supplies because of a lockdown revolt at a Chinese factory, has 180

"What we're looking at is the extent to which all this global sourcing, developed over many years, might become more local," Ruiz said. "We're con-stantly mulling alternatives." Mango



MR. JONATHAN K. W. SCOTT-LEE

MS KARYN N MCI FAN MS. KATE PADGET-KOH

MS. KIT PING AU-YEUNG

MS. MASAKO ARAKAWA

MR. PATRICIO (BLUMS) PINEDA III

MR. RICHARD CHARLES HOLLOWAY MS. SALLY LINNAEUS-PEAT

MR. MATEI MIHALCA MS. MELISSA TIERNAN

MS. SERENE CHEN

MS. VIVIAN WAN

Three-fifths of the factories that supply Mango are in Asia



FT NON-EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR DIPLOMA

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ashrst

the cutting area at Mango's Palau-solità i executive - Ann

already exercises a lot of central control. No product reaches shoppers without first passing through its distribution centre north of Barcelona, where 75,000 items an hour swoop along a circuit of overhead rails to be sorted into a vast

overhead rails to be sorted into a vast 170m-long wardrobe. But during the pandemic, the com-pany was in a constant scramble, dial-ling production up and down across Asia as Covid-19 outbreaks flared and faded in China, Vietnam, Bangladesh and India. Last year, a lack of container ships left its products stranded far from Europe.

and india. Lasy year, a facts of container ships left list products stranded far from Europe.

"In September, October, November, we were all praying that the weather wouldn't be abb occause we didn't have any warm clothes," Ruiz said.

There are specific issues in China, where Mango sources from 262 factories, starting with the zero-Covid politics that Beijing has begun to relax and strict visa and quarantine rules that deter business travellers.

Then there are Beijing's fraught relations with Washington and European powers, which Ruiz highlighted, and worries about potential conflict between china and Taiwan, which he described as "part of Itall".

"In this debate about whether 30 years of globalisation will continue or go backwards, the most important thing for us to follow in detail is the China issue," he said. Asked if Mango would reduce the proportion it buys

from the country, Ruiz replied: "I would say yes, but we'll be very alert to how things evolve." Mango gains some freedom from the fact it has only six stores in mainland china and consumers there contribute little to total sales, which it predicts will this year surpass its 2019 record of 62.4bn.

e2.4bn.
Other brands have already moved more decisively. The US Jeans maker Levi's and UK bootmaker Dr Martens have been reducing their sourcing from China significantly.
Another factor forcing companies to reassess their exposure is Xinjiang, says Brian Ehrig, a supply chain expert at Kearney, a consultancy.
Allegations of the use of forced labour inthe redoin's factories have led to Jedis

Allegations of the use of forced labour in the region's factories have led to legislation in the US, UK, Germany and elsewhere that pressures companies to eliminate potential links to abuse.

"What we're seeing more is that the path of least resistance is to move production."

duction out of China as quickly as possi-ble," said Ehrig. Mango said it had no Xinjiang suppliers and did not work directly with any other company in the

The company has alternatives to China through a twin-track supply chain. Asia is the "long distance" track, producing basics such as T-shirts that normally take six to eight weeks by ship

esigned at its headquarters in Palau tryside. Those products reach its distri-bution centre in four to six days, giving Mango the ability to ramp up production quickly to replenish supplies when an item is popular. Turkey and Morocco play a similar

role for Zara owner Inditex and are the obvious places for Mango to expand production closer to home. It also pointed to the potential of Romania, where it uses three factories. Ruiz said Mexico was an option in Central Amer-ica as it plans to quadruple the number of stores in the US to 40 by 2024.

on sources in time US to 40 by 2024. Luis Casacuberta, director of Mango's women's, kids' and home businesses, said the company was looking for not only flexibility but "robustness". Unlike carmakers, he said, that did not mean simply having a larger number of suppliers on bade.

'What we're

looking at is the extent

to which all

this global sourcing,

developed

over years,

might

become more local'

simply having a larger number of suppliers on hand.

"We have a reasonable level of diversification already. What we are aiming for is the opposite. How do we build a much more solid base?"

Key to that, he said, was finding suppliers that already did a good job making Mango products and were willing to open up factories in more than one country, "so the flow of ships from the Bangladeshi ports is disrupted? or here's been flooding? That allows us to pivot with the same supplier."

Ruiz has been grappling with unwelcome surprises from day one. He succeeded Andic, now Mango's chair, as the pandemic took hold.

The first document he signed put several thousand employees on furlough. But if Mango obsessed too much about what could go wrong, he said, "we wouldn't do anything."

"The things that are outside our sphere of influence are so huge, but it's about managing the things that are inside our sphere of influence are so huge, but it's about managing the things that are inside our sphere of influence are so huge, but it's about managing the things that are inside our sphere of influence are so huge, but it's about managing the thought and the supplementation of the supplementati

"So let's be on the offensive, let's conquer the market, then let's have alternative plans in

Cost of owning EVs dips below petrol and diesel

PETER CAMPBELL - LONDON

Rising fuel prices this year mean that the cost of owning and running an elec-tric car is now lower than for a petrol or diesel vehicle in almost every country in Europe, according to data from auto motive lease provider LeasePlan.

Battery vehicles remain more expensive to buy than combustion-engine models, but they have lower running costs

but they have rever in thining costs because they require less maintenance and recharging is cheaper than fuel. The industry considers the point at which electric cars become as cheap as petrol models to own, run and service — the total cost of ownership (TCO) — to be a key moment that could trigger a widespread switch to battery vehicles.

petrol or diesel cars," the LeasePlan reportsaid. The research found the costs of a

standard family car, such as a Ford Kuga or an electric Škoda Enyaq, were equal or lower in 19 of the 22 countries, includ-Netherlands. Only in Poland, Italy and

The point at which electric cars become as cheap as petrol models could trigger a widespread switch

the Czech Republic was the electric model notably more expensive.

Among smaller cars, such as the costs remained similar across most costs remained similar across most countries, the costs of recharging an electric car varied wildly. Typically, charging at home overnight for several hours was cheaper than using public fast-chargers, which attract a premium for their higher speed. For its EV charging calculations,

For its EV charging calculations, LeasePlan took the charging habits of its average electric customer: 65 per cent charged at home, 20 per cent at a work-place and 15 per cent at a woll-place and 15 per cent at a work-ing point. It found that charging costs amounted to 15 per cent of the cost of owning and running an electric car, while the cost of refuelling a diesel vehi-cle was 28 per cent of the TcO. "Despite energy price inflation, fuel costs remain significantly lower for electric cars than

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Japanese cast doubt on US chip sanctions

Curbs aimed at China will have only temporary impact, warn executives

ERI SUGIURA — TOKYO

Tech executives in Japan have warned that the latest US chip export controls are unlikely to suppress China's progress in artificial intelligence and super computers, calling into question the long-term effectiveness of the sanctions.

The warnings from Sony's chief tech-nology officer and NEC's chief executive come as Washington tries to convince the Netherlands and Japan, both big

players in the global chipmaking industry, to strike a trilateral deal that would impose further restrictions on China obtaining tools to make chips.

In an interview with the Financial Times, Sony technology head Hiroak Kitano said he expected the US-led sanctions to "temporarily impact" china's ability to procure semiconductors but added that it was "entirely possible" that its global presence in All would continue to increase.

"The driving force of Al [development] in China is that they have access to very large data sets. I am not sure what kind of long-term impact (the US export curbs] can have there," he said.

In a recent media session, NEC chief

executive Takayuki Morita also expressed doubts about the long-term effectiveness of Washington's measures, which are designed to slow China's ability to develop chips and prevent it from obtaining advanced semiconductors that can be used for military purposes. "Personally, I feel that while it may be possible for the US-China technology dispute over chips to slow down China's technology progress, the overall trend will not change," Morita said. "It's not possible to ignore China's competitiveness in technology and it will become one of the forces [to reckon with] in the long run."

The sanctions Washington imposed in October are the toughest tech measures

President Joe Biden has introduced to combat Chinese advances.
But the broader impact on some Japaese companies so far appears to be more limited than when Chinese telecoms equipment maker Huawel was cut utof supply chains, corporate and government officials in Japan said. That move heavily hit Sony and other companies supplying components to Huawel.
Analysts said the latest measures would probably accelerate China's efforts to expand its homegrown chip industry, part of the Communits party's Made in China 2025 road map to becoming a global leader in AI and quantum computing.

computing. Kitano said Sony was unlikely to be

affected by the US export curbs as its main AI research centres were located in the US and Europe.

NEC does not expect to be affected by the sanctions either as the company is focused on facial recognition and software. Its presence in the Chinese market was also limited because of privacy concerns, said Morita.

Kitano said one big question was whether China could maintain its existing standards for research and development in terms of the quality of its engineers. "It's hard to know how it will turn out in terms of whether China can sustain advanced research and development under the current envidevelopment under the current er ronment," he said.

Blackstone private equity fund launch faces delay

Blackstone has warned of a possible delay to the launch of a new private equity fund designed for wealthy indi-viduals, as it copes with heavy investor withdrawals at two other funds in real estate and credit aimed at a similar

The New York-based investment manager has been preparing to open the Blackstone Private Equity Strategies Fund, or BXPE, which would become its flagship strategy for rich individuals to participate in its private equity business. Blackstone historically has catered to institutional clients

to institutional clients.
Blackstone has in recent days informed wealthy investors and their financial advisers that it may wait for fundraising conditions and financial markets to improve before launching BXPF, according to people familiar with the matter. Clients of Blackstone's other total use of the table to be a second of the control of the con retail products told the Financial Times they had expected the fund to be launched by early 2023.

The potential delay comes days after the group limited withdrawals from its \$69bn Blackstone Real Estate Income Trust (Breit) after a spate of redemption requests from its wealthy individual investors. The curbs on withdrawals from this fund have raised concerns over its future growth and hit Black-stone's share price. Blackstone declined

Blackstone has also informed clients

The US group has told wealthy investors that it might wait for fundraising conditions to improve

that it will not be raising new capital for vehicles known as the Blackstone Total Alternative Solutions funds, which were

Alternative Southorist units, which designed nearly a decade ago when it initially sought to attract assets from wealthy individuals.

The BTAS funds have a 10-year life and are raised annually. Blackstone instead plans to direct interested clients to REVE which is designed to be a ner-

and are raised annually. Blackstone instead plans to direct interested clients to BXPE, Michi is designed to be a perpetual vehicle that does not return capital at the end of a fund's life. BXPE clients would commit their capital when they initially invest, instead of having it called on a deal-by-deal basis. Since the financial crisis, Blackstone founder Stephen Schwarzman has been seeking ways to make the buyout business available to a broader range of investors beyond the pension, endowment and sovereign wealth funds that traditionally have been its clients. BXPE is being set up to invest in corporate buyouts and equity-oriented strategies, including late-stage venture investments, music royalties and the purchase of stakes in other private equity firms or their funds. The fund is poised to be Blackstone's most complex product yet. Unlike Breit and Bcred, the sister credit fund, which both generate a significant portion of heir returns from regular cash distributions to investors, BXPE will not pay dividends. Investors will earn their returns from regular cash distributions to investors, BXPE will not pay dividends. Investors will earn their returns from replacide and unpredictable assets alse, or the complex and often subjective mark up or writedown of the quarterly net asset value of its holdings. Additional reporting by Sigeet Indap

Market questions. Week ahead

Fed's 'dot plot' offers clues to the pace of rate rises

What will the Fed's 'dot plot' reveal about rate expectation

The Federal Reserve is widely expected to conclude its last policy meeting for the year on Wednesday with an announcement that it will raise interest rates by 0.5 percentage points, slowing its pace after four consecutive 0.75 perentage point increases. Fed chair Jay Powell said in a speech

last week that the time to slow its pace of increases may come as soon as Decem-ber and acknowledged that the US central bank was concerned about the pros pects of overtightening policy.

The slowdown has come as US

data have begun to show evidence of cooling inflation. In October, consumer prices rose but at their slowest rate since

The real story will be in the Fed's "dot plot", a survey of officials on where they believe interest rates, inflation, uner ployment and gross domestic product will be in the years to come.

