FINANCIAL TIMES

Robotic actors

The machines leaving thespians in the wings — SARAH O'CONNOR, PAGE 15

Crypto climate

Can blockchain clean up the carbon



Armed withdrawal

Lebanese bank customers take the Robin Hood route — RAYA JALABI, PAGE 14

Back to earth Hitch delays **US** moonshot

Disappointed spectators leave Max Brewer Bridge near Cape Canaveral yesterday after the launch of the Artemis mission from the Kennedy Space Center in Florida was cancelled.

Lift-off of the mission to orbit the moon will be attempted again on Friday after Nasa said there was a problem with an engine cooling system.

After 12 years of development and significant cost overruns, the first launch of the moon mission is a significant test for Boeing, the rocket's main contractor. Nasa portrayed the delay as part of the usual teething problems when launching a new rocket. Bill Nelson, Nasa's administrator, said: "You don't light the candle until it's ready to go." administrator, said: "You don't light the candle until it's ready to go."



Brussels to unveil crisis action in bid to curb soaring energy prices

Push to sever electricity and gas prices
 • Utilities seek aid
 • Crisis might last years, says Shell

The EU is preparing emergency measures to curb soaring electricity prices, as ures to curb soaring electricity prices, as Shell yesterday warned that the energy crisis could last for years and European utilities turned to the state for support.

With member states stepping up pres With member states stepping up pressure to decouple electricity prices from the spiralling cost of gas, European Commission president Ursula von der Leyen said Brussels was working on "emergency intervention" as well as structural reform to the power market. One of the leading ideas being considered is to alter EU market rules so electricity prices are no longer determined by natural 2020 scots but can intested take

by natural gas costs but can instead take into account cheaper renewable energy.

The crisis was "exposing the limita-tions of our current electricity market design", von der Leyen said yesterday "We need a new market model for electricity that really functions."

She said later in Berlin: "Currently, gas dominates the price of the electricity market . . . with these exorbitant prices,

As the crisis threatened to tip Europe into recession, Ben van Beurden, Shell's chief executive, warned that the region

cmet executive, warned that the region might need to ration energy for years.

"It may well be that we have a number of winters where we have to somehow find solutions through efficiency savings, through rationing and a very, very quick build-out of alternatives," he said.

"That this is going to be complexed."

"That this is going to be somehow easy, or over, I think is a fantasy that we

should put aside." He added that the cri-sis would test "solidarity" between EU states as governments were forced to decide how to keep key industries going. In the wake of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, Europe's benchmark electric-

ity price has risen to 10 times its decade long average, in line with a 14-fold increase in the cost of gas.

The price surge has taken its toll on utilities even as oil and gas companies enjoy record profits.

enjoy record profits.

Uniper, one of Germany's biggest utilities, said yesterday it had asked for a 64bn increase to a 69bn credit line from state-owned bank KfW to help secure its short-term liquidity. The Düsseldorf-based company, historically Europe's largest huge of Bussian gas is among



Ursula von der Leyen: 'We need electricity that Wien Energie, Austria's largest energy company, said wholesale gas and power prices were rising so fast that it was hav-ing difficulty financing its operations, adding that it was in discussions with

the country's government. Germany, the Czech Republic and Spain are stepping up efforts to sever the link between electricity and gas prices. Czech industry minister Jozef Sikela said he expected draft proposals in time for an emergency EU energy council next week.

next week.
"We have to separate electricity prices
from gas prices," he said, suggesting the
EU could cap the price of gas for electricity production.
Additional reporting by Sam Jones and
bible to the first price of the price of gas for electricity production.

Briefing

- ► Investors ramp up bets against euro Market wagers that the currency will fall in valu-have reached their highest level since the onset of pandemic more than two years ago, as the rist that high energy prices will spark recession.— PA
- Scholz seeks air defence collaboration
 The German chancellor has called for a new
- Honda and LG to build US battery plant The Japanese carmaker and South Korean battery manufacturer LG Energy Solution have said they will invest \$4.4bn in a factory amid a US push to cut china out of supply chains.— PAGE 5; LEX, PAGE 16
- Airlines braced for hard landing Warnings that passenger numbers will fall as incomes are squeezed by high inflation mean airlines face the prospect of a grim winter after a



- ➤ Singapore reins in crypto aspirations The city-state's financial regulator has said it wil beef up curbs on retail access to digital currencie after its aspirations to be seen as a safe hub for the et class were hurt by scandal. – PAGE 8
- ▶ Ambani unveils green ambition for India "credible alternative" to China for green energy production, as he detailed a \$10bn bid to make the country an exporter of green technology.— PAGE 6

Help with living costs % of UK adults who think th government is doing: 0 20 40 60

Doubt clouds audit deal on **US-listed Chinese groups**

Australia	A\$7.00(inc GST)
China	RMB30
Hong Kong	HK\$33
India	Rup220
Indonesia	Rp45,000
Japan	¥650(inc JCT)
Korea	W4,500
Malaysia	RM11.50
Pakistan	Rupee 350
Philippines	Peso 140
Singapore	S\$5.80(inc GST)
Taiwan	NT\$140
Thailand	Bht140
Vietnam	US\$4.50

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Kyiv's forces launch counter-strike to reverse Russian gains around Kherson

Ukraine said it had launched a counter Ukraine said it had launched a counter-offensive against Russian forces near the city of Kherson yesterday in an attempt to reverse some of the territo-rial gains made by Moscow in the six months since its full-scale invasion.

A Ukrainian government adviser confirmed that Kyiv had begun a major operation aimed at retaking the strategically important southern city captured by Russian forces early in the war. "The next phase of the counter-offensive is beginning," the adviser said. "It started with massive attacks on Russian military infrastructure and logistics." Russian investigators said a former Ukrainian lawmaker in Kherson who had sided with Moscow's occupying

S&P 5i Nasda Dow J FTSEur Euro S FTSE A CAC 4i

forces had been shot dead in the city on Sunday alongside his girlfriend.

Oleksiy Kovalev, a senior official in Kherson's Moscow-appointed administration, was expelled from President Volodymyr Zelenskyy's party in April and charged with "collaborationist activity" for allegedly trading in good with the Russia annexed Crimean peninsula.

Ukraine's long-anticipated assault in Kherson is aimed at recapturing territory Russia seized in the war's early weeks. In the past two months, Ukraines acarried out dozens of strikes on supply lines and infrastructure supporting Moscow's occupation of the region.

Ukraine's Centre for Strategic Communication and Information Security wrote on Twitter that the armed forces had "breached the occupiers first line defence near Kherson", the only provin-

had "breached the occupiers' first line o defence near Kherson", the only provin cial capital Russia has captured since

President Vladimir Putin ordered the invasion in February.

A senior White House official said Ukraine's counter-offensive had already forced Russla to "pull resources" from the east of the country.

Andriy Yermak, Zelenskyy's chief of staff, wrote on Telegram that Ukraine's military was "grinding down the enemy" as "Kherson layahead".

Russian officials have played down the extent of the counter-attack. Sergiel Aksyonov, Moscow-appointed governor of Crimea, wrote on Telegram that reports of the offensive were "the latest lake from Ukrainian propaganda".

But in a sign that Ukraine was coming loser to big population centres, an official installed by Russia in Nova Kakhovka, a city east of Kherson, said he had ordered the evacuation of civilians.

Inspectors head for power plant page 4

World Markets

CK MARKETS				CURREN	CIES					GOVERNMENT	BONDS		
	Aug 29	Prev	%chg	Pair	Aug 29	Prev	Pair	Aug 29	Prev	Yield (%)	Aug 29	Prev	
500	4038.92	4057.66	-0.46	\$/€	0.998	1.002	€/\$	1.002	0.998	US 2 yr	3.43	3.42	
aq Composite	12034.04	12141.71	-0.89	\$/£	1.169	1.179	£/\$	0.855	0.848	US 10 yr	3.12	3.03	
Jones Ind	32163.59	32283.40	-0.37	£/€	0.854	0.850	€/£	1.171	1.177	US 30 yr	3.26	3.20	
urofirst 300	1667.67	1682.38	-0.87	¥/\$	138.735	137.270	¥/€	138.507	137.497	UK 2 yr	2.95	2.92	
Stoxx 50	3569.45	3603.68	-0.95	¥/£	162.216	161.862	£ index	78.862	78.820	UK 10 yr	2.60	2.60	
100	7427.31	7479.74	-0.70	SFr/€	0.968	0.965	SFr/£	1.134	1.136	UK 30 yr	2.88	2.88	
All-Share	4076.32	4103.35	-0.66	CRYPTO						JPN 2 yr	-0.09	-0.09	
40	6222.28	6274.26	-0.83	CRTPTO		Aug	20	Prev	%cha	JPN 10 yr	0.24	0.22	
Dax	12892.99	12971.47	-0.61	Bitcoin (\$)		20288		538 70	3.83	JPN 30 yr	1.19	1.15	
			_	Dilliamita		/11/nn	181 176	130 /11	3.03				





Nikkei	27878.96	28641.38	-2.6
Hang Seng	20023.22	20170.04	-0.7
MSCI World \$	2694.62	2768.48	-2.6
MSCI EM \$	1006.50	1003.44	0.3
MSCI ACWI \$	627.90	642.97	-2.3
FT Wilshire 2500	5293.57	5477.74	-3.3
FT Wilshire 5000	41361,35	42797.16	-3.3

DISCOURT (#7	EVEVV.VV	10000.70	0.00	GER 2 vr	1.08	0.95	0
Ethereum	1528.86	1424.37	7.34				
				GER 10 yr	1.50	1.39	0
COMMODITIES				GER 30 yr	1.60	1.52	0
	Aug 29	Prev	%chg				
Oil WTI \$	96.26	93.06	3.44				
Oil Brent \$	104.13	100.99	3.11	-		Prices are latest	for edi
Gold \$	1751.25	1753.55	-0.13		Da	ta provided by N	Aorning

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FINANCIAL TIMES Tuesday 30 August 2022

INTERNATIONAL

Power utilities seek additional state bailout

Uniper and Wien Energie call for extra aid as gas prices hit record high

TOM WILSON AND PHILIP STAFFORD SAM JONES — ZURICH GUY CHAZAN — BERLIN

German Uniper and Austria's Wien Energie have called for more emergency government support as the soaring costs

of gas and power across Europe threaten the ability of the utilities to operate. Uniper, one of Germany's biggest util-ities, said yesterday it had asked for a €4bn increase to an existing €9bn credit line from state-owned bank KfW that would help secure the company's "short-term liquidity". Wien, Austria's largest energy company, said wholesale gas and power prices were rising so fast that it was having difficulty financing its operations. The company, which sup-plies gas and electricity to about 2mr stic customers, said it was in talks with the government "to ensure a stable overall situation for energy supply in Vienna and all of Austria'

The calls for additional support came after Europe's benchmark gas price soared by almost a third last week to

more than €343 per megawatt hour. Russia's decision to choke off gas supplies to Europe has pushed up gas and power prices to record levels, forcing governments to seek alternative sup-plies and resort to ever more draconian

neasures to reduce consumption. Uniper, historically Europe's largest

buyer of Russian gas, said the volumes it received from Russia had fallen by 80 per cent since June, forcing it to procure alternative supplies at "significantly alternative supplies at "significantly higher prices" and resulting in cash losses of "well over" €100mn a day. The

'We must put a stop to this madness . . . and that can only be done through a European solution'

Düsseldorf-based company is a major gas supplier and among Europe's largest electricity generators with 34 gigawatts of capacity. It has about 600 clients in Germany and neighbouring countries, ranging from industrial customers and

Sweden, Election

Social Democrats count on PM's popularity

The rapid run-up in prices had also fur-ther increased the margin payments or collateral – Uniper was required to make to exchanges when it traded gas and power, the company added, resultand power, the company added, result-ing in "a significant impact on the

liquidity situation in recent days".