Rate estimates in the survey are expected to have increased meaning-fully from September and show a Fed that is prepared to keep policy tighter

At present, the futures market sh investors expect interest rates to peak in May at about 5 per cent before the Fed is forced to cut rates by the end of the year

by at least 0.5 percentage points.

But New York Fed president John Williams, a close colleague of Powell's, has indicated that he does not expect the bank to cut interest rates until at least 2024.

A dot plot showing tighter policy through the end of 2023 could force investors at present betting on looser monetary policy to adjust their posi-tions. Kate Duguid

How will fresh data affect the BoE's interest rate decision?

interest rate decision?

Investors expect the Bank of England to slow the pace of rate increases on Thursday but economists noted that data released at the start of the week could still change the outcome.

Markets are pricing in an 80 per cent probability that the central bank will increase its policy rate by half a percentage point to 35 per cent.

The BoE has been battling the fastest pace of inflation in 41 years and ratise the benchmark by 0.75 percentage points in November.

Anna Titareva, European economist



at UBS, expects "the majority of the [Monetary Policy] Committee to vote in favour of a smaller rate increase". This was because medium-term inflation expectations "have eased in recent months", while several members of the Boß "have noted indications of an easing in labour demand", she said. "Last but not least, given the lags in monetary policy transmission, most of the impact of the hikes already delivered is still yet to come, with the magnitude subject to significant uncertainty." Elizabeth Martins, economist at HSBC, also thinks the Boß will increase rates by 50 basis points but noted that influential economic releases may sway members of the committee.

These include November's CPI inflation data, which economists polled by Reuters expect to have slowed to 10.9 per cent from 11.1 per cent in October; October's GDP, set to show a small gain of 0.4 per cent; and the labour market

report, which is forecast to show more signs of falling job vacancies and declining employment numbers. "If all three come out strong, it might tip the balance [of the MPC] towards a larger hike," said Martins. Valentina Romei

Will the ECB slow the pace of rate

rises?

Eurozone inflation is falling, the economy is on the brink of recession and interest rates are at their highest level since the 2008 financial crisis. So many economists think it is time for the European Central Bank to switch to smaller rate rises at its meeting on Thursday.

This means a third consecutive 75 basis point rate rise by the ECB seems unlikely. But the final decision may hinge on how quickly the bank expects inflation to return to its 2 per cent target in new forecasts it will publish after Thursday's meeting.

Most economists expect the ECB to

revise its inflation projections upwards for the next two years due to rising wages and the delayed impact of high energy costs hitting consumers. But most think the central bank will still forecast inflation returning to its target by 2025.

by 2025.
Silvia Ardagna, chief European economist at Barclays, said this would allow the ECB to "slow the hiking pace to 50 basis points, considering that the 200 basis points of rate hikes delivered so far will have a significant effect on future inflation".

inflation".

Some ECB watchers, such as ING head of macro research Carsten Brzeski, think a 75 basis point rate rise "is clearly still on the table".

But he added that a compromise could be found for a 50-point rate rise if it comes with "hawkish communication" and an agreement to start shrinkit comes with "hawkish communica-tion" and an agreement to start shrink-ing the ECB's €5tn bond portfolio early

Airlines. Lease deals Carriers feel squeeze as higher borrowing costs lift price of aircraft rentals

Jump in fees adds to woes of industry dealing with growth in fuel and labour expenses

CLAIRE BUSHEY — CHICAGO SYLVIA PFEIFER — LONDON

Airlines are flying back into profitability after racking up big losses during the pandemic, but there is a cloud on the horizon – sharp increases in the cost of renting a plane. More than half of the world's com-

More than hall of the world's com-mercial aircraft are owned or managed by leasing companies, and their rates are rising. For Airbus's A320neo and Boeing's 737 Max – the most highly sought single-aisle aircraft – lease rates have respectively risen 14 per cent and

cialist companies that own and hire out calist companies that own and hire out aircraft fleets have more costly debt. Lessors must calculate how to pass on these borrowing costs to carriers that are already dealing with ballooning fuel and labour expenses. Air Lease, a Los Angeles-based lessor,

eek raised \$700mn thro bond offering at an interest rate of 5.85 per cent — roughly double the rate of a similar bond issuance in January.

The deal, the first such bond offering since Russia invaded Ukraine, was "somewhat of a bellwether", said Philip Baggaley, analyst at S&P Global. "They had to pay a lot more than they used to borrow at, but that's the market reality."

Air Lease executive chair Steven Udvar-Hazy said he had not seen the cost of capital increase this quickly since the 1970s, when inflation was rampant. said. "I've never had an airline say that our lease rates are too low. It's like a big Istanbul grand bazaar: The leasing company says 100, the airline says 80, and we hope to negotiate at 99 and a half." Many airlines asked lessors for finan-

cial relief during the pandemic. But they are back in the black as air travel has roared back. "So it's very hard to plead poverty," Udvar-Házy said. "Yes, we're

going to work with our customers, but they read the newspapers, they see what's going on. The cost of financing is

'Most of

already

delivered

is still yet to come

the impact of the [UK rate rises]

what's going up."
Several airlines referred to rising interest rates with regard to leases in their recent earnings calls.
Wizz Air of Hungary told investors last month that it benefited from having "fixed interest rate structures financing



94 per cent of its existing fleet". In the US, Frontier Airlines chief financial officer Jimmy Dempsey said it had financed 35 out of its next 37 aircraft deliveries, "and we've done it in a way that has capped interest rate exposure on a lot of these leases".

Andy Cronin, chief executive of Irish Andy Cronin, mel executive of Irisn leasing company Avolon, said lease rates were moving upwards for both new and used aircraft in response to the undersupply of aircraft in the market, rising interest rates and the withdrawal from the market of certain lessors, in particular some from Asia.

particular some from Asia.

Surging interest rates have hit the
market for bonds composed by bundles
of plane leases. The value of deals for
such asset-backed securities is expected to total \$1.1bn in 2022 compared with \$9.2bn last year, revealing a changed central banks' sudden move to tighten

monetary policy.

Tense bargaining between lessors and airlines will be limited somewhat because only 15 to 20 per cent of a les-sors' fleet comes up for lease renewal in any given year.
"Current market lease rates for new

"Current market lease rates for new aircraft are up 5 to 10 per cent. But that is not the 30 per cent that might be required given the interest rate increases we have seen this year. Lessors will therefore face some [profit] margin compression," said Rob Morris, head of global consultancy at Ascend by Cirium.

As they enter into negotiations, leas-ing executives point out that airlines have not hesitated to raise prices for their own customers. Avera fares were up 22 per cent year on year in the second quarter of 2022, government



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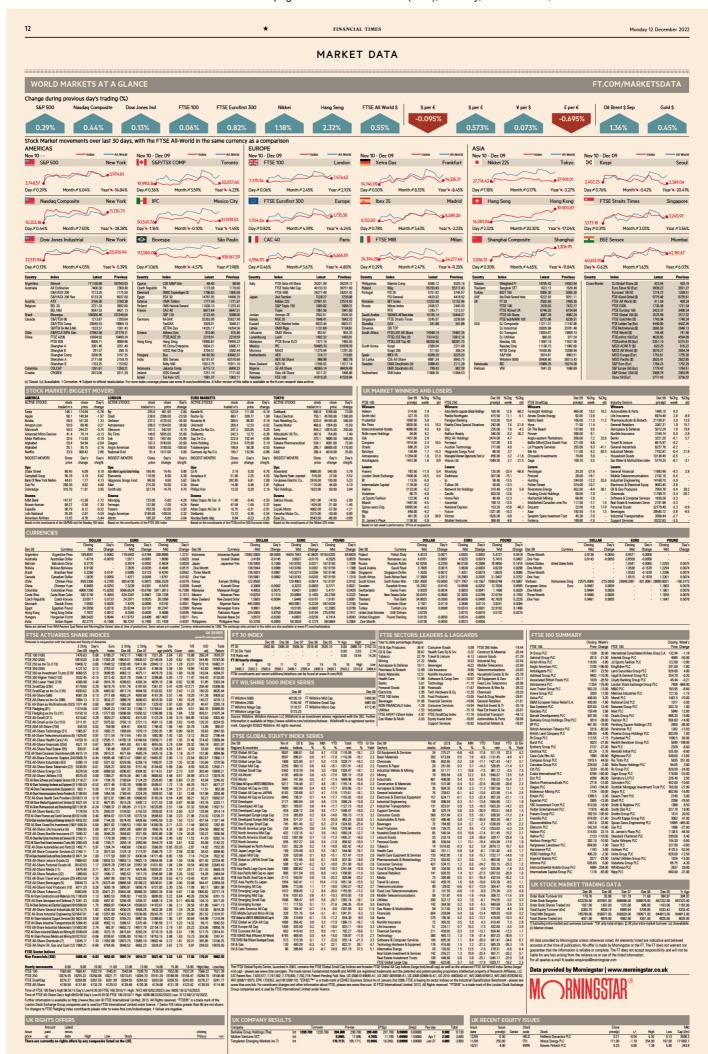


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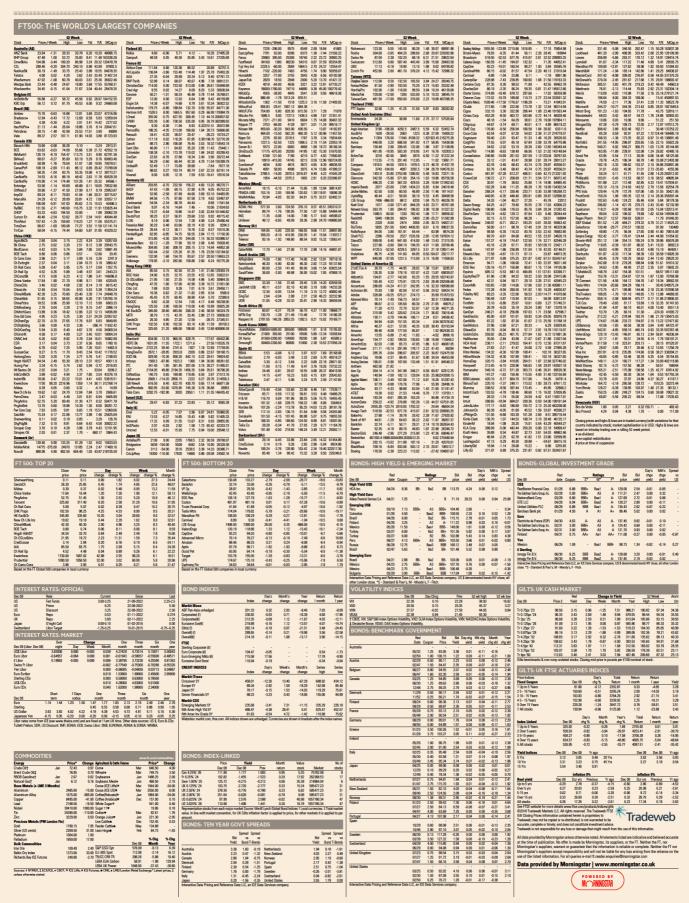
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OELC Once-Fonded Investment Company. Similar to a unit treat but using a company rather than a treat structure.

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15

WORK & CAREERS

Losing your life savings on crypto is a Brexit opportunity



account.
WhatsApp to Jules: Doesn't matter;
that's still more than I know. They are
worried about a new UK push on
regulation, so part of our strategy is to
stress that crypto is a Brexit
opportunity.
WhatsApp to Jules: Exactly, the right
to lose your life savings in minutes is
Brexit growth opportunity. But let's
work on the wording of that!

From: Rutherford@monkwellstrategies
To: Evianshostakovich@wampa.com
Evian, it's great to be working with
you. Can i also introduce my colleague
Jules (cc-d), who heads our advanced
technologies division. As you say, this is
a key moment. The FCA is itching to
regulate the industry and clearly Sam
Fried-Mybank has made this all harder
for us.