Uniper said it had drawn down the final €2bn from the €9bn KfW credit line agreed in July as part of €15bn rescue and would need to borrow more.

EEX, the German energy derivatives market, also called on governments to provide more support to utilities strug-gling to meet margin requirements

when buying and selling gas and power. Peter Hanke, head of the city of Vienna's finance ministry, told the Austrian Press Agency that Wien Energie federal government to help it meet mar-gin calls on contacts. The city had already provided emergency funding, he said, but did not have the resources to continue to do so alone. He stressed that Wien Energie's underlying business wa

sound and profitable.

Austrian chancellor Karl Nehammer Austran chancellor Karl Nehammer said he would propose an EU-wide cap on electricity prices at a meeting of European energy ministers. "We must finally put a stop to this madness... and that can only be done through a European solution," he said.

Robert Habeck, Germany's economy minister said Germanya's economy minister said Germanya's erone levels

minister, said German gas storage levels were at about 83 per cent and would the 85 per cent target set for Octo reach the 85 per cent target se ber by the start of next month.

Artemis programme

Nasa shelves launch of moon mission after engine problems

The blast-off of the first US rocket in 50 years capable of carrying humans to the moon was called off yesterday morning after last-minute problems with an engine cooling system

The 322ft-tall Space Launch System rocket had been due to lift off from launch pad 39B at Florida's Kennedy Space Center, the same site that wit-nessed the launch of Apollo 17, the last

nessed the launch of Apollo 17, the last US mission to the moon. The launch, set for 8.33am local time, was put on hold and then scrapped after Nasa assessed a number of last-minute problems, including with one of the hydrogen "bleed" lines used to cool the engines before ignition. Back-up launch windows are available for a second attempt on Friday, with a third launch option next Monday. After 12 years of development and significant cost overruns, the first launch of the moon mission is a major test for Boeing, the rocket's main contractor. Nasa sought to paint the delay as part of the usual teething problems for anewrocket. "It's just part of the space business,

rady togo."
In a statement after the cancellation, Nasa said list eam "ran out of time in the two-hour launch window" as engineers scrambled to find the problem with the engine cooling system ahead of the scheduled lift-off.

scheduled lift-off.

"Launch controllers were continuing to evaluate why a bleed test to get the RS-25 engines on the bottom of the core stage to the proper temperature range for lift-off was not successful," Nass aid. The procedure that caused the problem was one that Nasa had not been able to test in the run-up to the planned launch.

The first flight of the rocket is set to open a new era in human space exploration as the US races against China to put astronauts back on the lunar surface. Vesterday's mission was due to carry an unmanned Orion capsule on a six-week test flight around the moon, a prelude tis first human mission in 2024 and a moon landing in 2025. The moon missions are the first step in Naxá's Artemis programme, which was set up with the eventual goal of carrying astronauts to Mars and beyond. It comes after decades in which the US gave up on human exploration of deep The first flight of the rocket is set to

gave up on human exploration of deep space, leaving it reliant for much of the time on renting space on Russian rock-ets to carry its astronauts into orbit.

"Prior to the Artemis programme, "Prior to the Artemis programme, there were many countries that were looking towards china" for leadership in space, said Mike Gold, a former Nasa official in charge of policy and partner-ships. Speaking at an event the day before the launch, Gold said that the US had "failed time and time again to sus-tain a programme" in space beyond low-earth orbit, leaving an opening for China to take a lead and making it essential for the US to respond. China, which has landed three robotic

craft on the moon, has said it is planning to build a lunar base with Russia, and has invited other countries to join

Party has decided to make its

campaign unusually personal with a focus on Andersson

RICHARD MILNE - STOCKHOLM

INCHARD MILNE — STOCKHOLM

In southern Stockholm, volunteers for the governing Social Democrats are knocking on doors with an image of their not-so-secret weapon emblazoned on their T-shirts: Prime Minister Magdalena Andersson.

Eight years after the centre left came to power in Sweden but just nine months after Andersson assumed the premiership in chaotic circumstances, the Social Democrats are counting on the personal appeal of the country's first female prime minister.

"She is more popular than her party. She is more popular than her rivals. After Covid and the war in Ukraine, leadership matters more than tidd four years ago," said Catharina Piazolla, Stockholm's country clerk, as she knocked on doors wearing "I vote for Magdalena" T-shirt and a tote bag with the prime minister's face on it.

After a tumultuous four years — including a Nato application that ended 200 years of Swedish neutrality, soaring gun and gang crime, and a Covid strateya to dods with most of Europe — voters go to the polls on September II in an election seen a stoo close to call.

The Social Democrats, who have

election seen as too close to call.

The Social Democrats, who have come in first in every Swedish election for more than a century but have struggled to form viable coalitions in recent decades, have chosen to make this cam-

paign unusually personal.

Andersson, a 55-year-old economist
by training who was finance minister by training who was finance minister from 2014 to 2021, is by far the most popular party leader in Sweden. She had the support of 56 per cent of Swedes in a Novus opinion poll last month, against just 33 per cent for her main rival, cen-tre-right leader Ulf Kristersson, and 27 per cent for nationalist Sweden Demo-crat chief Jimmie Åkesson. That has translated into a decent lead

for her party, which registered a big jump after Andersson became prime

The latest poll for newspaper Dagens Nyheter on Friday gave the Social Dem-ocrat 30 per cent against 21 per cent for the Sweden Democrats and just 17 per

In step: pro Magdalena arrives in Gayle on a campaign visit this month

cent for Kristersson's Moderates, Karin Jordås, a party activist out canvassing ir Södermalm, a trendy Stockholm dis Södermalm, a trendy stockholm dis-trict of mostly young professionals, mentioned Andersson at every oppor-tunity, sometimes striking a chord tunity, sometimes striking a chord even when the voter supported a differ-

ent party.
"She is very big. I can't remember the last time we had a leader who was so popular," she added. Still, Andersson faces significant chal-

lenges. Forming a coherent coalition when she needs the support of both the nominally centre-right Centre party and the ex-Communists of the Left will and the ex-Communists of the Lett Will be tricky. She is vulnerable on Sweden's high level of gang crime with scarcely a day going by without a new shooting. "It is obvious to everyone that Sweden has problems," she said on Thursday,

while unveiling a manifesto that focused to an unusual extent for the Social Democrats on cracking down on crime and

She is still fairly untested. She hasn't really proved herself in the hurly-burly of politics and campaigning," said

Nicholas Aylott, associate professor at Södertörn University. One policy issue has "augmented" her standing, he added: Sweden's momentous decision

That it should benefit Andersson seemed unlikely. Some Social Demo-crats feared that a debate on joining the western military alliance could split the centre-left party, known for its proud pacifism and anti-nucleas

weapon stance.

Ahead of the government decision in
May to seek membership of the alliance,
former foreign secretary Margot Wallström told the Financial Times the Social Democrats needed to make up their minds on Nato before the opposi tion could use it as an election issue

In a recent interview, she said: "When the Social Democrats changed their direction it became a non-issue."

But Sweden's Nato membership still has the potential to divide the party. Most acknowledge that the decision to join Nato stems not from desire but from political calculation, after neigh

'She is more popular than her party and her rivals

bouring Finland decided to apply for membership, a move that ended chances of a credible bilateral defence alliance with Helsinki. Turkey's opposi tion to Sweden's Nato membership, and the pressure it is putting on Stockholm to curb its support for Kurdish rights, are awkward. "The whole Turkish issue is rather

embarrassing. If we give into Turkey, it will not be well received [by voters],' said Wallström, who said she was also worried about a loss of independence in foreign policy.

For now, however, Andersson is

enjoying strong poll numbers even as she focuses on policies that have traditionally been the preserve of the centre right. Aylott said it reflected the rightward

drift of centre-left parties across Europe. "The Social Democrats are a post-ideological party. Very longstanding positions on national security law and order, and immigration can be changed surprisingly quickly in the right political circumstances, and that is what she has done," he added.



FINANCIAL TIMES

Denmark urges bloc to speed up approval of renewable plans

Denmark's energy minister has call for European governments to do more to ease the process of approvals for renewable energy projects amid mounting pressure for them to diver-sify away from Russian fossil fuels.

Dan Jørgensen said that while the EU had "sent some good signals" about

to expand wind capacity in the region. At a similar summit in May, Denmark agreed with Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands to increase wind power in the North Sea by 150 gigawatts — around 10 times Europe's entire wind

energy capacity today.

The EU has also set out good practice recommendations on permitting procedures, which it said needed to be "drasti-

EU's energy mix to 45 per cent by 2030,

EU's energy mix to 45 per cent by 2039, up from its current 32 per cent target. But the industry has made clear that these targets would be almost impossible to achieve.

As well as the slow process to realising projects, material input costs have surged as china, which supplies many of the metals needed to make wind turning the metals needed to make wind turning the metals needed to make you for the metals nee

supply chain issues and development delays. WindEurope, the industry body, has indicated that given the obstacles, developers would be able to build only 18GW of wind capacity per year between 2022 and 2026, far below the 27GW actived annuality to seet the 37GW required annually to meet the EU's 45 per cent target.
Giles Dickson, WindEurope's chief executive, said countries would need to

which can take as long as nine years for wind farms, "there is still potential for

us to do better". He said: "It's not only about regula-He said: "It's not only about regula-tion but also, as public authorities, how you deal with these processes. How do you make sure that when the contractor is doing this project, they're able to do it as swiftly as possible?" Denmark has a strong record in wind power: in 1991, it became the first coun-try to build an offshore wind farm and aims to become a net exporter of green energy by 2050.

ams to become a net exporter of green energy by 2050.

Jørgensen will host an energy summit today on the Baltic Sea Island of Born-holm, where Denmark hopes to reach a deal with Germany, Poland, Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania

There is currently 2.8GW of wind power in the Baltic, of which 1.5GW is Danish. The Danes believe there is the potential for up to 93GW in the Baltic, but would need others to realise that potential. Talks on particular projects are already under way, officials have said

said.

European gas prices are almost 12
times higher than the levels this time
last year, prompted by sharp cuts to gas
flows from Russia in retaliation for the
EU's support for Kyiv following the
invasion of Ukraine.

This has increased the pressure to
find ways to boost reewable energy
production.

The European Parliament will vote in
the coming month on proposals to

the coming month on proposals to

lockdowns. Four of Europe's biggest wind turbine manufacturers are lossmaking and face increasingly acute financial challenges as a result of the



Tuition fees at US universities have skyrocketed

Forgiving \$10,000 in student loans would have far-reaching

given the level of investment in the elec-tricity grid required to support renewa-ble energy, which is typically far more volatile than fossil fuel power. There are some indications that this is happening. Kriegers Flak, the newest wind farm in the Baltic Sea built in 2021, is the first offshore wind project to have connections to multiple countries. I greeners adid: "We need to move

connections to multiple countries.
Jørgensen sald: "We need to move
away from single countries looking just
at their own energy needs. We need to
work together on this."
He declined to give details of what he
was targeting as a result of the Bornholm summit but sald: "We'll be quite
ambitious and I think people will be
positively surprised by the outcome."
Energy and euro see Companies

Tuesday 30 August 2022 FINANCIAL TIMES

INTERNATIONAL

US student debt weighs heavily on a generation of borrowers

Biden loan forgiveness scheme follows decades of rapidly rising tuition fees

AMANDA CHU AND SARAH ANDERSEN

Amanda Collins, 39, has spent nearly half her life paying back \$60,000 in stu-dent loans for her undergraduate degree at Morehead State University in

degree at Morehead State University in Kentutcky. A social worker and single mother, she took a second job market-ing for a car lot to make ends meet. Collins felt she could finally keep her head above water when the US govern-ment paused student loan payments in March 2020 in response to the coronavi-rus pandemic. Two years later, Presi-dent Joe Biden has now announced up to \$20,000 in forgiveness for student loan holders, which will slash her remaining debt to \$3,000.

"I'm more of a 'I'll believe it when I see it' type person, but I'm at least hopeful to be out of this nightmare soon," said Collins, who says she has held off on marriage and returning to education because of student loan debt.

because of student loan debt.

For months, America's student loan borrowers were left in limbo over when payments would restart. Whether to payments would restart. Whether to extend the pause again — or go a step further by fulfilling a campaign pledge to forgive a portion of student loan debt altogether — had been a thorny decision for Biden as he sought to avoid upsetting his Democratic base ahead of the midterms while giving Republicans no ammunition to use in their campaigning. In a Financial Times survey of nearly 600 borrowers, half said they put money in savings or paid down other debts as a result of the pause on student loan payments. Twenty per cent were

able to make a large purchase like a car or a home. Last week the president announced a three-part plan to address the student debt crisis, cancelling \$10,000 in federal student loan debt for all borrowers earning less than \$125,000 and an additional \$10,000 for size,000 and an additional six,000 for Pell Grant recipients, a federal scholar-ship for low-income students. The pay-ment pause on federal student loans would also be extended for the seventh, and, he said, final time to December 31.

The decision was largely cheered by the Democratic party. But critics from both sides of the political spectrum say forgiveness would stoke inflation and do nothing to solve the problem of afford-ing college. "We have got to do more," said Democratic senator Bernie Sand ers, who wants to make public colleges free. "At a time of massive income and wealth inequality, education must be a fundamental right for all."

Approximately 43mn Americans owe \$1.6tn in federal student loans, which make up the vast majority of student loan debt, according to the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Biden's new plan would cancel the full remaining balance of student debt for 20mn Americans, according to the administration

icans, according to the administration.
The mushrooming of student loan
debt is a largely recent phenomenon in
the US, as tuition rates soared in the past
three decades. A single year of college at
a four-year institution in the US as accepted \$29,053 in 2020, more than double
two decades ago and about twice the
OECD average, according to the
National Center for Education Statistics



Learning the hard way: a rally outside the White House in Washington backing the Biden scheme but demanding the cancellation of student debt

and OECD data. The US has a hotch potch system for student loans where borrowers can tap multiple loan pro-grammes and lenders. According to the Education Data Initiative, a research group, an additional \$140bn is held in private student loans, which unlike fed-eral loans are not held by the US govern

ment and tend not to have fixed rates.
Rapidly rising tuition prices have hurt
an entire generation's ability to save and
reach milestones. According to a study by TIAA and MIT AgeLab, 84 per cent of borrowers said their student loans were negatively impacting the amount they were saving for retirement. Among bor-rowers who took out less than \$25,000,

rowers who took out less than \$25,000, more than a third said the loans had an impact on when they planned to buy a home and nearly a fifth said loans affected their plans to have children. Wande Ogun, 55, borrowed \$60,000 for her undergraduate degree at Rutgers University. Unable to find a well-paid journalism job after college, she put her loans in deferment and was later threatened with wage garnishment, a court

order to withhold money from a salary to pay off a debt. "A big part of me still feels like I graduated college yesterday," said Ogun. "I don't have a solid career. I don't have a retirement fund set up. I don't have any property. I'm not mar-ried. I don't have any children." A study by the Social Policy Institute

Save for retiremen Return to school Make a large purchase

Start a business

or adopt a child Get married Work less

found that a universal \$10,000 cancella-tion could cause large behavioural shifts in households. When asked what changes they would make if they had \$10,000 forgiven, 44 per cent of student loan borrowers said they would save

loan borrowers said they would save more for emergencies.
"We not only expect President Biden's student loan forgiveness policy to improve household economic stability... but we also expect this policy to improve economic mobility through wealth-building opportunities, like purchasing a new home," said Jason Jabbari, noe of the authors of the study. But some experts fear the forgiveness programme could worsen inequality. Constantine Yannelis, a professor at the University of Chicago, calls student loan

'A big part of me still feels like I graduated vesterday. I don't have a retirement fund or property. I'm not married. I don't have

children'

forgiveness "regressive" because hightorgueness "regressive" because high-er-income armers tend to hold more degrees and thus incur more student loan debt. "The announced forgiveness plans will primarily benefit upper- and middle-class earners," Yannelis said. "The fact that there is an income cap prevents dollars going to those earning very high amounts today, but many col-lege graduates will earn significant

lege graduates will earn significant amounts over their lives."

Biden has also proposed limiting monthly payments for undergraduate loans to 5 per cent of an individual's monthly income and forgive borrowers after 10 years of payments.

Liz Sampson owed \$\$8,217 for her undergraduate degree in health services administration at D'Youville University in Buffalo, New York. She juggled four jobs and lived pay cheque to pay cheque for three years to pay off her loans. Despite the burden of loans, she did not support student loan forgiveness. "It still does not solve the root cause of the problem—college is unaffordable."

Stephen Bush see Letters page



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INTERNATIONAL

Defence looms large in Scholz vision for EU

Chancellor urges greater resilience and reform of governance in Brussels

GUY CHAZAN — BERLIN

Olaf Scholz has called for a new Euro

Olaf Scholz has called for a new Euro-pean air defence system, one of a series of proposals to improve the continent's resilience, and reform of EU governance following Russita's invasion of Ukraine. In a speech in Prague yesterday, the German chancellor said Berlin intended to make "substantial" investments in air defence, and its neighbours would from the start be invited to participate. "We have a to of catching up to do in Europe when it comes to defending our-

selves against airborne and space-based threats," Scholz said. Germany would continue to send modern weapons to Ukraine, including air defence and

Ukraine, including air defence and radar systems and reconnaissance drones, and could play a "special" role in building up Ukraine's artillery.

Germany would also ensure that the planned EU rapid response force would be ready for deployment in 2025.

Much of the speech, delivered at Charles University, was focused on the idea of making Europe more "sovereign", better able to defend itself and more effective at countering competition from countries such as China.

EU nations must, said Schoft, develop the bloc's "promise of peace" by ensuring it was "able to safeguard its security,

independence and stability in the face of external challenges".

Scholz won praise in Europe for responding to Russia's war by launching an overhaul of German foreign and defence policy, promising to end the dependence on Russian energy, support Ukraine with weapons and invest much more in the German millitary.

But since then, opposition politicians have accused Scholz of being half-hearted in his backing for Kyiv and of lacking a strategic vision for Germany and Europe.

In a speech intended to silence the critics, he said the six states of the west Balkans should join the bloc, as well as Ukraine, Moldova and, eventually, Georgia. They "belong to us, to the free,

democratic part of Europe", he said. Croatia, Romania and Bulgaria should join the EU's passport-free Schengen area, he said.

area, he said.
But expansion would require changes
to EU rules, especially on decisionmaking. Scholz said he favoured a shift
to qualified majority voting in foreign
and tax policy, "knowing well that
this would have an impact on Germany,
too".

this would have an impact on Germany, too".

He accepted that smaller states were wary of the proposal, and suggested the reform be limited initially to areas such as sanctions and human rights, "in which it is particularly important that we speak with one voice".

Scholz also called for changes to the composition of the European Parlia-

UN nuclear watchdog to inspect ment and the European Commission, without elaborating. He proposed closer co-ordination between EU states on military matters, with regular meetings of EU defence ministers in Brussels and much closer co-operation between European arms companies on joint defence projects. Scholz threw his weight behind a proposal put forward in May by French president Emmanuel Macron for a "community" of European democracies that would include non-EU members. There was a need for a forum in which EU and non-EU leaders" can meet once or twice a year to discuss the central issues that affect our continent as a whole: security, energy, climate or connectivity", he added. besieged power plant

Zaporizhzhia

A team from the UN's nuclear watch dog is heading to Ukraine to inspect the Zaporizhzhia power plant, which has come under repeated fire.

Zaporizhzhia power plant, which has come under repeated fire.

Europe's largest atomic plant was taken by Russian troops in March but is still operated by Ukrainian staff. Both sides have accused each other of actions that threaten the stability of its reactors.

Rafael Grossi, director-general of the International Atomic Energy Agency, said yesterday he would lead a mission to the Zaporizhzhia nuclear power plant this week.

"The day has come, [IAEA's] Support and Assistance Mission to Zaporizhzhia is now on its way," he wrote on Twitter. "We must protect the safety and security of Ukraine's and Europe's biggest nuclear facility. Proud to lead this mission which will be in ZNPP this week."

The team would assess damage, check safety and security systems, evaluate staff conditions and "perform urgent safeguard activities", said Grossi.

Mikhail Ulyanov, Russia's envoy to international organisations in Vienna, told the BIA Novosti state newwire the team included about 15 IAEA nuclear

team included about 15 IAEA nuclear

Grossi wanted to "leave several peo-ple" at Zaporizhzhia "on a full-time basis", he said.

Russia has stationed troops and weap-ons in and around the plant in southern Ukraine, a decision western capitals say risks catastrophe. Ukraine and its west-ern backers have called on Russia to quit the facility and return control to Kyi

But Dmitry Peskov, the Kremlin spokesman, was quoted by Interfax as saying: "All countries must put pressure on the Ukrainian side so that they stop putting the continent of Europe in dan-ger by shelling the Zaporizhzhia nuclear

plant and the surrounding territories."