BTW, you've always said in public

From: Rutherford@monkwitategies
To: Eviantshostakovich@wampa.com
OK, that's what I assumed. We are
activating our contacts at the Treasury
and we see two approaches. First, flat
out resistance to Financial Conduct
Authority regulation. Tories want to
pitch Britain as a crypto hub even
though hardly any know what that
means. Post-Brexit they re keen to
show the UK is still at the leading edge
of new financial services, so we'll argue
that stifling EU-style regulation will
make this industry relocate to where it
is now.

is now.

But there is a second approach in which we appear to embrace sensible controls by drawing a distinction between good regulation and bad. The truth is there's basically one guy in the FCA who understands the industry and he only works part-time. There is a limit to what they can achieve without our help, and in the current turmoil there may be a business value in being able to call ourselves FCA-authorised. able to call ourselves FCA-authorised

tighter rules on advertising. It doesn't seem to have done gambling any harm. I'm not sure saying "please invest responsibly" at the end of an ad will seriously hit the bottom line. Obviously we don't want tobaccostyle riders like, "investing in crypto means you may never see your money again". Or "investments can go up or down, but probably down, possibly within a week". Bad regulation would be suffocating investor protection rules like a proper UK presence, 1:1 reserves on stablecoins, proof of assets, no coningling of funds, all those dead-hand of Brussels-type controls. This degree of interference would kill the UK as a global centre for digital finance and betray the promise of Brexit.

The question ministers need to ask is why they would stop British citizens investing with us here via an exchange endorsed by some of our most loved poy stars and forbullers. The aim is to seem like a bank but be regulated like a bookie. Don't have to come to London, you can talk to them of zoom. Better still, invite them to Anguilla for pizza. Yes of course I am happy to communicate by Pflegarm in future. Or for maximum security we could always lly out to see you . . . Cao, Rutherford could always fly out to see you Ciao, Rutherford Find me on Strava



The truth is there's basically one guy in the FCA who understands the industry and he only works part-time



WhatsApp to Jules: When we see the Downing Street guys, keep stressing the UK as a crypto hub. Do they not want to support a financial industry so cutting edge that its primary operating entity is registered to an island in the metaverse? Also talk about nannymetaverse? Also talk about nanny-statism. Only a socialist government would interfere with the freedom to give away your money. Use the phras "stablecoin" a lot. I know the founder of one of those is now on an Interpol red list but it sounds reliable.

progress. That's a very generous offe I'm a big fan of stablecoin. Sadly, for tax reasons, we find it easier to settle ccounts in sterling or dollars overed by Robert Shrimsley

FT Business Book of the Year Award

The great chip war - and the challenge for global diplomacy

The 2022 prizewinner throws a spotlight on the battle for semiconductor supremacy, writes Andrew Hill

n December 6, US presi-dent Joe Biden joined Mor-ris Chang, founder of Tai-wan Semiconductor Manwan semiconductor man-infacturing Company, in Arizona for a symbolic "tool-in" cere-mony to mark the latest step in the chip-maker's investment in a new factory in the US. Chris Miller could hardly have wished for a better way to underline the time-

Chris Miller could hardly have wished for a better way to underline the time-liness of his book Chip War. On the eve of Biden's Arizona visit, Miller won the Financial Times Business Book of the Year Award. His book is a highly topical history of the development of the semi-conductor and how TSMC and a few other manufacturers came to dominate the global supply of advanced microchips

the global suppry ...
chips.
Chang and Biden appeared in Arizona alongside the chief executives of Apple and Nvidia, two of TSMC's biggest customers. "Companies like TSMC are facing multiple reasons to rethink the geography of supply chains. And it's not just politicans calling them... but their customers as well," Miller told the FT this work.

this week.

Taiwan sits on geopolitical and seismic fauldlines. Until recently, companies trusted that seamless globalised networks would underpin their chip supply. But boards are suddenly worrying about "Taiwan risk". They are contemplating the possibility of military confrontation between the US and China and grappling with the implications of a trade war over chip development and supply.

ment and supply.

Academics call this situation " Academics call this situation "weap-onised interdependence", in which Miller writes, "rather than defusing con-flicts and encouraging co-operation" the intertwined interests of the eco-nomic powers create "new venues for competition". Encouraging more invest-ment in local chip manufacturing, as the US, China and EU are trying to do with subsidies and tay breaks it can amount. subsidies and tax breaks, is one way to

Offset these risks.

This was not the "unexamined assumption" with which Miller started work on his book five years ago. He believed the risk of "mutually assured economic destruction" would prevent superpowers from using their position in the chip supply chain to put pressure on each other. "And then, over the on each other. And then, over the course of the five years of writing it, it seemed like every day I was reading the Financial Times and a new horrifying data point was coming, suggesting that



Chris Miller's interest in semiconductors was piqued when he realised that China was spending more on importing chips than it

mined expectations about geoeconomic stability. In October, Just as Chip War was hitting the bookshelves, the US imposed export controls on china, to low down its attempt to become self-sufficient in the manufacture of advanced semiconductors.

ductors.

Miller explains the main difference between the concept of mutually assured destruction that kept the nuclear peace during the cold war and the economic version. "There's a very clear threshold of nuclear use. [The weapons] are either used or not used, whereas in the economic interdependence space, there's no threshold that [shows] you've crossed the line. And in [Sect. blaze); but so diffuserations are considered that the construction of the construct fact, there's lots of different lines one

An economic historian specialising in cussia, Miller started by studying the gap that opened up between the US and Soviet militaries in the 1980s, partly because of the former's semiconductor superiority. He switched the focus of his work when he realised "the key technology enabling the military systems that convinced the Soviets that they'd lost the arms race was also the key technology that was structuring US-China competition today". The fact that China was spending more money importing chips than it was spending on oil — a data point so astonishing that an incredu-lus Miller downloaded it

from the United Nations trade database several times to check – cemented his interest, even though he began with no deep techno-logical knowledge. Instruments, a pioneer of early chip technology. Chang proposed the world-changing idea of a chip "foundry", which manufactures semiconductors for multiple clients, in the 1970s. TI rejected the plan and later thwarted Chang's ambiton to become chief executive. As a result, he was at a loose end in 1985 when Taiwan's government called and gave him a blank cheque to develop his foundry idea there. The success, sophistication and sheer scale of his creation TSMC are now hard for trivals to match. TSMC are now hard for rivals to r

US must convince allies between security and economic considerations

Miller wonders what would have hap-pened if Chang had become TI's chief executive instead. "I think it's easy to imagine ways in which TSMC could [by now] stand for the Texas Semiconductor Manufacturing Company," he says. Another missed opportunity, Miller says, was US chipmaker Intel's failure to build on its success in semiconductor innovation under another US immigrant, Andy Grove, its chief executiv "Intel was too powerful for too long and didn't take some of the risks that it needed to take," claims Miller. "Missing the smartphone, for example, missing the early [artificial intelligence] shift in the industry, and I think missing a bit of the paranoia that had made Grove such an effective, if terrifying, manager.

race to secure semiconductor supremacy as the original breakthrough innovations, or the government support that encouraged them, he suggests. For example, he singles out ASML, the Dutch manufacturer of highly complex chipmaking tools. "They describe their job as managing a complex supply chain," says Miller, which includes sourcing parts from other manufacturers. "They're brilliant engineers. But in some ways the real brilliance is a ctually in assembling components which, when you say it that way, sounds low value-add." In fact, ASML's assembly prowess adds enormous value: the company's extreme-ultraviolet lithograph machines for etching the most advanced chips contain hundreds of thousands of precision parts and cost \$100mn apiece, according to Miller. If anything, Miller says he has become less optimistic in the past five years about how the world will reconcile the overlapping and sometimes contradictory

lapping and sometimes contradictory interests of customers, manufacturers and governments in semiconductors.

In trying to increase pressure on China over chips, the "fundamental problem" for US policymakers, as outlined by a semiconductor executive quoted in the book, is that "our number one customer [China] is our number one competitor" Miller says the Biden administration's biggest challenge in chip diplomacy is convincing its allies that it can "strike a balance between security considera tions and economic considerations when "there are voices on both sides of about security, people more concerned

YOUR QUESTION FOR OUR EXPERT — AND READERS' ADVICE

quit my job and travel will it affect my career progression?



This week's problem

I work in product development for a global asset manager but want to leave my firm and travel. Should I take a leap of faith year, maybe get a contract then come back to London?

Your career has had a strong start but now you yearn for

a ditterent experience;
a ditterent experience;
whowever, you're balancing
this with the concern for
your long-term career and
that you won't be able to
"make up for the year away.
Perhaps these concerns
are misplaced. Karly Brown,
who recently co-founded
two start-ups after 10 years
in investment management,
suggests you put the
decision in the broader
context of a (potentially)
45-year career. "Ten years
ago, in my 20s, I felt I had to
make every minute of every
day count. But don't be in
such a rush to climb the
ladder," she says.
There are many routes up
the career mountain; if you
look around at what people
further up the path have
done, you will see an
inspiring variety of
experiences, and not all
staying in the industry and
in London. If you plan now
for how you will re-enter the
market (assuming you will
want to after a year away),
then you can set off with
confidence and purpose.
Karls Stander, managing
director of investment ranagement,
investment management,
investment management,

was very clear on wheth you should go:

"Emphatically, yes!" "If you have a burning important to focus on your own wellbeing, and not deny yourself what you want to do," she adds. Stander agreed with Brown there's no one right path, and both highlighted that global riences can only bolster your CV, give you a broader perspective, and expose you

industry, you are well placed information, ask for feedback on your strengths you would like next. "For example, many people seek and during your travels?

You have other options than just resigning: would your line manager hold your post open? Could you go on a secondment in another country? Stander "country Stander"

I would suggest your year "fravelling" should have a purpose, such as language acquisition. Also be prepared to never want to go back home. Le maquisai

Educational travel will act like an extra qualification. A few years ago, I did one of the round-the-world yacht races. Of the 50 or so who did the whole thing, 45 of us had been headhunted or promoted by the time we came back. The experience showed team building, grit and the ability to problem solve in moments of stress

In my previous job, my manager lied about my performance. I presented to her and HR ample evidence was in fact outperforming but the manager would not change her review. I got lawyers involved, won ever, the experience left me scarred and terrified it could happen again. How do rebuild my confidence and what can I do differently to prevent a repeat of this?

of the Careers Service at

nday 12 December 2022 FINANCIAL TIMES

WORK & CAREERS

How to Lead. Bahija Jallal, chief executive, Immunocore

'There was fantastic science but, without financing, we could not go anywhere'

The former researcher has revamped the UK biotech from ailing drugmaker to cancer treatment pioneer. writes Hannah Kuchler

ahija Jallal spent her first day as chief executive of Immuas chief executive of Immu-nocore on the other side of the world from its Oxford headquarters, trying to raise money to keep the biotech afloat. In January 2019, the AstraZenca veteran headed straight to the JPMorgan conference in San Francisco to convince investors she could reinvigorate the

It was a tough sell: Immunocore had. at was a tough sell: Immunocore had, in many shapes and forms, been trying to develop a cancer drug for 12 years. The company had raised a huge initial series A funding round of \$320mn and then disappointed investors with the drug's slow prograsses.

drug's slow progress.
"I think the company had gone two
years into the market and could not raise the money. Most of the executive team had left and they were without a CEO, or at least with an interim CEO, for two years," she says. "I knew there was this fantastic science and this fantastic platform but, without the financing, we could not go anywhere." Jallal is animated as she narrates, safe

in the knowledge that she and Immunocore have overcome this inauspicious start. The company has secured its first approval — of an innovative cancer drug and is developing many more treatments. It has gone public and, she hopes, will be a success story that shows

the UK's life sciences potential.

Back in 2019, one investor told her that it could not be done. She recounts him saying: "I don't believe that anyone can turn around the company. I have so many CEOs come and tell me they're going to turn around [companies] and that never happens." But recently, he admitted to Jallal that he was wrong.