The team will enter the plant from Ukrainian-held territory, Peskov said, Ukraiman-neid territory, Peskov said, and Russia will then "ensure security at the required level" once it reaches the facility, Russia had "long waited for" the visit and thought it was "essential". After the mission was announced, Mykhailo Podolyak, an adviser in the

Mykhailo Podolyak, an adviser in the Ukrainian administration, posted a video via Twitter showing cars in flames after shelling in Energodar, the city where the plantis located. Podolyak said Russian forces were shelling Energodar to create a "specially organised bloody show, the purpose of which is to intimidate local civilians, blaming Ukraine's Armed Forces and

blaming Ukraine's Armed Forces and mask their 'nuclear' crimes'. Olga Kosharna, who worked for the Ukrainian state nuclear regulatory authority, said that on a scale from one to 10, her fears for the plant were six. "It would rise to seven if the . . . plant

"It would rise to seven it the . . . piant lost its external power supply again [to pump water around the reactors] as there is a danger the back-up diesel generators might not work." Explosions near the switchboard this month caused the shutdown of its power transformer and damaged radiation detectors. Last week, shelling dis-

Brazil presidency

Bolsonaro and Lula clash in heated first debate

MICHAEL POOLER - SÃO PAULO

Jair Bolsonaro accused his main elec-tion challenger Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva of overseeing "the most corrupt government in Brazil's history", as the frontrunners for the country's top office faced off in public for a first presi-dential debate. dential debate.

Ahead of what is shaping up to be a polarised contest in Latin America's most populous country, tempers flared in a nearly three-hour televised event on Sunday evening that included six

candidates.

Lula, the leftwing ex-president who is leading most opinion polls in the run-up to the October 2 ballot, countered by accusing far-right incumbent Bolsonaro of "destroying the country". Yet Bolsonaro landed a strong blow

against his rival, focusing on the them of corruption, alluding to a political bribery scheme at state-controlled oil company Petrobras under the rule of Lula's Workers' party, or PT.

"Why do you want to return to power?

To continue doing the same thing at

Petrobras?" said Bolsonaro, 67, who is running under the banner of the Liberal

Your government was marked by kleptocracy. In other words, a govern-ment based on theft. And this robbery was to gain support within parliament." Lula insisted his administrations had

taken measures to improve transpar ency and combat corruption. He listed achievements in the areas of job creapresidencies, between 2003 and 2010,

before going on the counter-offensive.
"It is a country that the current president is destroying. He's destroying it because he loves bravado," said Lula, 76.
"The country I left (behind) is a country that the country I left (behind) is a country I

The country liet (pelmit) is a Country of employment, it's the country where the people had the right to live with dignity with their heads held high."

Debate in the campaign has largely centred on the economy, with Lula harking back to memories of poverty reduction during his time in power.

ack to memories of poverty during his time in power.



War games China and Russia start Vostok exercises

ssia and China will embark on Moscow's deepening ties with Beijing and of the Kremlin's desire to project a "business as usual" image de mounting costs of its war in Ukraine

The Vostok war games, which begin today, are held every four years in Russia's far east. A reported 300,000 of its troops drilled alongside those from China and Mongolia during the last China and Mongolia during the last exercises in 2018, with this year's manoeuvres given added symbolism by the fighting in Ukraine, which is now into its seventh month.

Western officials and defence analysts say they illustrate the "friendship without limits" that was pledged just before war broke out by presidents Vladimir Putin and Xi Jinping. The war games also underline the Kremlin's ability to maintain ties with other allies including Belarus and India, which will join the exercises.

india, winch will on the exercises. Beijing has stressed that its participation in the Vostoke exercises is unrelated to the current international and regional situation. Russia and China held joint millitary exercises in China last year, and Washington has said it does not read any new significance into the latest drills.

views as a renegade province. Putin described Pelosi's trip as a "carefully planned provocation". The adviser added: "Russia has lost

the information war in the west, and Putin is now showing to the east that Russian life is going on as usual: that 'We're doing what we're doing in Ukraine, we're strong, and we're going

In a show of that strength, two Russian naval convoys last week passed through the Soya Strait that separates Russia and Japan, according to the defence ministry in Tokyo, suggesting

defence ministry in Tokyo, suggesting they were heading to the exercises. Still, with as much as three-quarters of the Russian army thought to be in Ukraine, analysts said the exercises would mostly be military theatre. While cancelling them would have sent the wrong signal, holding them may also be of little strategic benefit. "The Vostok military exercises today make no sense," said Pavel Luzin, an independent Russian military analyst. "Almost all Russian combat-capable units are engaged in the war in Ukraine. It's just pretending that everything is still all right."

as the upper storeys of its building are on fire".

Even some Russian analysts have criticised its recent military performance and its weaponry, which has been on display at an international arms expo in Moscow Putin boasted at the expo's opening that the Russian military was "decades ahead" of its

competitors, and that he was willing to share its technology with allies. However, Ruslan Pukhov, a military analyst and member of the Russian defence ministry's public

Russian defence ministry's public council, was critical of the armed forces for "not having enough high-precision weapons and modern aiming equipment" in Ukraine. This meant that "in the case of an artillery duel, they often beat us", Pukhov said in a recent interview. While some of Russia's weapons are on a par with leading western technologies, such as its S-400 air the on a par with reading western technologies, such as its S-400 air defence systems, a lack of western components has stymied the industry's technical capacity and hurt arms exports, analysts say. "Russia has been losing its defence avoret capabilities for several."

Amid a cost of living crisis, Bolsonaro highlighted a recent temporary increase in welfare payments for the country's poorest citizens, who will receive about poorest citizens, who w R\$600 (\$120) a month.

Chinese troops in the 2018 Vostok

Still, "the fact that Vostok means 'east' tells you everything you need to know", said a western defence adviser, pointing to Moscow's support for

Ben Barry, a senior fellow at the International Institute for Strategic Studies think-tank, said Moscow was "keeping its shop displays going even military industry had "been in deep crisis for at least six years and will not survive the current sanctions". John Paul Rathbone

connected it from the Ukrainian grid. Grossi said "all safety systems remained operational and there had been no increase in radiation levels" after artillery attacks around the plant.

Energy

California governor performs volte-face and seeks to extend life of last atomic facility

After nearly 40 years of protesting against the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant, Linda Seeley thought victory was finally at hand.

Seeley and other members of Mothers for Peace — an activist group with roots in the 1960s antiwar movement —

t 19 12 10 - combustble waste (refuse derived fuel) 11 90 50 1 - non-composted fraction of municipal and similar waste 13 90 50 1 - Stablezed organic fraction 13 91 21 2 - Other wastes (including mixtures of materials) from mix R - 19 12 05 - 04 02 22 - TextRes wastes

Contracts & Tenders

cheered when Pacific Gas and Electric, the utility that operates California's last nuclear power station, announced in 2016 that it would close by 2025.

But governor Gavin Newsom, a long-time proponent of shutting down the plant, has reversed course and em-barked on a last-minute effort to extend its operation by a decade. His adminis-

send an expression of interest by email no later than 17/09/2022 to the follow enti@aliaserviziambientali.it . The interested companies will be contacted for

tration has cited "unprecedented stress" on the state's energy system as a reason for keeping open Diablo Canyon, which accounts for 9 per cent of the state's generation and 17 per cent of its electricity from carbon-free sources. The California elgislature will need to vote on whether to extend its operating life by Wednesday.

The California legislature will need to vote on whether to extend its operation. If by Wednesday. Seeley, who lives seven miles from the plant in San Luis Obispo county, is furious. "With this proposal, Gavin Newsom is keeping an asset that is antiquated, needs tons of upgrades [and] has a sixyear history of deferred maintenance," she said. "It would be unconscionable to allow the plant to go on operating without doing the due diligence needed to make sure it is safe enough to work." Diablo Canyon's coastal location sits on faultlines, prompting concerns that esismic activity could trigger a nuclear melidown. Proponents of extending the plant's life note it has operated without incident since 1985. They argue its steady power output is crucial as the state reaches for a goal of carbon-free

electricity by 2045. California is also phasing out sales of petrol-fuelled cars

pnasing out sales of petrol-fuelled cars and some communities aim to electrify home heating and appliances, which will increase demand for power. The grid is already straining to meet peak demand in the face of extreme weather fuelled by a changing climate. In 2020 a record heatwave and forest



fires drove rolling blackouts for thousands of customers. This year drought has severely depleted the water that feeds California's hydroelectric dams. California is a leader in renewable generation, with a quarter of its electricity powered by solar and wind resources in 2021 compared with 12 per cent for the US as a whole. But problems in the supply chain and cost inflation threaten to impede their expansion, claim state officials. The state's power system will hit a 'critical inflection point after Diablo Camyon retires,' the California Independent System Operator (Caiso), which manages most of the state's grid, warned in a filing last year.

Defenders of Diablo Camyon point to the consequences in other states that have closed nuclear power plants facilities. In New York state, wholesale electricity prices rose after the Indian Point nuclear plants closed in 2020 and 2021, while carbon emissions rose due to increased reliance on natural gas power.

The Biden administration is promoting nuclear energy as a way to reach

clean energy goals. The energy depart-ment announced a \$6bn plan to support nuclear power reactors at risk of shut-ting. If the California legislature gives Diablo Canyon a lifeline, it could apply for those funds.

Diablo Canyon a lifeline, it could apply for those funds.

"As a regulated utility, we follow the energy policies of the state," said San Francisco-based PG&E, adding it was "ready to support the state's goals to ensure statewide electric reliability and minimise greenhouse gas emissions." A growing number of scientists and activists have embraced nuclear power as an important tool in reducing carbon emissions despite their high costs and safety concerns. Heather Hoff, who founded Mothers for Nuclear in 2016 to advocate for keeping Diablo Canyon open, said she felt vindicated by the volte-face by Newsom, a Democrat. "It deels rewarding," said Hoff, who is also a PG&E employee at the plant.

Success for Newsom would be a boost for nuclear plants in other states. "I'm confident we'll land this," he said.

See Lex

FINANCIAL TIMES

Devil in the detail There is still money to be made in Asia, but Prada is weighing a return to its roots with Milan listing o LEX, PAGE 16

Companies & Markets

Energy crisis pushes bets against euro to two-year high

- Fears mount over recession threat
- Rate signals by Fed spur dollar bulls

NIKOU ASGARI — LONDON
Investor bets that the euro will fall in value have reached their highest level since the pandemic hit Europe more than two years ago, as the risk grows that record energy prices will drag the residen bits recognized.

man record energy prices wim ung ure region into recession. Rising wagers against the euro also reflect bullishness on the dollar, which has been boosted by signals from the Federal Reserve, reinforced by Jay Pow-lell, its chair, on Friday that it will keep raising rates to tackle inflation even in a slowdown.

Europe is also grappling with steeply rising prices. At the annual gathering of

44.100

9%

central bankers at Jackson Hole this weekend, Isabel Schnabel, executive board member of the European Central Bank, and François Villeroy de Galhau, governor of the French central bank, warned that monetary policy would have to stay tight for an extended period in Europe.

have to say ugin to an assessment posi-in Europe.

Speculators built up net short posi-tions on the euro — a way to bet that the currency will drop in value — of 44,100 contracts in the week to August 23, up from 42,800 the previous week, accord-ing to data published by the Commodity Futures Trading Commission on Priday.

It marks the largest bearish position against the euro since the start of the

against the euro since the start of the pandemic in the first week of March 2020, when investors held net short positions of 86,700 contracts as the eurozone economy fell into a record postwar contraction.

The euro has already fallen 15 per cent, dropping below the value of the

dollar in the past year. It hit a 20-year-low last week as wholesale gas and elec-tricity prices surged to all-time highs in Europe on fears of Russia throttling cru-

tricity prices surged to all-time highs in Europe on Gears of Russia throttling crucial energy supplies.