Jallal started her career as a scientist, doing her PhD in physiology at what was then the Université de Paris VI and conducting post-doctorate research in molecular biology and oncology at the Max Planck Institute for Biochemistry

'[Halting clinical trials when Covid hit] would have been life or death for the company

in Germany. She then moved to the US to climb the ranks of research in biotechs until she joined MedImmune, a leader in antibody technology, eventally becoming executive vice-president. After it was acquired by AstraZeneca in 2007, she became president of MedImmune and executive vice-president of its Anglo-Swedish owner. When she was approached about taking the top job at Immunocore, she had not been looking for a chief executive position — but she had wanted a challenge. She spent six months considering whether Immunocore was that challenge—or just a mess. By interviewing people across the company, she discovered that clinical trial investigators—the doctors who lead studies in hospitals—were exasperated because the drug worked, but was nowhere near the market.

"They weer cally frustrated because

drug worked, but was nowhere near the market. "They were really frustrated because nothing had happened. But they tell you: 'I have patients that should not be alive today. They're still alive.' That tells you something," she says. Treatment for cancer has been trans-

Treatment for cancer has been transformed in the past decade by drugs harnessing the power of the immune system to tackle tumours. Immunocore's technology fills an important gap in the new generation of treatments, using T-cells, the key white blood cells of the immune system, to take on solid umours. The drug — called a T-cell receptor bispecific — latches on twice, once to the tumour cell, and on the other side, to the T-cell. Crucial to the scientific challenge was making them scientific challenge was making them soluble, so it could be used as an off-the-shelf product, rather than engineering a

reatment from a patient's own cells. Immunocore's first use of this



nd oncology, took Immunocore public on the Nasdaq last year, doing the investor roadshow from her basen

ture of a cancer patient, who had no other options but this drug. "There was one image that really convinced me to come here: seeing a patient having a metastasis to the liver and responding to the drug." she says. She thought: "This is really different and it's going to make an immed."

ametassas of the real art esponsion and the control of the drug," she says. She thought: "This is really different and it's going to make an impact." It took Jallal more than a year to raise the series B funding, closing a \$130mn round in March 2020. Investors were reluctant to commit more money without more clinical data, so she also had to redesign its flagship trial, expanding it and changing when the data would be reported to ensure it was robust enough for an approval. Meanwhile, she set about restructuring the company, doing "deep drives" in every department, looking for where it was "bloated," and what to fix. She also hired five or six key people she had worked with previously, which later grew to about 20.

Still based in the US, Jallal would visit Immunocore's headquarters in Oxford about once a month. While it is unusual to lead a company from another continent, Jallal saw there were advantages, such as being closer to the deep pool of biotech investors in the US.

Then the pandemic hit, and she was left to tackle culture change over Zoom. I't was really challenging because the restructuring is the easy part," she says. To try to change the culture for those who remain, she held virtual town halls and staff forums, but she admits there was nothing like being there.

Even more existential was the decision about what to do with the clinical trial as Covid-19 swept through hospitals, putting many studies on hold. Many others in the industry stopped to think—and then found it hard to restart the trials. Within 24 hours, Immunocore committed to continuing no mature. core committed to continuing no matter what. "This would have been life or death for the company," she says.



Who is your leadership hero? My mother will always be my first hero Aside from her, I'd have to say Nelson Mandela, a powerful but humble

What was the first leadership lesson you learnt? You are only as good as your team.

health fast, with no time to wait for guidance from the regulator. Immuno-core had to rapidly come up with plans for every scenario, such as identifying which data was absolutely essential for time-pressed staff to enter, and what to do if a patient developed Covid. In June 2020, the trial ended up finishing enroll

2020, the trial ended up finishing enroll-ing patients on time.

By November of that year the com-pany reported interim data that shows the drug extended patient's lives. The data was earlier than expected, showing astrong benefit.

The results also transformed the company's fortunes, as investors came flooding back. Immunocore raised \$75mm. "Raising the series B took me a year. It took two weeks to raise the C," she says.

she says.
But Jallal knew that if Immunocore
was to commercialise this drug without
a large pharmaceutical partner it would
need even more money. So just months
later, in February last year, she decided

'Raising the series B [funding from investors] took me a year. It took two weeks to raise the C'

to take the company public on Nasdaq, doing the investor roadshow from her basement. The timing was good: it raised more than expected, about \$312mn in a combined initial public offering and private financing. Later that year, a biotech sell-off would start, effectively closing the IPO window. "Thank goodness we did," she says. So far this year, Immunocore has bucked the biotech trend, with shares soaring almost 69 ner cent.

the biotech trend, with shares soaring almost 69 per cent.

Jallal hopes immunocore will also break another convention, or curse, that hangs over British-born biotech, which frequently sells to Big Pharma rather than growing into large independent companies. She believes the key is to have the "best of both worlds", combining the "superb" VK science with capital and company-building experienceinthe US.

Three and a half years after she arrived. Iallal is now shepherding new

arrived, Jallal is now shepherding new potential drugs through trials. Immunopotential drugs through trials. Immuno-core plans to present early-stage data on a candidate for treating a range of cancers, including of the lung, breast and ovaries, in September next year. It recently dosed the first patient in its HIV treatment trial, aiming to rid



Ranked #4 in Europe in the Financial Times European B-School Ranking.

SDAROCCONLIT

ARTS



Red tide; the choir of pilgrims are subjects of a cruel emperor in 'Boris Godunov

OPERA

Offstage drama preceded the onstage spectacle of the opening night of La Scala's season, with climate change pro-testers splattering the theatre's facade with paint on the morning of the show and workers' strikes against funding cuts derailing a November rehearsal. But it was Mussorgsky's opera *Boris* Godunov that dominated headlines last month, when the Ukrainian consul in Milan demanded that La Scala cancel its production, just as Polish National Opera had done with its productin of the

same opera in March, as a public indict-

ment of Vladimir Putin's war. La Scala resisted, highlighting that it had chosen the title years before the war, and that it had shown solidarity with Ukraine in other ways — not least by dismissing star conductor and Putin ally Valery Gergiev from a Milan It would have been plausible for the

THE LIFE OF A SONG

Johnny B. Goode Chuck Berry's rock'n'roll hymn to himself has been covered by dozens of musicians, from Elvis to the Beatles



opera house to draw parallels from the Pushkin-inspired libretto about a 16th-century regicide ruling over the hungry, discontented Russian people. Instead, La Scala dodged politics, arguing that art transcends current affairs But it was ultimately difficult to ban

ish contemporary associations from the mind. Director Kasper Holten evokes the full might of imperial power, climax-ing in a magnificent coronation scene populated by dignitaries in shimmering populated by dignitaries in shimmering golden garb (period costumes by Ida Marie Ellekilde). Brawling police offic-ers and staggering drunkards suggest a lawless Russia on the verge of collapse. The added silent role of the regent's bloodied corpse, played by a child actor, means the tsar's brutality hangs over

this production.

Pimen's written account of Boris's misdemeanours seem to dictate events,

with an illuminated curved backdrop resembling torn sheets of paper and maps forming the cocoon-like space within which the action unfolds. Passages are ripped from the hermit's scroll, a potentially interesting allusion to the manipulation of memory and

this was, overall, a relatively straight-forward reading, presumably for the benefit of the 1.5mn people who

Conducting the first non-Italian open-ing night opera in eight years, Riccardo Chailly delivered a brooding, aching and chainy delivered a prooding, acming and often ethereal account of music invested with the anguish of an entire nation. What was lacking was the feral intensity Gergiev has brought to Russian reper-toire at this house, reminding us of the necessary price that global culture has said footh acquise the second

toire at this house, reminding us of the necessary price that global culture has paid for the war in Ukraine. There was excellent stagecraft all round, especially from the mighty Russian bass Ildar Abdrazakov in the title role of the (rare) original shorter and starker 1869 version of the score. His was a towering performance of Shakespearean proportions delivered in a jet-black voice, authoritative in the opening scenes and dramatic in his displays of terror and final death scene.

Aln Anger's dignified hermit Pimen, Dmitry Golovnin's resolute pretendal death scene.

Aln Anger's dignified hermit Pimen, Dmitry Golovnin's resolute pretendar origory and Oleg Budaratsky's brutal guard also stood out. Stanislay Trofinov and Alexander Kravets were darkly comical as the drunken vagabond monks Varlaam and Misail, and Maria Barakova was a bawdy innkeeper. La Scalá First-trate chorus was powerfus as the oppressed masses. Dropping Mussorgsky's Boris would have been a missed opportunity.

To December 29. teatroallascala.ora

To December 29, teatroallascala.org

Sumptuous staging for elegant undead

DANCE

Are you sitting comfortably? We'll soon fix that. Matthew Bourne's 2012 Sleeping Beauty is back at Sadler's Wells for a seven-week residency. Though sumptuously staged and strongly danced, Bourne's lavish, subversive makeover of Marius Petipa's 1890 ballet is let down by pedestrian choreography and a vampire-themed storyline already showing its age.

Lez Brotherston, who has designed every Bourne production since 1994, excels himself here. The palace's balck and gold columns and cornices have a gloony

The palace's black and gold col-umns and cornices have a gloomy grandeur and the gauzes and back-drops enhance the depth of the Wells's stage and create multiple centres of interest. Concealed travelators enable the dancers to glide in and out of view — every Beauty director should get one The more gothic mome bathed in Paule Constable's blood stained sidelights. The costume are ravishing, mixing the "anyone for tennis?" Edwardiana of Aurora's birthday party with the shredded, Arthur Rackham-ish threads of Count Lilac and his doomy gang of fairies. Unfortu-nately, their black tights make leg-and footwork all but invisible against the sooty set

against the sooty set.

Bourne cherry-picks from the fairytale, adding flourishes of his own. The childless Royals acquire a baby (Tchaikovsky's thrilling overture repurposed as birth pangs while bad fairy Carabosse conjures the infant into being), and little Aurora (a clever three-man puppet) is entertained by a quintet of fairy variations. Elmhurst-trained Enrique Ngbokota and James Lovell make light work of Fairies Tantrum and Autumnus (ballet's loss was Bourne's gain).

Andrew Monaghan, left, as the palace gardener and Ashley Shaw as Aurora Johan Persson

There are regular glimpses of other ballets — Anastasia act one, Giselle's mad scene — but the exultant Rose Adagio, in which the balancing ballerina greets each of her four suitors, is reduced to a game ofkiss-chase.

Tchaikovsky's score, taped and amplified, has been freely adapted and is supplemented some might say sabotaged) with baby cries, thunderclaps and other extraneous noises in Paul Groothuis's sound design. Many passages are taken at a thrilling pace to help ginger up Bourne's often uninspired routines in which the chorus twiri, grind and twerk their way through waltz or polonaise.

The new scenario is action-packed but strangely lacking in motivation. Bourne had always been unconvinced by

The chorus twirl. grind and twerk their way through waltz or polonaise

Aurora's convenient coup de foudre at her awakening, and decided to introduce a love inter-est that predates her 100-year sleep. His barefoot princess (the feather-light Ashley Shaw) shuns courtly protocol, preferring to skip about. She is smitten by the palace gardener (Andrew Mona-ghan) who submits to a kindly bite from Dominic North's watchful Count Lilac so that he will still be undead (and available) when the

princess awakens.
The fatal spindle (here a black rose) is supplied by his rival Caradoc, son of Carabosse, danced with satanic glamour by Paris Fitzpatrick. Unfortunately the characterisation is perfunctory and the love triangle of loss and reconcilia-tion at the heart of Bourne's story never quite takes flight.



Celebrity pals chit-chat about the big sleep

PODCASTS Fiona Sturges



here there's a Will,
There's a Walke is
ostensibly a podcast
about death and its
aftermath. "If you could
plan your perfect death, what would
you do?" asks the blurb for the new you do? series, presented by the actor Kattl, series, presented by the actor Kattl, Burke, which gives you a broad sense the tone. Guests are asked about how the tone. Guests are asked about how they would like to die, what they want at their funeral and arrangements for their will. It's all very jolly and irreverent. The first episode features comedian Dawn French, who says she wants to die

on stage, "Tommy Cooper-style", to laughter and applause. For her funeral, she would like a horse-drawn hearse, made of glass, and for the service to be conducted by RuPaul.

French's comedy partner, Jennifer Saunders, would do the eulogy, though it will be written by the screenwriter Richard Curtis — the joke being that Curtis would be unfailingly complimentary, which would drive

Couldn't they have got all that out of the way before pressing record? The second episode features the comedian Joe Lycett, who says he wants to die by being shot in the back of the head while lying in a harmock. He hopes his death will provoke the same level of national grief as David Bowle's in 2016.