"The euro right now is just purely a function of the European energy shock," said Mark McCormick, global head of FX strategy at TD securities. "The biggest driver for the next couple of weeks involves what happens with Nord Stream I and heightened gas prices." He said TD had entered a short euro trade when it was trading at \$103.45 and took profit after it recently fell to parity against the dollar.

"There is some room that the euro could push lower... The short-term set-up's not great."

The weak euro is fuelling inflation, increasing the price of imports including energy. Economists expecteurozone consumer prices will have risen at a record rate of 9 per cent in the year to August when the latest data are published on Wednesday.

Some ECB policymakers have proposed stepping up the pace at which it raises rates to relin in inflation, saying it should consider a 0.75 percentage point its at its meeting on September 4, while Schnabel told Jackson Hole that a larger "sacrifice" would be needed to tame inflation than during previous episodes of tightening.

One risk for investors betting against the euro was that the longstanding flow the cure was the cure was that the longstanding flow the cure was that the longstanding flow the cure was the cure was that the longstanding flow the cure was the cure was the cure was the

inflation than during previous episodes of tightening.
One risk for investors betting against the euro was that the longstanding flow of money away from Europe to invest in the US and other regions could reverse over the next six to 12 months as the ECB raises rates, making eurozone bonds more attractive, said Adams.
"The relative attractiveness of holding European paper is going up, he said. For European investors, long-term returns from investors, long-term bonds could soon exceed those from US equivalents after deducting the cost of hedging against currency moves.

Flight blight Inflation toll on personal income threatens to cancel airline sector recovery



Airlines are braced for a grim winter after struggling under the weight of booming demand for travel in the summer, as the economic slowdown threatens their recovery.

threatens their recovery.

The dire outlook has prompted warnings that passenger numbers could fall as household disposable incomes come under pressure from high inflation and soaring energy bills.

Despite upgrading its passenger forecasts, Gatwick airport said uncertainty on the economy was a threat to an industry shaken by rising fuel costs and staff shortages. "It could impact the overall propensity for travel," said Jim Butler, Gatwick's finance chief.

Although airlines have not reported a significant hit to bookings, he was "cautious about what we might see in the winter or next year." While it

the winter or next year". While it might not hit many peoples' ability to take a big annual holiday, Butler said,

tit could weigh on demand for "the second or third trip".

One European airline executive
said the "outlook is still very uncertain" for the winter, particularly as the
end of the summer was never a strong
booking period. He projected less
demand for leisure travel in the
fourth quarter, including a reduction
in shorter city breaks.

It would mean a further blow to airlines and their shares, which have
been under pressure even as demand
surged in the summer with airports
and carriers struggling. The MSCI
index of European airline shares has
lost 15 per cent this year, with groups

and carriers strugging. The MSCI index of European airline shares has lost 15 per cent this year, with groups including British Airways owner IAG, Ryanair and Air France-KLM down about 30 per cent. "There is a lot of negativity on airline stocks . . . People are saying you don't usually buy airlines into a recession," said Stephen Furlong, an analyst at Davy.

The revenue of the seven airlines

ng economic outlook - hotel Beromitstamy
covered by Moody's in 2009 fell about
20 per cent in the recession that followed the financial crisis, and operating profit fell 50 per cent.
Furlong said the industry was in an
unusual position, with a weakening
economic outlook coinciding with
pent-up demand that has not shown
any signs of slowing down following
two years of travel curbs. No big airline has publicy reported a slowdown
in bookings. "People are hugely worried about the macro, and yet the
numbers are really good," he said.
Bjørn Tore Larsen, chief executive
of new Norwegian long-haul airline
Norse Atlantic, said a recession would
o'f course," in themand, but ravel was
still "very high on people's lists". He
said in August: "think many people
would go for that weekend away,
rather than buy a new TV."
Moody's said in a report that there
was scope for airlines to recover more
of their pre-pandemic business.

of their pre-pandemic business.

Honda and LG to build \$4.4bn US battery plant

KANA INAGAKI — TOKYO
CHRISTIAN DAVIES — SEOUL

Japanese carmaker Honda and South Korean battery maker LG Energy Solu-tion will invest \$4.40n to build a bat-tery plant in the US, amid increasing pressure from Washington to cut China out of supply chains for electric vehicles.

It will be the first manufacturing facility for EV batteries in the US for Honda, which has committed to ending fossil-fuelled vehicles by 2040.

The stew of recent investments in the US by Asian carmakers and battery manufacturers comes as the US tightens environmental regulations, with California last week enacting rules that will halt sales of new petrol-powered vehicles by 2035.

vehicles by 2035.
"Itonda is committed to the local pro-curement of Ev batteries which is a critical component of EVs," chief executive Toshihiro Mile said.

LG Energy Solution said the two com-panies made the decision "based on the shared belief that expanding local elec-tric vehicle production and ensuring the timely supply of batteries would put them in the best position to target the rapidly growing North American EV market".

rapidly growing North American EV market". The joint venture, where LG will hold 51 per cent and Honda 49 per cent, aims to begin construction next year. Mass production of lithium-ion battery cells is expected to start by the end of 2025. Along with fellow leading battery makers SK On and Samsung SDI, LG Energy Solution is expected to be one of the main beneficiaries of the US Inflation Reduction Act, which was signed into law by president joe Biden this month. The legislation aims to eliminate from the US supply chain battery components coming from "foreign entities of concern", most notably China. South Korea's three leading battery companies enjoy more than quarter of global market share, according to SNE Research, and are pushing into the US SK On recently finalised a \$7.8bn joint venture with Ford to build three battery plants in the US, while LG Energy Solu-

plants in the US, while LG Energy Solu tion and General Motors announced tion and General Motors announced a \$2.6 hin investment earlier this year to build a third plant as part of their joint venture in Michigan. Samsung SDI is reported to be accelerating a similar partnership with Stellantis, the group behind Peugeot, Fiat Chrysler and Jeep. Lex page 16

Student's winning meme-stock wager concentrates minds

Patrick Jenkins

> recently of the 20-year-old student who had made \$110mn buying and selling shares in a tired homeware brand, there was an understandable uproar. The Financial Times revealed that Jake Freeman had Times revealed that Jake Freeman had invested \$27mn in Bed Bath & Beyond in July, selling it only a few weeks later for nearly five times as much. Social media exploded with snide commentary, most of it focused on how

> commentary, most of it focused on how entitled Freeman was to have \$27mn at his disposal in the first place. (Family and friends helped fund the trade, Freeman told the FT.) A few sniped, too, that the return was "not that impres-sive". (Really?)

sive". (Really?)

Among the tide of Twitter criticism, though, no one thought to make the obvious critique: Freeman bet his whole \$27mn on one historically volatile stock. (BB&B has gyrated between \$4 and \$28 over the past year, often moving wildly with noother insertion. with no other impetus than social media hype). In doing so, he junked the old-school investment principle that no matter what your timeframe, a good investor will traditionally choose a broad balance of equities, bonds and other ideally non-correlated assets. In short, a good investor diversifies risk. Or to quote Nobel laureate Harry Markowitz, who in 1952 coined the

"modern portfolio theory" concept, "in choosing a portfolio, investors should seek broad diversification" and be "willing to ride out the bad as well as the good times". Markowize couldn't have known quite how influential his thinking would prove. Among other things, he helped turbo-charge a previously modest mutual fund industry. By the end of last year, according to data provider statista, \$27tn was invested in mutual funds in the US alone, with a further \$7tn in exchange traded funds. Over the past decade, claims mutual fund giant Vanguard, you could have earned an annual 13.8 per cent tracking the \$8P.500. That is impressive by most measures, but it is a long way from Freeman's 400 per cent in a month.

Though the scale and speed of the student's spoils attracted particular attention, he is really just a poster boyfor the "meme stock" generation of investors, who have spent the past cooking for big a booking for big quick wins from buying and selling undervalued stocks or hyping and dumping crypto coins, often with borrowed money.

The grounds for criticism are obvious: this is gambling, not investing, crypto is a rozzi scheme; the scope for financial

this is gambling, not investing; crypto is a Ponzi scheme; the scope for financial misery is vast. Yet among the valid scepticism, there is a kernel of validity in what Freeman has spotlighted. Though he hails from a moneyed background, his is a generation that has felt deprived of the asset appreciation enjoyed by their parents and grandparents.

The resentment will have been sharp-ened by cost of living increases unseen for nearly half a century. For many, the hunt for high-risk, high-return gains

may feel like an imperative — all the more so given the generally lacklustre returns in markets as a whole, and a daunting macro outlook, both economically and geopolitically. So far this year, the 884° 900 has lost 14 per cent. Some of the world's willest investors might agree — at least up to a point, equity long-short hedge funds typically have very concentrated portfolios. Warren Buffett now has three-quarters of his equity investments in five companies (Apple, Bank of America, Chevron, Coca-cola and American Express). In the UK, Baillie cilifford's Scottish Mortgage Investment Trust has prospered largely thanks to outsize dets on tech stocks such as Tesla (though predictably it's suffered this year). There is academic research to support high-concentration in westment. An influential 2006 paper led by Kaas Baks at Golzueta Business School found ⁷ a positive relation between mutual fund

at Goizueta Business School found "a positive relation between mutual fund performance and managers' willingness pento mance and managers willingness to take big bets in a relatively small number of stocks". Outperformance amounted to as much as 4 per cent a vear, Baks said.

ear, Baks said. This is not to dismiss the idea of diver sification, says James Anderson, who recently stepped down at Scottish Mort-gage; rather stockpickers should con-centrate on a small number of "conviction" holdings, and an end investor should select a range of stockpickers. But Anderson stresses that even big

conviction investors are a long way from reconviction investors are a long way from Freeman on the metric that arguably makes the biggest difference between punting and investing: timeframe. So a month is too short? "Even a 12-month horizon is very difficult," he says. "You have to invest for the really long-term: at least 10 years, preferably for ever."

patrick.ienkins@ft.com

Contracts & Tenders







NOTICE OF INVITATION TO TENDER BY ABSTRACT

atic submission of bids must be made through the Empulia Portal, which can be usly mentioned link www.empulia.it, no later than 12:00 noon on 7/10/2022.

The Chairman of the Board of Directors Dr. Antonio Maria Vasile

Businesses For Sale

FINANCIAL TIMES

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Targeted groups attack Texas ESG blacklist

Banks and fund managers reject accusation that they are 'hostile to fossil fuel'

Financial groups included on a blacklist of companies that Texas considers hos-title fossil fuels have attacked the proc-les as spoliticised and arbitrary. Texas comptroller Glenn Hegar is implementing a 2021 law that requires state pension and school funds to divest

implementing a 2021 taw unstate pension and school funds to divest shares they hold in listed financial groups which, in the government's view, 'boycott energy companies'.

But critics complain that his office relied on a single ESG ranking to reduce

the pool to 19 banks and asset managers. Meanwhile, targeted firms claim the state communicated with them so hap-bazardly that it was not clear that all companies knew that they were on the final list of 10, which was announced last week. BlackRock was the sole US entity on the list, which also included Credit Suisse, UBS and BNP Paribas. A parallel list of nearly 550 investment funds that Texas has also targeted for divestment drew similar complaints from sponsors who said some of the products were standard money market funds.

funds.

The state sent letters in March asking companies about their corporate treatment of fossil fuel groups and whether they sponsored any funds that excluded them. Several recipients told the Finan-

ate's inquiries. The initial process that selected 19

'We do not believe this was a fact-based decision. We see this as the politicisation of pension funds'

financial groups for potential inclusion on the "hostile" list came in for particu-lar criticism. The state included compa-nies that were in the top half of corpo-rate ESG-risk ratings compiled by MSCI. That knocked out a number of very

reduce their carbon footprint, anounce criteria.

ESG risk ratings are not standardised and they measure the way a company is managing a range of issues. They are not "necessarily focused on climate change. It is not a good tool for what [Texas officials] are using it for," said Simon Mac-Mahon, global head of ESG research at Sustainalytics, which produces a similar screening tool.

If rexas had used Sustainalytics' version, its list might have been quite different.

sion, its list might have been greent.
US fund managers Janus Henderson and Franklin Templeton come out with better scores than BlackRock on Sustainalytics' ranking. Similarly, Citigroup

uisse. Texas decided that if any of the 19 Texas decided that if any of the 19 companies sponsored more than 10 funds on its "hostile to fossi fuel" list, it would be included in the final boycott list. Blackkock is the only company on the list with more than 10 such funds. "We do not believe this was a fact-based decision," said Mark McCombe, head of Blackkock in the Us. "We see this as the politicisation of pension funds."

BNY Mellon said "we believe [our] funds were erroneously included". It added that seven Dreyfus branded funds on the list were government money market funds and six more "regularly invest in the energy sector".

Credit Suisse said "we look forward to engaging with the Texas Comptroller to

resolve this matter . . . Credit Suisse is not boycotting the energy sector". UBS said, "we firmly disagree with the Comptroller's decision". Even one of the targeted companies that convinced Texas not to include it in the final 10 said it did not understand why its argument succeeded while others' did not.

The Texas comparables denied that

why he adjusted secretic wine of cer's did not. The Texas comptroller denied that the process was politicised or arbitrary.

"I wanted to make sure that the process that we follow in coming up with our list is one that is open, is transparent, and it is explainable to everybody," Hegar told the Financial Times. He said BlackRock had not been singled out. His office has given companies and fund sponsors 90 days to offer new information.

Financials. Delisting threat

US audit deal with Beijing leaves investors wary

Analysts point to differing interpretations of agreement

on regulatory inspections

In 2013, after years of negotiations, China yielded to pressure and agreed to let US regulators inspect the audit work of Chinese companies whose securities traded in New York.

However, the historic breakthrough was shattered when US officials trav-elled to Beijing to check the audits of a large tech group and were stonewalled

by regulators.
Almost 10 years later, US officials, as well as hundreds of Chinese companies and global investors that own about \$1.4tn of their shares, are hoping that a new agreement will produce a very dif-

ferent outcome.

Last week, Washington and Beijing announced that they had reached amother deal for US accounting regula-tors to inspect China-based audits, which could prevent about 200 Chinese companies being kicked off US

Details are scant, but the agreement was a rare concession from Chinese authorities at a time when geopolitical tensions with the west are high.



The simultaneous announcements threw up new sticking points. There was a clear clash between the two sides' statements last week regarding the level of involvement that Chinese authorities

will have in the US audit inspections.

The CSRC said that audit work papers
"will be obtained by and transferred through the Chinese side" and that China would also "take part in and assist" PCAOB interviews of relevant personnel of audit firms. Yet the PCAOB id it had sole discretion to select firms without consultation with, nor input from Chinese authorities".

There have been so many head fakes on this subject that people are cautious regardless of the language disparity," said the portfolio manager. The PCAOB has been unwavering in

its demand for complete access to the work papers and personnel it needs to inspect a company's financial audit. Its chair Erica Williams said on Friday it would accept "no loopholes and no executions"

exceptions".

It is not yet known what company audits the US will choose to inspect, or whether its list will include the audits of the five state-owned energy, industrials and finance giants that delisted from New York this month. The move was New York this month. The move was widely seen as an attempt to exempt those groups from US inspections.

For the US, the credibility of its own capital markets relies on it forcing China

reopie close to the matter said that the new agreement was based on the same deal signed between the two superpowers in 2013. Because of China's strict coronavirus pandemic protocols, auditors — the bulk of which are the Chinese arms of Big Four accountants PwC, Deloitte, KPMG and EY — will transfer companies' financial working papers to Hong Kong and US officials will inspect

Officials from the Public Company Accounting and Oversight Board (PCAOB), the US accounting watchdog, will travel to Hong Kong in mid-Septem-ber to see if China keeps its word. "This is different from 2013," said

Jason Elder, a corporate finance partner at law firm Mayer Brown in Hong Kong. "The pressure and consequences of failure to deliver this time around are more

on Friday morning in New York, stake-holders in the debate around US access to Chinese audits have been resound-

ingly cautious.
Despite shares of US-listed China groups climbing last week on reports that a deal was close, by Friday afternoon investors were again shedding their holdings. Markets have shown little sign that the prolonged volatility around a countdown to Chinese delistings, which would take effect in 2024, has ended.

Goldman Sachs, which has been one Markets have shown little of the biggest beneficiaries of Chinese sign that the companies listing in New York during the past two decades, thinks it is still a prolonged volatility

On Monday, the bank's analysts estion Monday, the bank's analysis esti-mated that there was a 50 per cent chance that Chinese shares would be forced off Wall Street, down from around 95 per cent two months ago. "My advice is don't count the chickens before they hatch," said Clement Chan, to Chinese delistings, which would take effect in 2024,

head of assurance at accounting firm BDO in Hong Kong. "This is a positive

Top auditors still have substantial exposure to China ADRs
Number of US-listed Chinese companies audited PwC Zhong Tianeloitte Hua Yong Centurion ZD-EY Hua Ming-KPMG Huazhen-Deloitte (HK)-BDO-Shandong Haoxin-EY (HK)-Grant Thornton-Mazars (HK)-Shanghal Perfect-

has ended

The legislation required foreign com-panies traded on US markets to make their audit work available for inspection

development. However, the devil is in the details."

The compliance of — and potential liability for — the auditors to Chinese companies will also be a crucial detail to

define over the coming months as they face an unprecedented level of interna-tional scrutiny of their work.

US listings by Chinese companies are considered a barometer for the state of financial relations between the two larg-

est superpowers. Those relations were at a 30-year low

when the US introduced the Holding

Foreign Companies Accountable Act in 2020, amid a trade war with China and shortly after a scandal at Luckin Coffee,

China's largest coffee chain, which defrauded Nasdaq investors in a \$300mn accounting scandal.

their audit work available for inspection every three years, or face a trading ban. Relations have since deteriorated further, weakening investor sentiment to the extent that the Golden Dragon index that tracks Chinese tech groups on the Nasdaq has lost almost a third of its value in the past 12 months, triple the loss of the S&P 500. China has also been contending with significant domestic issues: its

economy contracted sharply in the second quarter of this year and annual growth has slowed after widespread Covid-19 lockdowns. "No one is confident but everyone

is don't

count the chickens

before they

hatch. This

is positive,

devil is in

the details'

understands that there is political will-ingness to make it work," said a portfolio manager at a major global asset manager that owns large US-listed Chinese tech companies. "It is not a coincidence that this has come out at the same time as China is rolling out measures to sup

as China is rolling out measures to sup-port its economy."

That willingness is so stark that China even appeared to have resolved a key sticking point that has held up years of negotiations. Its top securities regulator, the China Securities Regulatory Com-mission, said on Friday that the two sides had found a "feasible path" for the US to carry out audit inspections while sides had found a "leasible path" for the US to carry out audit inspections while maintaining China's national security over sensitive data. But Chinese bureaucracy is vast and allows for a huge number of authorities to intervene on what they consider to be retireal exercise.

to mice veice on what uney consisted or mational security information.

"Only when a China auditor is handing over a lot of information to the PCAOB do we know that China has resolved this issue of what is and what is not sensitive data," said a person close to the US side of the talks.

Chinese companies listing in New York via American depositary receipts under a "variable interest entity" structure, whereby investors already have fewer rights to the underlying assets and less information compared with other US equities, can pose a risk to its

Despite the economic importance of collaboration between American and Chinese regulators, several political and technical factors could still derail the

next months of work in Hong Kong,
"The CSRC may want to be more than
just a back-seat driver, and try to drive
the bus itself," said Wang Qi, chief executive of fund manager MegaTrust
Investment in Hong Kong. "This will be
the first major collaboration between
the financial regulators of the two coun.

the first major collaboration between the financial regulators of the two countries. . . It will (certainly take some time for the two parties to hammer out the execution details."

As inspections begin to be carried out next month, china will have to decide how it wants to strike the balance of maintaining US listings and afeguarding political and national security.

"The US is a big market that China cannot ignore," said a corporate lawyer in shanghal who has worked on Chinarelated deals. "There is no real alternative solution for Chinese companies. . . and financing offshore is needed."

Ambani aims to make India a 'credible alternative' to China in green power production

Billionaire Mukesh Ambani said India could become a "credible alternative" to China for green energy production, as he outlined details of a \$10bn investables that the company

The chair of Reliance Industries, India's The chair of Reliance Industries, India's biggest listed company, said developing this part of the business would help the country become a net exporter of green energy and a world leader in clean energy manufacturing.

nergy manufacturing.

Ambani made the comment at the ompany's annual general meeting yeserday. It is the first time the tycoon,

to India, has measured his vaulting green energy ambitions against India's bigger regional economic rival, China, which is a top exporter of cheap renewa-ble energy technology, such as photo-voltaic solar panels.

ble energy technology, such as photo-voltaic solar panets. "China's capacity is huge," said Vib-huti Garg, India lead at the Institute for Energy Economics and Financial Analy-sis. Ambani is "not saying we're going to beat China", she added, but aiming for "large scale which was missing in any other country other than China." Supply chain problems during the pandemic have driven businesses that relied on China's manufacturing capac-ity to seek other options, in a "China plus one" strategy that India hopes to



benefit from. Reliance's profitability is still driven by its fossil fuel intensive oil refining business, the world's biggest. But Ambani has been rapidly diversifying the conglomerate in recent years. Renewable energy is his latest bet, and last year he unveiled plans to build four giant factories in Gujarat, for production of photovoltaic panels, energy storage, green hydrogen and fuel cell systems. Yesterday, Ambani announced a fifth plant would be built: a power electronics plant, to make the equipment used to link up new energy systems.
Ambani said the company's solar panel factory would also start production in 2024, and its energy storage plant would be making battery packs by

next year. He pledged to transition from making hydrogen derived from natural gas to "green hydrogen" by 2025.

Ambani and Gautam Adani, a coal-to-airports tycoon, are emerging as the biggest new players in India's green energy race, after prime minister Narendra Modi set ambitious energy transition targets at lasty-aris COP26.

The company made a slew of other announcements, including the rollout of subsidiary Reliance Jio's 5G services to major cities in October and a 5G smarthonen tie-up with Google. It also announced the launch of a fast-moving consumer goods company this year, putting it in competition with giants such as Hindustan Unilever.