The death theme is intended to bring from the same the same than the control when the same level of the same than the

The death theme is intended to bring focus to what is essentially a celebrity chat show, which it does to an extent. But in both episodes so far, the conversations lack depth. At one stage, French remarks how, for much of her life, she didn't think she would reach old age, in part because her father died in his forties.

A more curious host would have pressed the 65-year-old on this. French's father died by suicide when she was 19. How did this affect her? And how does she feel having lived 20-plus years longer than him? But Burke lets it pass.

Kathy Burke, left, and the first

guest on her new death

podcast, Dawn

The dominance of the celebrity podcast has been one of the more disappointing developments in podcasting, and where There's a Will... underlines a common flaw, which is that famous people don't make the sharpest interviewers. To sustain a 40-minute conversation, a host needs to prepare, listen, be curious and think about the listener at all times. The funeral scenarios in Burke's series are diverting enough, but even comedy needs light and shade.

For real insight into death and grief,

needs light and shade. For real insight into death and grief, the award-winning series *Grieficast* is still going strong after five years. Hosted by Cariad Lloyd, it features people in the public eye talking candidly about their experiences of death and often laughing at the sheer bleakness it all. The series' settle of the control of the control of the control of the strike of the control of ratio of silly to serious is just right.

podcasts.apple.com





oday 12 December 2022

FT BIG READ. EUROPE

War during winter could force more people to leave Ukraine just as the EU faces an increase in migrants from other regions. With facilities already stretched, the political climate is different from the spring. By Amy Kazmin, Sam Fleming and Raphael Minder

Migration fatigue

olina Sydorenko, a 19-year-old Ukrainian student, was brimming with both hope and trepidation when she returned to Kyiv in late ust, after five months sheltering ugust, after five months sheltering rom the war as a refugee in Italy. Yet her lans to pick up the pieces of her dis-upted life at a prestigious university in yiv were depressingly shortlived. Just weeks after her return, the eneer of normality that had been tem-

orarily restored to the capital was shat-ered as Russia launched new missile attacks on key Ukrainian cities and crit ical civilian infrastructure — the most serious since the war began. The university where she studied drama shut doy gain. Sydorenko fled back to Italy

"The situation is awful," says friends in Italy who had been consider ing a return home have now dropped the idea. "It's getting worse and worse and they don't know what to do."

As winter closes in on Europe and Russia sustains its bombardn Ukrainian power and water facilities EU member states are braced for many more Ukrainians like Sydorenko to

"The aim of Putin is to create a refugee crisis and to put even more pressure on us," says Ylva Johansson, the EU's migration commissioner.

At the same time, as Covid-19 restric tions ease and economic pressures mount, Europe is recording the highest influx of newly arriving migrants from north Africa, the Middle East and Asia since the migration crisis in 2015-16 which put immense strain on the EU and tested its political unity.

The combined pressures of these distinct mass movements of humanity — which have coincided with the rising influence of rightwing parties in several member states — have propelled the issue of migration back to the top of the

member states — have propelled the issue of migration back to the top of the EU's political agenda.

So far, Europe has maintained its open-door policy towards Ukrainian refugees, many of whom went back home after the initial Russian onslaught was repelled. But with reception facilities in many countries under severe strain and fears of a renewed Ukrainian exodus, tensions are rising between member states over how to handle irregular migrants — people who do not fulfil the legal requirements to enter a country — from other parts of the wordt. Italy's new righthwing government, led by Giorgia Meloni, is leading calls both for tougher measures to keep out Irregular migrants, and a new more equitable system for sharing the burden of accommodating new arrivals — something that has eluded EU countries for years.

"The political rhetoric around immigration is escalating right now around Europe, which underscores the difficulties many member states are having coming up with coherent solutions," says Alberto-Horst Neidhardt, a migration specialist at the European Policy Centre think-tank.

"We are seeing an emergency situation in the refugee reception systems in many parts of the EU. The prospect of further arrivals from Ukraine, as well as other parts of the world, could put even greater strain on the authorities."

Frostier reception

Europeans won widespread praise for their generous response to the first wave of refugees from Ukraine, encouraged of refugees from Ukraine, encouraged by the EU's unprecedented invocation of a 20-year-old but never previously used power to grant "temporary protec-tion" to refugees fleeing a conflict. With that, Ukrainians were instantly granted the right to move freely within the EU, to

work, and some income support. Sydorenko was among about 173,000 Ukrainians fleeing the conflict that passed through Italy — many of them drawn to join family and friends already in the country. Italian families and civil society groups also opened their doors, donating supplies and helping dislo-cated students enter the school system.

"There was this overall sense in soci ety of contributing to a heroic effort of resistance – that you are part of some-thing big, part of history," says Nathalie Tocci, director of Rome's Institute of



are striking. Between January and September, there were 4-4mn application by Ukrainians for temporary protection in the EU — although hundreds of thousands are estimated to have returned. On top of that, EU countries plus Norseys, witzerland, Iceland and Lichtenstein received 680,640 applications for asylum from nationals of countries including Syria, Afghanistan and parts of Africa and Asia — up 54 per cent from the same period the previous year, according to the EU asylum agency. Local authorities charged with housing and supporting refugees are struggling to cope. In Germany, where more than 1.1mn people have sought a safe haven this year, towns are scrambling to set up emergency shelters and convert syms and hostels in an echo of the 2015-16 refugee crisis. Municipalities are being forced to build mobile homes and rent rooms in hotels for the new arrivals, and say they are running out of school and kindergaten places and "integration courses" for adult refugees. Campaigners in Belgium say there are thousands of refuses. In Poland, where over 1.5mn Ukrainians registered for residency, a grass-roots army of ald volunteers was ini-tally halied as a role model. But while Warsaw's support for Kyfv remains unwavering. (Krainians fleeing to

Warsaw's support for Kyiv remains unwavering, Ukrainians fleeing to Poland this winter will not find as gener-

ous a welcome as they did in the spring. Poles are "afraid of the economic situ-ation and inflation and are becoming ore and more irritated by what the perceive as a favourable treatment of the Ukrainian refugees", says Piotr

Refugees into Europe on the rise again 140 120ras at the European Council on For

Buras at the European Council on Foreign Relations.

The Polish authorities have now ended many of the direct subsidies offered to Ukrainians, including free access to public transport and a one-time payment of 300 zloty (\$67) that was claimed by over 1mn registered Ukrainians. From March, refugees staying in Poland for more than 120 days will have to pay 50 per cent of the cost of any government-provided accommodation. In Przemysl, one of the main transit towns for Ukrainians entering Poland, nothing has been done to improve the udimentary station through which five trains to and from Ukraine travel every day. "There's been no attempt to add seating, heat lamps or basic protection from the elements to make things easier for the many Ukrainians who come and queue up for hours out in the cold for the trains," says William Flemming, a British activist with Kharpp, a charity assisting Ukrainian refugees.

JOHONE STANGARDS
JOHANSON, the migration commissioner, says that for the time being inflows into the union from Ukraine only modestly exceed the numbers returning to Ukraine, but that the EU has been undertaking contingency planning for new arrivals. "If we see millions of people coming during winter, of course there will be a huge challenge, but I think we will manage it well," she told the Financial Times.

Nevertheless, member states that

Nevertheless, member states that bore the brunt of the earlier wave of Ukrainian refugees are worried. Some diplomats stress that while Ukrainiar refugees can move freely where they want inside the EU, the new arrivals tend to go to the big cities where there are already large numbers, adding to the strains on local authorities.

'For us it's clear that if there were to would need better distribution through out Europe," Nancy Faeser, the German wish to underline again that this is an

depicted the unregulated flow of nigrants from Africa and Asia as grave threats to Italy's national security.

Now in power, they are demanding more help from Europe – including a strong united "defence" of the EU's so-called Dublin agreement, asylum seeker calaims are to be examined and processed in the European country in which they first arrive — a rule that Rome claims puts undue pressure on Italy and other Mediterranean nations given the geography. Last month, Italy, Greece, Cyprus and Malta signed a joint letter demanding changes to the system.

Though France shepherded an initial agreement on disbursement of asylum seekers through the EU during its presidency earlier this year, Italy has been scathing about the results, given that it

seeing an reception many parts

of the EU'

'We are emergency situation in the refugee systems in

The issue of double standards has also been raised in Poland and other countries of central and eastern Europe, which have taken in Ukrainians escaping Russids war while erectling new border blockades to stop others.

Poland is now adding a fence at its border with the Russian exclave of Kaliningrad, similar to the one built earlier this year along 186km of its border with Belarus. The Polish spowerment says border walls are needed to stop Russia and Belarus from pushing more illegal migration into the EU, but human rights organisations also say that this effort has been coupled with illegal pushbacks of asylum seekers from the Middle East and elsewhere. In Slovakia, thousands of mostly Syrian refugees are now trapped along the country's border areas because Czech border police have prevented them from entering, while Hungary is refusing to take back those who travelled through Hungary into Slovakia.

As pressures within the EU mount, Johansson says she is optimistic that a long-discussed pact for migration—that would modify the Dublin pact and include a fairer way of distributing asylum seekers around the union—can be delivered before the end of the current commission in 2024.

"They really see the need [to] have a rooper European legal franework in proper European legal franework in

rescued migrants to dock and unload heir passengers for nearly two weeks, urguing that their work was also fuelling numan trafficking by raising expecta-ions people would always be rescued. Her government called on Germany und Norway to take rescribility.

and Norway to take responsibility for the ships, which were flying their national flags. Tensions between Italy and France erupted last month after Rome refused to allow a ship carrying 231 migrants rescued from the Mediter-

ranean to dock at an Italian port, forcing it to sail to France to disembark its pas

Andrea Costa, the founder of Baobab Andrea Costa, the founder of Baobab Experience, a civil society group that assists migrants, says he sees a double standard in Europe's warm embrace of Ukrainian refugees, and the cold shoul-der it gives to those coming from other regions. The attitude has implications

for activists themselves, who can be accused of human trafficking for aiding

new arrivals that land from across the "I am afraid to say it, but really it has a Tam arraut o say it, but reany it nasa lot to do with racism," says Costa. "It upsets me very much. If I have a van and it's full of blonde, blue-eye kids coming from Ukraine, I have no problem. If I have eight black unaccompanied minors fleeing war in Tigray, Sudan or

'There was this sense in society of contributing

resistance - that you are part of history'

Somalia I am in trouble because I am

loing something illegal." The issue of double standards has also

to a heroic effort of

commission in 2024.

"They really see the need [to] have a proper European legal framework in place to deal with migration together," she says, stressing the parallel work the EU has been doing to facilitate returns of people deemed not to be eligible to stay in the union. "The increase of irregular arrivals is not unmanageable."

Yet the EU remains deeply split over migration, as was shown at a ministerial meeting on Thursday when Austria vetoed a proposal to expand the Schengen border-free are to Romania and Bulgaria. Vienna's blockade prompted a furious reaction in Romania, where some politicians are demanding a boy-

turious reaction in Romania, where some politicians are demanding a boy-cott of Austrian companies. Meanwhile, the inflow of new people pushed by misery at home to seek entry into Europe shows no signs of abating. On a recent cold rainy night in Rome,

Costa's organisation was handing out packed dinners in plastic bags to desti-tute migrants near one of the city's biggest bus stations. Among them was Awelky Nuru, a 28-year-old from Ere-tria, who fled his home when 18 to avoid

forcible conscription into the army.

A year ago, he managed to cross the
Mediterranean in a three-day journey in a leaky boat with around 300 oth people. He has struggled ever since.



dispersal of 8,000 migrants across the bloc – just a fraction of those arriving.

"The relocations carried out until today are totally insufficient and the procedures themselves are long and cumbersome," Italian interior minister Matteo Piantedosi told the FT. "In the end, it is only Italy and the other coun tries of first entry that take charge of

economic migrants from north Africa."