Tuesday 30 August 2022

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Chanos bets on demise of the data centre

Short seller says shift to cloud led by Big Tech will be decisive, but others believe there is life yet in bricks-and-mortar Reits

Short seller Jim Chanos has a new target:

Short-seler Jini Chanos mas a new target:
In June, Chanos – who won bets on
the downfall of US energy group Enron
and of German payments company
Wirecard – said his eponymous investment firm was raising several hundred
million dollars for a fund that would
take short nestitions in IVE. listed data. take short positions in US-listed data

centre groups. He argued that the move to the cloud, He argued that the move to the coud, predominantly driven by big tech groups such as Microsoft, Amazon and Google, was the "enemy" of bricks-and-mortar real estate investment trusts such as Equinix and Digital Realty. These participants buy land, build

such as Equinix and Digital Realty. These participants buy land, build complexes, source energy contracts, and allow companies to lease space in their centres to process their data.

Big tech groups, by contrast, use their own equipment and process clients' data for them in the public cloud. Dubbed hyperscalers, they store hardware and server equipment in real estate investment trusts, such as Equinix, or increasingly build their own supersized centres to meet ballooning demand for their services. One Microsoft data centre in Chicago spans 700,000 sq ft, the size of 52 Olympic swimming polos.

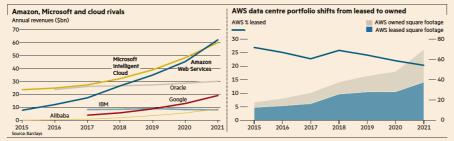
Chanos, who has been hurt by a long-standing bet against Tesla, believes Big Tech, which he says accounts for about two-thirds of data centre demand, will increasingly move to building and running its own real estate. He argues three hydronic data returned and redundant and because the technology used by legacy groups is becoming old and redundant and because cash-rich Big Tech can build more cheaply. This will render the independent Reits redundant.

Other investors argue that the data

ithem yet.

Nathan Luckey, senior managing
irector of digital infrastructure at Mac-uarie Asset Management, who has
pearheaded several investments in data entre assets, said the best con





though we realise there are some risks to

our thesis," he said. One risk is that should the land, labour and energy supply crunches ease, large tech groups might shift to constructing more of their own data

For independent operators to maintain their appeal, differentiation was vital, analysts said.

strategic locations.

"Hyperscalers are looking for trusted partners where they can house more and more compute power," he said. "If there is someone who already has land and a property in a market they want to expand into, that's a very relevant factor."

Billinos of dollars in private equity capital have poured into the industry, with bulls arguing that traditional data centre groups will remain indispensable given their strong position in top sites and expertise in procuring resources such as power, land and labour. They cite their privileged position as 'carrier hotels', meaning they connect lots of different businesses.

These groups and their PE cheerleaders are wagering that data demand will continue to grow and a wide range of customers – From cloud service providers to banks and government departments – will continue to store at least some of their workloads in traditional

ome of their workloads in traditional

Last year Blackstone, the biggest pri vate equity firm, acquired Kansas-head-quartered QTS Realty Trust for \$10bn, while KKR and GI Partners purchased Texas-based CyrusOne for \$15bn. Ear-lier this month, Macquarie bought a minority stake in British data centre provider Virtus for an undisclosed sum, betting that large tech groups will be forced to lease as they expand into

Chanos derided these transactions as "rash", with valuations that were "stretched by any measure". He pro-jected a "post-takeover hangover". Cloud business has been the engine of growth for groups such as Amazon, Microsoft and Google over the past year. In the first quarter of 2022, revenue at Amazon Web Services was up 37 per cent year on year to \$18.4 bp, while reve-nue at Microsoft's Azure platform rose 40 per cent. Martijn Blanken, chief executive of

'We still like Equinix even though we realise there are some risks to our thesis'

Brendan Lynch, Barclay

EXA Infrastructure, which supplies net-working infrastructure for the hyper-scalers, called the compute workloads for Google and Meta "unimaginable. It's a scale game, and there's no enterprise that can compete with them".

that can compete with them".

By contrast, listed US data centre groups have posted healthy — but less impressive —growth.

Yet those in the data centre industry

said Chanos's thesis was dated, giver that the same arguments have emerged several times over the past 15 years, including a highly publicised short position taken against Digital Realty by

eneu by thein, sade Ardly Fewer, president and chief financial officer at Digital Realty.

He said "co-location" groups such as Digital Realty, where one party provides the real estate and customers provide the tech, "enable" the transition to the cloud, and had seen an increase in leasing from many hyperscalers in recent years rather than a dip.

Tech groups have made a shift towards greater leasing over the past six months driven by a handful of companies, including Meta, Microsoft, ByteDance and Twitter. This uptick has reversed a previous trend to greater inhouse construction.

"Idon't think [hyperscalers] can keep

house construction.

"Idon't think [hyperscalers] can keep
up with the pace of their business on
their own," said charles Meyers, chief
executive officer of Equinix.
Power said: "These cloud service providers are blessed with lots of capital,
yes, but they have better uses for it."

yes, but they have better uses for it."

Brendan Lynch, an analyst at Barclays,
pointed out that in many metropolitan
areas of the US, Equinix was the first or
second largest data centre provider, giving the company a higher degree of pricing power.
"That's why we still like Equinix even

Pharmaceuticals

Jakarta's dengue jab green light boosts Takeda

Takeda has said approval of its dengue fever vaccine in Indonesia marks a big step towards the company's goal of cre-ating a global vaccine business that would compete with larger rivals such as GSK, Sanofi and Merck.

Gary Dubin, president of Takeda's glo-bal vaccine business, said the approval of Qdenga on August 22 was the first achieved outside Japan by the company for a vaccine and could generate up to

for a vaccine and could generate up to \$1.6bn in annual sales. Anticipated approvals by regulators in Europe and elsewhere would make the vaccine a weapon in the global battle against the mosquito-borne disease that infects up to 400mn people and kills about 20,000 a year, he said.

"This is a very important milestone," Dubin said. "Takeda took the decision a number of years ago to globalise its vaccine business. ... Licensure of Qdenga in Indonesia is the first step in achieving that global ambitton."

Analysts say Takeda faces a challenge to compete with more established rivals in the global vaccine market.

"Vaccines are a very tough business because you have such well-established incumbents such as GSK, Pfizer, Sanofi and the barriers to entry are high," said Roger Song, analyst at Jefferies.

The drugmaker 'took the decision a number of years ago to globalise its vaccine business'

Regulatory hurdles in the Japanese market have also dented innovation, according to analysts, who note that no homegrown coronavirus vaccines were approved in the country. Takeda has adopted a cautious annovach to investine in vaccines and

has a limited pipeline of opportunities. Last year it spun out one of its late-stage

ease often caught from contaminated food — into a separate company, Hille-Vax, to attract new investors to help

Dubin said one of the company's brightest prospects was for a vaccine tar-geting another mosquito-borne disease, the Zika virus. Takeda is collaborating

the Zika virus. Takeda is collaborating with the US government, which has agreed to supply up to \$512mm in funding to the development programme.

"Zika is another potentially very important vaccine to introduce from a public health expective and because the same mosquito transmits both divince them a commentary agreement of the programment of the progra ere are some natural synergies

there," said Dubin.

He said Takeda was investigating mRNA technology but had not made any commitment to invest in new-gen-

any commitment to investment eration vaccine platforms. Clinical trials show that four-and-a-half years after inoculation, Takeda's dengue vaccine is 84 per cent effective at preventing hospitalisation and 61 per at preventing hospitalisation and cent effective at stopping sympto



PUBLIC ADVERTISEMENT



INVITATION TO SUBMIT EXPRESSION OF INTEREST (EOI) FOR THE TENDERING OF EIGHT STATE-OWNED SUGAR ENTERPRISES

As part of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia economic reform strategy, the Government of Ethiopia is committed to ensuring efficient use of national resources by shifting towards a competitive market structure, with a greater role for the private sector in the economy.

greater role for the private sector in the economy.

To this end, the Government of Ethiopia initiated a holistic sugar sector reform aiming at increasing private sector participation in the ownership and control of sugar companies to sustain rapid and inclusive economic growth by laying the ground for economic transformation that leverages the increasing role of the private sector.

To transform the sector, the Government of Ethiopia is now inviting both international and domestic investors to participate in the tendering of 8 state-owned sugar enterprises. These include Omo Kuraz 1, Omo Kuraz 2, Omo Kuraz 3, Omo Kuraz 5, Arjo Dedessa, Kessem, Tana Beles, and Tendaho (together the "Sugar Enterprises").

Nuraz 3, Ornio Nuraz 3, Anjo Decessa, Aesserii, raina beres, and reindario (logerier the Sugar Enterprises). The proposed transaction is aimed at improving competitiveness and increasing sugar production to meet domestic demand. This will save Ethiopia from spending substantial foreign exchange used in importing sugar. The improved performance of the sector will in turn increase incomes and improve the standard of living for the population that relies on sugar cane plantations as the main source of livelihood in sugar-growing regions of Ethiopia. The transaction will not only reduce the future reliance on public financing but also enable the sugar enterprises to raise additional capital to support projected expansion and modernization. In addition to meeting domestic sugar demand, the transaction will create opportunities for refined and raw sugar exports given the good existing climate for growing cane in Ethiopia enabling foreign currency inflows into the country.

The proposed transaction presents an excellent investment opportunity to interested investors to acquire up to 100% of the Sugar Enterprises, most of which are newly constructed factories with built-in trunk infrastructure, abundant water, land resources, and excellent cane-growing agro-climate conditions. In addition to sugar production, the enterprises engage in the production of ethanol and electricity for internal use and to supply to the national grid.

To ensure a transparent and efficient transaction process, the Government of Ethiopia appointed Ernst & Young LLP as the lead transaction adviser to assist with the transaction process.

ested local and international firms or consortia can register their interest by submitting an Expression of Interest (EOI) to participate in the proposed opportunity.

A detailed description and instructions to interested parties in relation to the proposed opportunity are set out in the EOI. The EOI is now available online at the following website: https://www.mofed.gov.et Interested Parties will also be invited to participate in an investor conference/ information sharing session (s) with the Government of Ethiopia and its advisors.

Further information and clarifications can be obtained at the address below during office hours (Mondays to Fridays from 0800 to 1700 Hours local time), excluding public holidays:

Ethiopian Investment Holdings

Ministry of Finance Transaction Adviso

Dr. Brook Taye Senior Advisor nistry of Finance mail: sugarbid@mofed.gov.et Mr. Julius Ngonga Partner, Strategy and Transactions Ernst & Young LLP E-mail: project.sikuar@ke.ey.com



working world

Ernst & Young LLP

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Equities. Political backlash

Wall St hunts for ways to skirt Biden's share buyback tax



Taking steps: bankers across Wall Street have sought legal advice on how a new tax will affect accelerated share repurchase progra

Efforts threaten valuable revenue source for president's

US stock buybacks hit record levels ses by S&P 500 constituents (Sbn) third consecutive quarter. Data are expected to show a slight dip in activity in the second quarter after companies,

Missed opportunity as Powell focuses too much on the present



central bank confab at Jackson Hole has seen US Federal Reserve chairs address immediate policy issues as well as longer term and more academic ones, that involve the economic and institutional context for

sent circumstances called for Jav Powell, the current chair, to do both — that is, address the policy errors of the last 18 months, try to realign monetary policy expectations and establish a path for the resetting of the guiding policy

In the event, his brief speech (just under nine minutes) last Friday largely attempted just one of these three. By focusing on the present, he left much still to be said while less than fully exploiting a much-anticipated opportunity for enhancing policy effectiveness.