Nearly 96,000 irregular migrants have arrived in Italy via the Mediterranean Sea so far this year, an increase of FINANCIAL TIMES day 12 December 2022

The FT View



FINANCIAL TIMES

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Peru's democracy cannot survive constant turmoil

The Andean nation needs political reform to tackle its deep social problems

Peru's president was ousted and imprisoned last week, hours after trying and
failing to close congress and seize
extraordinary powers. Investors barely
noticed. The Andean nation's foreign
debt and the sol shrugged off the latest
instalment of political turmoit: after all,
Peru has had six presidents since early
2018, only two of them elected.
A political novice who swapped subsistence farming for the presidency,
Pedro Castillo proved spectacularly
inept. The radical left winger's promises
to help Peru's long-suffering poor
proved empty, giving way to a chaotic
administration which churned through
more than 80 ministers in less than a

ore than 80 minis

Corruption, a perennial evil in Peru-vian politics, quickly reared its head.

Castillo's chief of staff fled after \$20,000 in cash was found in his office lavatory and prosecutors then homed in on the president and his extended family. Castillo was accused of heading a criminal conspiracy to skim bribes off public sector contracts. As legislators gathered to consider his impeachment, Castillo tried to pre-empt them by closing congress and introducing emergency rule. His gambit failed almost immediately as the army, the police and his own cabinet deserted him and he was arrested after fleening the presidential palace.

Most regional leaders condemned Castillo's hapless attempt to subvert democracy but Mexico's quixotic president, Andrés Manuel López Obrador instead saw fitto attack what he termed a "soft coup" against Castillo carried out by the media and elites. He offered the would-be Peruvian dictator political savium = a curjous presersion of Mex-

by the metha and entes. He offered the would-be Peruvian dictator political asylum — a curious perversion of Mex-ico's tradition as a sanctuary for victims of genuine political persecution.

Castillo's vice-president Dina Bolu

after being

arte must now pick up the pieces after being sworn in as Peru's first female leader. Politically inexperienced, she faces the task of cobbling together a majority from 13 different political blocs in a venal legislature mainly pre-occupied with its own survival.

This is unfortunate because Peru's social and economic problems require urgent attention. Solid growth and sound macroeconomic management have masked serious deficiencies in public healthcare and education and a gaping divide between the relative prosertity of Lima and the poverty of the provinces.

provinces.
Progress is unlikely without far-reaching political reform. Peru is sad-dled with an authoritarian constitution drawn up by Alberto Fujimori, a presi-dent who closed congress and ruled by decree in the 1990s. Its unicameral par-liament of 130 members can be dis-solved by the president if it twice rejects his choice as prime minister.
Political parties have proliferated

Dina Boluarte must now pick up the pieces sworn in as the female leader

under a poorly designed system of proportional representation, creating a highly fragmented congress where the president must constantly horse-trade. An archaic law, never properly defined, allows legislators to depose a president for "moral incapacity" – a useful big stick for extracting concessions.

Most parties are little more than vehicles for the personal ambition of their leaders or the promotion of special interest groups. It is hardly surprising that polls show most Peruvians despise the entire political class. All this makes it all the more remarkable that Peru has survived multiple political crises over the past decade with its democracy intact. Its luck is unlikely to hold, investor insouciance notwithstanding.

Congress and the new president urgently need to come together and agree a package of political reforms to

argenuy need to come together and agree a package of political reforms to put the country on a sound institutional footing and allow its deep-rooted social problems to be tackled. Otherwise a future coun attempt with the

Opinion Asia

Punctured bike boom could yet receive a boost





n the noise and uncertainty of mid-2021, it looked very much like the bicycle had quietly won

mic-20.21, it loosed very microlike the bicycle had quietly won
the pandemic.

The attention may have
focused, at the time, on ecommerce
giants, in-home entertainers, social
media titans and other stewards of
seclusion. But the outdoorsy share
prices of Taiwanese bike-makers
Giant and Merida and of the Japanese
component king Shimano, meanwhile, were breezing to almost unimaginable highs. Even Thule, the Swedish maestro of bike racks and other
paraphernalia, was surging towards
its all-time peak.

But near the close of 20.22, the market's two-wheeld filing looks done — a
wholesome phenomenon derailed by
the world getting back on track. Those
four stocks have lost between 25 and
55 per cent of their value this year,
after months of steady selling, Halfords, the UK bike retailer, is down

While concerns may prove entirely justified in the short term, bicycles have friends in high places

more than 46 per cent. In October, Goldman Sachs placed an outright "sell" recommendation on shimano, warning of an impending correction in component orders from bike-makers.

Both halves of this story make sense, though both look overdone. If the bike boom is truly finished, though, the question is whether a bigger one might be induced by regulation, the energy crisis and Emmanuel Macron's vision of "collec

The 2021 bike-related share price 1 ne 2021 bike-related share price spikes were propelled by a subset of the belief that Covid-19 has perma-nently changed the way we live. The pandemic created a world where crowded public transport and gyms presented infection risk, cabin fever was powerful, commuting patterns were in flux and working days were reshaping themselves. The bicycle, already heavily credentialed as a traf-fic-defeating, health-benefiting ecomachine, answered a lot of new ques tions about the way we live and work.

into the narrative that global bicycle into the narrative that global bicycle demand was now on a stratospheric trajectory. A projection by research group Fortune Business Insights valued the global bicycle market at \$78bn in 2021, rising to \$128bn by the end of

the decade.

The reckoning of what Covid-19 achieved for bicycles suggests something impressive, though perhaps less transformational than the market guessed. Morten Paulsen, an analyst who covers shimano for the brokerage CLSA, calculates that the pandemic created a global demand for about 5mn bicycles that would not have been sold without it. Ofthose 5mn new owners, he estimates that roughly half remain in the saddle today.

In 2022, even as sales for the likes of Shimano remained firm, investors have decided that their earlier exuberance may have overshot. The pandemic-driven issues for which a bike once seemed a great antidote now seem less severe. Shimano's new orders for delivery nine months from now are looking weaker than a year ago. Investors now fret that the once inadequate global inventories of bicycles are being steadily replenished, and that economic downtum till soften overall demand.

But while those concerns may prove entirely justified in the short term, bicycles have friends in high places protection of more attractive cycling infrastructure as a route to decarbonisation. Macron's efforts to steer France through a winter of energy crisis, notes Mark Chadwick, an analysis energy saving collective solviety) in terms that others may seek to emulate and which clearly favours bikes. French citizens are simultaneously being enticed, via a c4,000 subsidy, to trade in cars for electric bicycles: the stated aim is to raise the ratio of cyclists in France from around 3 per

cyclists in France from around 5 per cent now to 9 per cent by 2024.

Europe more broadly has also pre-sented shimano and others with a juicy opportunity. At the end of 2021.

just before the listed bicycle and component makers began to lose their buoyancy — the EU voted to allow member states to cut VAT on sales, rentals and repairs of bicycles from 15 per cent to 5 per cent and to theoreti-cally scrap all such taxes by 2030.

Analysts calculate this could enhance existing predictions that combined bicycle and e-bike sales in Europe would rise by roughly 50 per cent from

Letters

Why Britain's SMEs are losing Irish customers in the post

Andrew Duff's prescription for affiliate EU membership for the UK is compelling if controversial ("Starmer must plot a bold route back to Europe or Britain", Opinion, December 5). But there is an earlier, wholly

uncontroversial step the UK could take to ease trade with the EU. For reasons not clear, the UK Post

Office has refused to implement the necessary systems to comply with the new EU customs rules that applied to the UK after Brexit. The UK government appears uninterested. Consequently at An Post, the Irish

postal service, we have to return

thousands of items daily back to Great Britain as they fail EU customs' checks. Predominantly these are items sold by British small and medium-sized enterprises online and delivered gh the UK Post Office

The level of disruption for SMEs has caused many of them to simply not bother trading with Ireland, a full member state of the EU (and where the EU customs rules have been introduced first). Trade from Great Britain to Ireland through postal channels has

fallen by 52 per cent in one year.
From January 2023 the EU customs
rules are mandatory across the EU so

the disruption with Ireland will be repeated with every other EU country, if the necessary actions are not taken.

The UK government should insist immediately that Post Office Limited implement the required procedures for exports to the EU to uphold ernational trade, to support British businesses and consumers

Royal Mail has a responsibility to ensure trade is facilitated (not least by repairing the dysfunctional relationship between Royal Mail and the Post Office), implementing a duty-paid system to help EU consumers of British companies.

If it is not too late - but it's already close to that for many SMEs — these steps could have an immediate and ositive economic impact on the SME ector and the millions they employ, a sector regularly described by government as the backbone of the British economy. The system and process

implementation has some complexity but is surely a price worth paying if it allows the UK to trade with

Europe.

David McRedmond

Chief Executive, An Post

Dublin, Ireland

An awesome disregard of causes of Europe's peace

I write to nominate as the most self-

causes of Europe's peace
I write to nominate as the most selfevidently absurd proposition of 2022
Janan Ganesh's statement today that
'the EU deserves most of the credit for
the continent's post-1945 peace' ("The
year Europe's innocent worldweir fell
apart", Opinion, December 7).
This awesome disregard of the Berlin
Airlift, the North Atlantic Treaty and
Marshall Ald sets the scene for his
apparent oversight of the roles of
Presidents Truman, Eisenhower,
Kennedy and their successors, not only
in standing up to the direct threats
from Joseph Stalin and his successors,
but also in managing the cold war
relationship between nuclear-armed
superpowers without, so far, an
outbreak of molecar conflict. All this is
to say nothing of the huge outspending
by the US of its European allies on
Nato, decade in and decade out, for all
but three quarters of a century.
Ganesh dismisses all consideration of
Nato's role with the seemingly
rhetorical question "what explains the
ennity between Greece and Turkey",
to which the rather obvious answer is
'history', starting early in the fifth
entury BC (see Byron's call for "a new
Thermopylac").
How this ancient and modern
antagonism illustrates Ganesh's
extraordinary assertion about the EU's
contribution to European peace since
1945 remains obscure. For that blessing
we have one supreme benefactor to
thank, the US.
Peter Jay

we have one suprer thank, the US.

Peter Jay Woodstock, Oxfordshire, UK

A trade unionist's take on the US working class

Edward Luce ("The shipwrecked US working class", Opinion, December 8) is right that the Democrats are increasingly the party of college-educated voters, but he has a reductive view of what it means to be working-

class.

Last week, myself and others in the Democratic Socialists of America worked with railroad workers to "welcome" scab-in-chief Joe Biden to Boston as he was meeting Prince William. Yesterday, Boston University graduate students – largely led by our members – voted by one of the largest margins in US history to unionise. They make far less than train conductors. Last month, our members led illegal teachers strikes in the Boston suburbs On the ground, blue collar and whit collar workers are uniting with



A Bulldog spirit is needed 'now it is obvious that Brexit is not working'

America's social divisions are about culture wars

are about culture Wars
I enjoyed Edward Luce's piece "The
shipwrecked US working class"
(Opinion, December 8), Ome critical
point he did not make expressly is that
neither the Democrats nor the
Republicans represent the economic
interests of the working class, nor for
that matter the middle class. Instead,
both political parties pick, highlight
and exacerbate the culture wars that
could be minimised or tolerated. What we wind up with is a polarised count divided by the cultural appeals each party makes to its base. Paul Justison Oakland, CA, US

Recalling another twist in the Lloyds HBOS takeover

Patrick Jenkins' Inside Business article comparing the Bulb rescue by Octopus with the acquisition by Lloyds of HBOS is an interesting comparison (December 6).

As someone very much involved in the case against Lloyds for the acquisition, I agree that what is "far from welcome" is the fact the details of the government's financial support for Bulb are shrouded in mystery. What was far from welcome in the Lloyds-HBOS case was the failure to disclose £25bn of liquidity assistance from the Bank of England/Treasury, compounded by the fact that the then Deputy Governor of the bank, Andrew Bailey, allowed an own credit adjustment of £13bn to be treated as capital when the adjustment was to

On EU trade, politicians can't just hope for the best

George Parker, in his article on a possible Brexit rethink, made me almost despair ("Parties shun Brexit rethink in race to win next election",

possione streat remins, made me almost despair ("Parties shun Brexit rethink in race to win next election", Report, December 5). He says that the politicians have basically run out of steam and lost the will to contemplate rejoining the EU. Others say that the Remainers lost and we should get over it. That does not sound a very "British Bullog" attitude. Where is our tenacity and resilience now that it is becoming obvious that Brexit is not working? If our politicians cannot provide fundamental, sound an datable foundations, how can we expect our businesses to invest for the future? With the other two major trading blocs, china and the Us, also apparently out of the running for friendly trade deals, when we have been reduced to having to try to negotiate a lot of smaller deals from a position of obvious weakness. Surely, rather than trying to start again from scratch and replicate 40 years of laws and attendant case law, it would be far easier, quicker, more efficient and cheaper (except for the cost to some egos) to renegotiate a firm of Brexit in name only) deal with the EU? It seems obvious that both we and the Europeans would, overall, benefit from a close alliance.

It is no good our politicians just wringing their hands and hoping for the best: they need to get together, cross-party and with business, hammer out a medium-term plan and stick to it. Are there any grown-ups who could but aside bias and emotion and handle this? If not, we seem to be doomed to a slow decline over many years. Robert Mandeville.

Private schools should be

taxed on donations too

On reading Stephen Bush's article on private schools, I would make two further points ("Private schools are an easy target for Labour, but not a risk-free one", Opinion, December 3). First, I do not think that it is too

difficult to differentiate betw secondary and tertiary education Second, Bush focuses on the receipt of fees. He has ignored the other hu benefit to the private school sector — charitable donations.

In the latest list of benefactors to my old school Clifton College, for example, (copy attached) there are 11 donors who have given at least £250,000 each.

Why ban on assisted dying is unjust for many families

is unjust for many families
Stephen Bush (Opinion, December 5) is
right to say that poverty should never
be the driver of a person's decisionmaking at the end of their life. But that
is the reality under the current blanket
ban on assisted dying in the UK.
It has created a two-tier system
where death on one's own terms is an
option only availed of by around 50
Britons every year who are fortunate
enough to have the £10,000 required
for Dignitas, the health and digital
literacy needed to navigate its rigorous
application process, and family
members prepared to risk
investigation and even a prison
sentence.

And that endy applies if a person is

investigation and even a prison sentence.

And that only applies if a person is still physically well enough to make the journey to Switzerland. This leaves hundreds of terminally-ill people each year with no option but to take matters into their own hands and thousands more who suffer against their wishes. Your columnist rightly calls for more data. This is what the health select committee should be helping to address in its inquiry into assisted dying, announced last week. If its aim is to bring scrutiny and evidence to this debate, it must look at the impact of the current law — the experts on which are the terminally-ill people and their families who experience its injustice every day. Karin Smyth MP for Bristol South Co-chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Choice at the End of Life

An Indian ex-part reccalls

An Indian ex-pat recalls the appeal of Wodehouse

I am of Indian descent. My father was a writer, a language lover, and a freedom fighter for independence from the British. He also started life as a high school teacher ("Wodehouse lightens the woes", Life & Arts, December 3).

the woes', Lite & Arts, December 3). Like Nilanjama Roy, your columnist, my father also read PG Wodehouse. For me, after VS Naipaul, it was Wodehouse I read at the age of 9 as I started probing for my bearings. I thought Wodehouse decadent. I had not yet understood parody. Sandip Tiwari Southport, ME, US

More on Lady Susan's unfortunate question

Following the letters of Peter Edwards (December 9) and Peter Rose of New York ("Fowler and Lady Susan's

nday 12 December 2022

Opinion

The UK government's policy on public sector pay is foolish



he UK government is confronting a "winter of discontent" in public services. In response, it insists that it cannot afford higher pay and seeks to limit the right of public servants to strike. This may work politically. But it does not make sense economically. Public sector pay should be set at levels needed to attract and motivate the required staff. An upsurge in inflation does not change that logic. Since the Conservatives won power in May 2010, overall real average pay (including bonuses) had risen by 5.5 per cent in the private sector by September 2022, but fallen by 5.9 per cent in the private sector by September 2022, average and September 2022, average

ary 2021 and September 2022, average real pay in the private sector fell by 1.5

per cent, but in the public sector pay fell by 7.7 per cent. In fact, all the decline in real public sector pay since 2010 has occurred in the past two years.

Such a large cut in real public sector pay could not have occurred within thigh inflation. But would one have wanted to reduce real pay in the absence of a rise in the price level? The naswer is: yes. The UK has suffered a big deterioration in its "terms of trade". Thus, the prices of its imports have risen sharply against those of its exports. The UK is poorer than it would have been if the rises in energy prices, above all, had not happened. Some of this adjustment in real incomes should fall on wages. Thus, some fall in real earnings in either surprising nor inappropriate. Inflation has merely made it possible to implement.

Yet even if some fall in real earnings in the economy makes sense, why should the public sector's fall be far greater than that in the private sector?

One might argue that control over public sector wages is an effective way to prevent a wage-price spiral, that government cannot afford to pay public sector workers any more, or that infla-

tion is an opportunity to reduce excessive levels of public sector pay, especially when one takes perks, notably generous pensions, into account.

generous pensions, into account.
None of these arguments has merit.
On the first, Ben Zaranko of the Insti-tute for Fiscal Studies, notes that "it is difficult to see how an increase in public sector wages could directly contribute to a wage-price spiral", given the lack of

It is clear that there are substantial shortfalls in key staff, as well as concerns about their quality

prices in the public sector. Nor, he notes, can one argue that public sector pay is leading inflation, since it is falling far behind. Above all, policy on pay will not lower inflation. This demands macr-

On the second, the decision by government not to raise pay in line with wages in the private sector is not because it cannot afford to do so. Taxes

could be raised if the will were there. It is in effect a political decision to make public sector employees pay for the government's unfinded promises.

On the last argument, as the IFS noted in its October 2022 Green Budgest, average pay in the public sector is higher than in the private sector, but this advantage disappears when one takes worker characteristics — age, experience, qualifications and so forth — into account. Public sector workers are then paid slightly less than private sector ones. In fact, the ratio is now more unfavourable to public sector workers than at any point in the past 30 years. True, if one considers employee pension contributions as well, public sector employees were paid 6 per cent more than private sector ones on average in 2021. But this advantage is sure to erode in 2022.

Above all, the test of whether pay is appropriate is whether it maintains services at the levels government has

Above all, the test of whether pay is appropriate is whether it maintains services at the levels government has promised. It is clear that there are substantial shortfalls in key staff, as well as concerns about their quality. Thus, data from NHS England "show a vacancy rate of 11.9 per cent as at September 30

2022 within the Registered Nursing staff group (47,496 vacancies). This is an increase from the same period in the previous year, when the vacancy rate was 10.5 per cent (39,951 vacancies)." Again, data show dramatic shortfalls in ceruitment of teachers in such subjects as physics or design & technology.

As Chris Cook argues, the government should ask whether public sector pay is at a level that will sustain delivery of services. The country's social fabric is fraying, in particular, all health is damaging labour supply. If the government is not prepared to raise the required taxes, it should be honest about that. Letting inflation reduce real pay, while expecting services to be maintained, let alone improve, is plainly dishonest. The government should keep pay in line with the private sector's, especially where it has significant recruitment and retention problems. If this means it has to reopen spending plans that no longer make sense in today's debased pounds, so be it. What is happening now may be penny-wise, but it is pound-foolish.

martin.wolf@ft.com

Decoupling spells corporate opacity's end



ecoupling is everywhere. In the past week or so, we've seen multiple announce-ments on this front, includ-

seen multiple announcements on this front, including Apple's move to diversify production away from China's "iPhone city", a Foxcom factory town within Zhengzhou that once made 85 per cent of the company's Pro line of phones. Then there was TSMC's tripling of its investment in Us domestic chipmaking, Brussels' announcement that it would offer its own subsidies to speed up local production of clean technology and the spike in Indian stocks as multinational investors looked for cheap new production sites — anywhere but China. The reasons for these shifts ranged from anti-government protests and factory disruptions in China, to national security and domestic labour concerns, to the cost of flee of the emissions from a long transport route. But the bottom line is that the diversification, regionalisation and localisation of global supply chains has only just begun, and will probably broaden and deepen in the coming years. This is not only because lawmakers are increasingly incentifising or insisting on it, but also because there is a burgeoning group of compa-

nies providing the services and data to make it possible. From risk consultancies to big rating agencies, law firms to investment houses, and any number of start-ups designed to help companies map or even recreate alternative supply chains, everyone wants a piece of the decoupling piece.

even recreate "alternative supply chains, everyone wants a piece of the decoupling pie.

Miles Armone is chief executive of Resibuild, a Massachusetts-based company that invests in localised manufacturing start-ups and helps companies rethink their supply chains. He says he is working with a large number of companies that are developing new hardware in areas like clean tech, automotive industries, life sciences and building trades, and want to make it locally." This is not only because of the geopolitical climate, but because they want to avoid IP theff or capture the benefits of faster innovation or quicker time to market by producing "local for local".

Then, there are the large multinationals that come to Armone because they are in decoupling industries, such as technology, but have "forgotten how to make their own secret sauce". Essentially this means that they ve done so much complex outsourcing, they literally have no idea how to make their own products by themselves anymore.

Indeed, they may not even know who is making those products now (or investing in them), because of the sheer magnitude of corporate globalisation over the past half century, particularly between the US and China. Business seladers need detailed risk maps to begin



beyond the most surface level.

This is where data entrepreneurs are stepping in. One of the most interesting is WireScreen, part of The Wire Digital Inc, a US-based news and data platform focused on China and global supply chains. It tracks 10mm companies registered to do business in China, and what it reveals speaks volumes about how far it reveals speaks volumes about how far it reveals speaks volumes about how far decoupling has to go. The company, which has raised \$14mm from investors including Sequola, was co-founded by David Barboza, who was awarded the Pulltzer Prize in 2013 for exposing corruption within the highest levels of the Chinese government.

The Wire uses open source data from

It is quite common to find blacklisted companies controlling multiple non-blacklisted affiliates

every major public and private company operating in the country. This includes not only Chinese state firms, but midsized suppliers, and global multiationals from Boeing to Google. It then translates, cleans and cross references the data with other sources, to reveal the shareholders who ultimately benefit, as well as the business network and associations of these companies. The results are shocking. It is quite common, for example, to find evidence of companies under sanctions partnering with US firms, or blacklisted companies controlling multiple non-blackinsted affiliates, meaning that they could legally import goods and services for their sanctioned investor or parent. While the Wire cant' 'see' violations because it doesn't have trading records, tit does regularly demo the platform to government officials. There's plenty for them to be concerned about, even beyond decoupling. For example, the data is starting to paint a picture of wealth offshoring to places such as the British Virgin Islands.

Barboza says that the platform cur-

rently holds less than 10 per cent of the data collected by his team. Even so, it's clear that supply chains are "the string that you can pull on to expose the opacity of global corporations", as he puts it. No wonder the bulk of the nearly \$5mn in data subscriptions to the Wire so far come from federal contractors and regulatory agencies, law firms, think-tanks and consultancies.

ulatory agencies, law firms, think-tanks and consultancies. Every corporate leader or investor should take note. The people who make the rules that are shaping the post-neo-liberal world, and those who help companies abide by them, are compiling increasingly detailed pictures of how companies operate across borders. It's one thing for politicians to push decoupling, or even pass laws that require it. It's another for everyone to have access to data that proves whether or not companies are abiding by the letter of the law. I suspect that this new transparency will expose opportunities and challenges that business leaders and politicians are only beginning to imagine.

Lead mining pollution in Zambia is an ESG test case

arly next year a landmark case will be heard in the South African High Court that will determine if a class that will determine It a crass action by a community in Zambia should be allowed to proceed after Anglo American, one of the world's largest mining companies, left Kabwe to become "the world's most toxic town".

become "the world's most toxic town".
The case, filed by Johannesburg and
London law firms, Mbuyisa Moleele and
Leigh Day, alleges that Anglo American
was negligent in allowing uncontrolled
lead contamination, and not ensuring
that lead in the environment was cleaned up even after research showing widespread serious lead poisoning and the deaths of local children.

The responsibilities of businesses, as well as states, to respect human rights is recognised under international law. Failing to meet expectations to protect people and the environment means that companies increasingly face huge repu-tational and financial risks.

It seems to me and other Action for Southern Africa campaigners that the management of the Kabwe lead mine, in which the Anglo American Group held a minority shareholding for 50 years until the facility was nationalised by the Zamthe tacinty was nationaised by the Zain-bian government in 1974, has resulted in a public health and environmental catastrophe, still affecting generations of children and women after almost a century of metal mining and smelting. Lead levels in Kabwe's soil are many

times higher in some areas than the US Environmental Protection Agency's limit. The incidence of childhood lead poisoning there is among the highest in

Alarm bells will surely ring for investors who fear the harm the case is doing to the company's reputation

the company's reputation
the world, especially in those under the
age of three. The world Health Organization and the US centers for Disease
Control advise that there is no safe level
of lead and even very low levels of blood
lead cause (O deficits and behavioural
problems. They recommend public
health interventions and blood lead
screening of individuals with levels that
are less than a tenth of those observed in
young children in parts of Kabwe.
This coming January, the South African High Court will decide whether a
class action, brought on behalf of
approximately 140,000 Kabwe residents against Anglo American South
Africa, may proceed. The case is set to
be one of the largest human rights class
actions in history, with compensation
that could exceed previous awards.
However, Anglo American denies liability, placing the blame on other companies and the Zambian government.
Anglo disputes that the Kabwe commurity should be allowed to pursue a class
action. It unsuccessfully opposed the
intervention of a group of UN Special
Rapporteurs and UN Working Groups
who point out that Anglo's stance is at
complete variance with the UN's guiding principles on business and human
rights, which Anglo publicly endorses
vialt sown group human rights policy.
Alarm bells will surely ring for invesviats of the company's
reputation, given the increasing importance of environmental, social and goveerrance business policies.
ESG is now considered the biggest risk

ernance business policies. ESG is now considered the biggest risk

for disruption by mining executives, according to KPMG's Global Mining Outlook 2022. This is the first time in the report's 12-year history that a drop in commodity prices is not the leading concern. Many of them, including fund managers like Fidelity, BlackRock and Vanguard, are also signatories to the Principles for Responsible Investment endorsed by the UN, which works to use responsible investment to enhance

responsible investment to enhance returns and better manage risks.

The Kabwe case is a particularly egregious example of alleged corporate human rights abuse. If successful, the law will set a precedent for companies to be held liable to compensate for historical harms. The case is also a test of inter

Tech companies must start sharing intelligence to avert global conflicts



hether they like it or not, technology compa-nies can't avoid making consequential decisions about geopolitics, con-flict and war. Not only do they operate close to the frontline — at times they close to the frontline — at times they effectively mark it. Yet, astonishingly, there is no official mechanism for shar-ing information on threats and attacks involving corporate infrastructure between the governments of EU memreplace destroyed internet infrastruc-ture. On the same day, Musk tweeted back that the service was active, and more terminals were on the way. Such more terminals were on the way. Such exchanges between tech and government leaders are rare, especially in public. Sure, we have seen Microsoft share threat assessments and reports of cyber attacks. And Facebook and Twitter have taken action to thwart disinformation campaigns ranging from taking down news outlet impersonators to the identi-fication of botnets.

But how keen are these companies to share information less favourable to share information less favourable to them about how their products are being used for geopolitical gain? Which attacks have they failed to mitigate? When did they request government help to avert disaster? There are few recent policy efforts to

services and law enforcement, while services and law enforcement, while others will only share information when asked directly, or when sanctions are looming in case of non-compliance. There is no level playing field.
Restricting the publishing of critical information can be legitimate, but EU

demand a dialogue. It is high time we had a mechanism for exchanging information with technology companies

If a software group were to see an increase in attempts to hack infrastructure, it

whose products and services sit at vital

keep up to date with how hybrid conflict is evolving and allowing companies to access greater state support during cri-ses such as conflict, war, or cyber attacks. Shared information should be considered confidential so compan should not fear that the information should not fear that the information they share will be passed on to regulators. Such a dialogue would ensure all companies are brought around the table to share critical insights. This does not have to be a group exercise, and sessions might be requested by a tech company or by a government.

If a software company were to see an increase in attempts to hack civilian infrastructure, it should come forward.

Similarly, when social media platforms have crucial insights into co-ordinated information manipulation attempts by state actors, they should make it known.

technology platforms to engage on the topics of disinformation, hate speech and terrorist content. In the UK, the communications regu-

In the UK, the communications regu-lator has been given greater authority under the Online Safety Bill to deal with child sexual abuse material. However, no comparable agreements exist between democratic governments and technology companies around conflict. Governments should be able to

defend their sovereignty, and act in line with the UN Charter. The reality is that for that to succeed, they now rely on technology companies. Subversion, the thology companies. Subversion, manipulation and disruption by state hackers or government-backed groups beneath the formal threshold of conflict all involve relatively new technologies.

When you consider the question: "when did the Russian war of aggression



Rutherford Hall 'Losing your life savings on crypto is a Brexit opportunity' **OWORK & CAREERS**

If you thought business jargon was bad . . .



Pilita Clark **Business Life**

ike every other journalist I know, I spent part of last week mucking around with ChatGPT, a new artificial intelligence chatbot that can write jokes, poems, student essays and,

es, newspaper columns. When I asked it to "write a hilarious column", it came back with:

column; it came back with:

"As 1sit here, typing away on my
laptop, I can't help but feel like the
world's biggest idiot. And no, it's not
just because I spent half an hour trying
to figure out how to get my cat off the
keyboard (spoiler alert: I failed
miserably). "There followed 344 more
words that could easily have been
written by a buman. Not a very. written by a human. Not a very scintillating human, but still.

There was the occasional cliché, and I feel the chatbot's definition of "hilarious" was stretched. Impressively though, it repeatedly managed to avoid one defect that continues to plague the

one defect that continues to piague use human; jargon.

In fact, it took a dim view of some of the worst kind – business jargon—declaring that babble about synergies and KPIs can be "confusing or exclusionary." in general, "it said primly, "it's best to use clear and straightforward language that can be



listening or reading." Quite. I was still thinking about this a day later when I came across a new study from University of Minnesota researchers on a type of jargon I have not thought about much before but should have: the medical variety.

It's fun to laugh about people who talk of blue-sky thinking in the lank of order-sky training in the low-hanging fruit space going forward. It's clearly worse to tell a patient something about their health that they fail to fully grasp. Doctors have known this for years

but, like their jargon-spouting corporate counterparts, they keep at

Alas, this means that some still use phrases that ordinary people think mean the opposite of what is intended, especially when it comes to "positive" and "negative" test results. Although 96 per cent of people

66 When doctors say 'occult infection' they mean a hidden infection, but more people thought it was to do with a curse 99

understood that a negative ca tracterstood that a negative cancer test result was good news, only 67 per cent knew the phrase "your nodes are positive" meant the cancer had spread, the Minnesotan researchers found. Acronyms also confuse. Some

doctors still use phrases such as NPO, from the Latin nil per os, or nothing by mouth, when they want to say a patier should not eat or drink anything for a stretch of time. The study shows how risky this can

be. When participants were shown the term: "You will need to be NPO at 8am", only 11 per cent understood what was meant. But 75 per cent knew exactly what to do if told: "You are to have nothing by mouth after 4pm. Words with a different meaning

medicine also spell trouble. When doctors talk of an "occult infection" they mean a hidden infection. In the Minnesota study, more people thought it had something to do with a curse.

The researchers think their study is the largest of its kind and the first to

ompare how well people grasp jargon versus non-jargon phrases.

But it is by no means the first to expose the problem. Other papers from the US and Europe have shown that medical jargon has been confusing

cancer patients, diabetes sufferers and

the parents of ill children or prema babies for years. The good news is that patient understanding may be starting to

improve. Back in 2001, a UK study showed that only 52 per cent of people understood the phrase "the tumour was progressing" was bad news, which is unsurprising, given that progress generally means something good is happening. But 79 per cent of participants in the Minnesota study knew this phrase meant the opposite.

It is not entirely clear why understanding might be rising but the pandemic may have helped. Years of waiting to see if a Covid test is positive or negative might explain why there is now almost universal understanding

that a negative cancer test is good nev Either way, it is better to stick with something anyone can instantly understand, like "the test shows no cancer". That way, as the AI chatbot says, there's a better chance that doctors will be understood by their patients, their patients' families — as each ether.

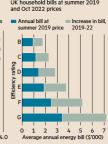
pilita.clark@ft.com

Carbon counter: lagging indicators

Existing dwellings have far higher CO₂ emissions Median estimated tonnes of CO₂ emissions up to Mar 2022



with a lower energy performance



vigilantes can justifiably say: "this is our oment". Energy prices are steep and mperatures are chilly. Reducing er demand saves money and Turning off a radiator in an empty room is just the start. Home insulation takes the battle to a higher level — the loft.

The UK is a good test case. Many of its 28mn dwellings are old and draughty. They account for 25 per cent of total energy use and 15 per cent of emissions. The burden needs to come down sharply by 2030 to be aligned

with the pathway to net zero.

Big national numbers are a bore. Break them down to household level and they start to mean something. A good starting point is the average UK home, consuming 12.2MWh of natural gas a year and 2.9MWh of power, for a total pre-crisis energy bill of £1,200. In 2023, that is set to triple to £3,600, roughly evenly split between gas and

might lop 25 per cent off gas demand, or around 3MWh — a £430 saving at

What of the longer term? Suppose energy prices return to pre-crisis levels by 2026, and savings settle at £110 per

vear. Lex calculates that the "present value" of those savings — applying a 7 per cent discount rate — would be out £1,700. That makes it well worth

investing £700.

The internal rate of return would be more than 30 per cent — compared with the 14 per cent this investment would have returned at 2021 prices. No infrastructure investor would turn their nose up at that. Neither should the inhabitants of 33 Omdurman Gardens.

Reducing gas demand by 3MWh would cut a household's emissions by 0.7 tonnes of CO2 a year - or some 20 metric tonnes at a national level. That is something like 6 per cent of emissions that have a negative abatement cost, meaning you make

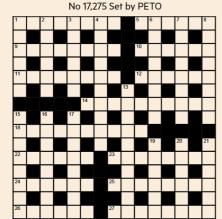
money by reducing them.

FT readers often have nice houses or, at any rate, old ones. These tend to leak heat faster than new-builds. Readers also have a higher-than-average appreciation of the significance of IRRs. The heat is on — quite literally — to deal with that neglected side loft or coach house that is splurging energy into the winter sky.

Carbon counter is a series of occasional Lex articles that quantifies cost and carbon savings from different lifestyle choices

NIKKEI **Asia** The voice of the Asian century

CROSSWORD



JOTTER PAD



You can now solve our crosswor in the new FT crossword app at

- 1 Madden lett-leaning party before last pamphlet (8) 5 Seat of the Oracle displayed in Philadelphia (6) 9 Incessant pious platitudes about
- Incessant pious platitudes about working on street (8)
 Managed to get out of continuity when produced quickly (3,5)
 That's stopping wobbly ladder
- In the support of the

- 26 A dog for me (6) 27 Retain perverse cook (8)

- Poem dismissing old rebel of the 60s perhaps (6)
 2 Unhappy implicating cool British sailor of fiction (6)
 3 Foolish talk powerless to disconcert (6)
 4 Study by Galen vigorously maintaining it's present at brith (10)
 6 Withdraw clergyman right away after first showings of extremist violent attacks (8)

- 6 Withdraw clergyman right away after first showings of extremist violent atlacks (8)
 7 Secretly planning, last of all, to share pocket money with a hint of graftitude (8)
 8 Henry oddly neglected to go with popular type of grass (8)
 13 Be 50/50 over Welsh number becoming a standard setter (10)
 15 Embarrasses frema foreit leader nort concerned with western guile (8)
 17 Representative of English shape involved in romantic engagement (8)
 19 Crucial index oddly dismissed by Scotland's top economist (6)
 20 More acceptable in prison (6)
 21 Drew regularly on Native American law (6)



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