There are five reasons why Powell needed to deal with issues that relate to the past, present and future. First, time has not been kind to his presentation at

His characterisation of inflation as transitory, his forecasts of the economy and his elucidation of the required

for the past world of insufficient aggregate demand. As a result, it is somewhere between ineffective and counterproductive in the current and future world of challenged aggregate supply. Finally, the Jackson Hole audience is dominated by economists, the majority of whom both understand the importance and urgency of a politically independent central bank and worry about the path this Fed has been on. In this context, Powell correctly opted for a notably hawkish tone. He rightly stated that "high inflation has continued to spread through the economy", that "there is clearly ajob to do" to bring inflation back into control,

economy", that "there is clearly a job to do" to bring inflation back into control, and that the Fed must "keep at it". He also said this will entail "a sustained period of below-trend growth." In the process, he attempted to clean up his July remarks that former Us Treasury secretary Larry Summers Characterised as "analytically indefensible" and "inexplicable".

Illustrating a more general sensitivity to reputational risk and the political erability that comes with th ell combined this hawkish tone with ref-erence to several of his predecessors.

He is vet to take responsibility for the last 18 months of US Federal Reserve errors

The attempt to borrow from past credibility included quoting Paul Volcker, whose inflation-beating reputation is as

climate and health legislation

ERIC PLATT AND NICHOLAS MEGAW

Bankers and lawyers on Wall Street are hunting for ways to help companies buy back shares next year without having to pay millions of dollars in extra tax, a move that risks blunting one of the main revenue generators in President Joe

Biden's climate and health package.

At the centre of their efforts is the use of accelerated share repurchase (ASR) programmes, a commonly used mechanism allowing companies to complete buybacks that can be worth billions of dollars.

Although the programmes are recorded as having been executed on a single day, it often takes several months for banks to complete the trades.

The plans hinge on whether

forthcoming Treasury guidance will count the day that the company hands over the cash and receives its shares as the date of the buyback or whether they will have to wait until investment banks actually buy the stock in the open

actually buy the stock in the open market.

Bankers across Wall Street have sought advice from law firms including Davis Polk on how the Treasury might treat the accelerated schemes, according to several people brifed on the discussions.

Joe Kronsnoble, a partner at Latham & Watkins, said investment banks were very interested" in the forthcoming Treasury guidance, although he cautioned that the department or the Internal Revenue Service might not provide a full answer before the 1 per cent tax goes into effect in a little over four months.

The new tax will generate \$74bn in revenues over the next decade, according to official estimates, but bankers warn the number could balloon if the 1 per cent level is the thin end of the wedge and ends up being set higher in subsequent years.



"The assumption, and it's still pretty early . . . is that a 1 per cent tax in and of itself is not enough to significantly change behaviour," said a New Yorkbased banker who works on corporate share buybacks. "One per cent now is not a big deal but what if that 1 becomes 3 or 5 or 10 per cent to raise revenue or

sor 5 or 10 per cent to raise revenue or sore political points?"

Banks and legal experts have been coalescing around the view that companies will not have to pay the tax on shares they receive through accelerated buybacks launched this year, said one person involved in the discussions. If the Treasury adopts a similar view, the programmes would be particularly appealing for companies seeking to front-load buybacks in future years if Congress decides to raise the tax rate. "Any time there is a new tax on the horizon and people know it's going to apply next year but not this year, it is not surprising that companies look for ways to try to do things sooner rather than later," said one person involved in the discussions. "ASRs are just one example."

the discussions. "Asks are just one example."
Share buybacks have been targeted by politicians on both sides of the aisle, attracting criticism from Republicans including former president Donald Trump and Florida senator Marco Rubio as well as Democrats such as Senate majority leader Chuck Schumer and Massachusetts senator Elizabeth Warren.

using share buybacks to artificially inflate their stock prices and benefit executives, who are often paid based on share price performance, instead of using their cash for long-term investments, job creation or wage

increases for their employees. Companies in the S&P 500 spent \$281bn on share repurchases in the first three months of 2022, according to S&P Global, setting a new record high for the

Mechanics of an ASR

In a simplified accelerated share repurchase (ASR) programme, an investment bank agrees to buy a publicly traded company's outstanding stock in the future as part of a forward contract.

The bank is paid upfront by the company to buy the stock it then borrows stock in the public market from security lenders, delivering the shares to the company.

The company can then freat those shares as retired, helping boost lis earnings per share. The bank, which is effectively shorting the stock, will spend several months buying back the shares in public markets, ultimately returning it to the security lenders.

including lenders JPMorgan Chase and Citigroup, paused their buyback programmes in response to tighter capital requirements and concerns over

slower economic growth.

Traders on the Goldman Sachs
trading desk responsible for executing
buybacks estimated companies have
authorised \$856m worth of repurchases
so far this year but said their growth is
trailing higher spending on capital
expenditures and dividends.

Alica Boraitian an associate professor.

Alice Bonaimé, an associate professor finance at the University of Arizona, said there were some evidence that companies that were just short of meeting analyst forecasts were "willing to sacrifice investment and employment to repurchase stock and be [earnings per share] by about a penny'

However, she added that the flexibility of buybacks gave them many advantages over dividends, which nagement teams are reluctant to cut if they discover new investment

challenges.

Bonaimés said that, at its current level, the tax "may nudge companies a bit to shift some of their distributions away from buybacks and perhaps toward dividends but I don't think a I per cent tax will be enough to drastically alter corporate behaviour".

Equity trading desks have not yet seen a surge of interest in executing buybacks. However, bankers said they expected activity to increase in the final months of the year as companies planning buybacks in early 2025 move some purchases into 2022.

Accelerated share repurchases are not expected to be a panacea for companies hoping to avoid the tax, however, given the relatively short time they take to complete.

While banks can structure longer term programmes, including contracts with exotic derivatives to protect from share price moves, one dealer said they could "start to get expensive" quickly, making them less attractive.

They are now part of the four-element Fed policy mistake that involves inadequate analysis, bad forecasts, poor communication and belated policy

Second, Fed slippages have robbed the country (and, therefore, the global economy) of a first best policy response and the soft landing that can with that. If left uncorrected, this is a mistake that builds on itself, aggravating problems of low growth, high inflation, worsening inequality and future financial instability.

Third, markets went from following the central bank's guidance to sidestepping it. Indeed, this may well be the least credible Fed in the markets' estimation since the 1970s. Its quarterly forecasts have been repeatedly dismissed as fantasy and its communication is seen as lacking the consistency needed for effective policy guidance.

This is a combination that slows the necessary evolution in the market mindset from a mainly cyclical view, including romanticising an early policy pivot towards lower rates, to a more

Fourth, the Fed is encumbered with a policy architecture — the "new policy framework" — that is not fit for purpose. Adopted two years ago, it was designed

strong today as it was in the 1980s Equally important is what Powell did not do. He is yet to take responsibility for the last 18 months of Fed errors,

including the mischaracterisation of economic and policy issues in last year's speech. He is also yet to provide a pathway for the much-needed revisions to the policy framework.

In a world of perfect foresight, Powell's 2021 speech would have focused on monetary policy at a time of sudden high inflation and, this year, on restoring the central bank's credibility and policy effectiveness in an even more challenging world of rapidly slowing global growth, worsening inequality and widespread high inflation.

widespread high inflation.
Instead, his unusually short speech
dealt well with the present but left out
important past and future issues.
I suspect that we will look back on
this year's Jackson Hole speech as a missed opportunity for the Fed to regain control over its policy narrative, as well as to outline what is needed to overcome the considerable policy challenge facing the world's most powerful and systemically important central bank.

Mohamed El-Erian is president of Queens' College, Cambridge, and an adviser to Allianz and Gramercy

Singapore to tighten retail access to digital currencies

MERCEDES RUEHL — SINGAPORE

Singapore's financial regulator has distanced itself from "heavily speculated" cryptocurrencies after a series of scandals this year that damaged the city state's aspirations to be seen as a safe hub for the volatile asset class.

Ravi Menon, managing director of the Monetary Authority of Singapore, said yesterday that the agency would take stronger measures to restrict retail access to cryptocurrencies and consider "further measures to reduce consumer

arm . But he added that MAS still believed But he added that MAS still believed in the "transformative" economic potential of the broader digital asset ecosystem including tokenised digital versions of existing assets.

His comments come after Singapore faced accusations that it had been sendingmixed signals to the crypto market.

The city state has few natural resources and is more reliant on financial services. It wants a stake in the

financial services. It wants a stake in the latest financial technology advances and last year began handing out licences to players in the crypto sector and allowing both retail and institutional trading of the asset class. Investment in Singapore's crypto and blockchain companies surged to a record \$1.48 lm in 2011, according to a

report by KPMG, 10 times the previous year's total and nearly half the Asia-Pacific total for 2021.

Pacific total for 2021.

But the city's reputation as a safe hub
has been dented as plummeting prices

have exposed some of the industry's biggest names who had based dhemselves inslingapore.

South Korean prosecutors are investigating the \$40bn implosion of the terraUSD stablecoin, created by Singapore-based founder Do Kwon.

The collapsed Three Arrows, one of the best-known crypto investors, was also based in Singapore, although registered in the British Virgin Islands.

Hodlnaut, a Singaporean crypto lender that received in principle licensing approval from MAS to offer token swaps in March, cut most of its workforce, stopped withdrawals and admitted to an investigation by the Singapore police this month. Hodlnaut had supported the luna cryptocurrency cosystem onits platform.

Cryptocurrencies were not a "viable form of money or investment asset" due to their extreme price volatility, Menon said, while announcing that the regulator would further restrict retail investor access to digital currencies.

Some of the world's biggest crypto exchanges, including Binance, Gemini, Coinbase and Cryptocom, all applied for licences to operate, attracted by the low taxes and perceived friendly regulatory environment.

Some, including Binance, have since

ne, including Binance, have since

withdrawn their applications.

The regulator had already restricted crypto groups from promoting services in public. Bitcoin ATMs have been dismantled and public transport

The day in the markets

What you need to know

Global equities slide as Powell's Global equities slide as Powell's comments weigh on sentiment
 Wall Street's 'fear gauge' climbs to highest level since mid-July

Global stocks weakened, Treasury yields climbed and global currencies lost ground against the dollar yesterday as investors took fright from comments by central bankers that their long-term focus was on

Shares in the US, Europe and Asia were lower after policymakers used their annual meeting at Jackson Hole Wyoming, to warn investors to be prepared for higher interest rates for a

In the US, the S&P 500 fell 0.6 per cent and the Nasdaq Composite was down 1 per cent by lunchtime in New York, extending their declines after a punishing session on Friday Indices had done into reverse at the end of the trading week in the wake of hawkish comments from

the wake of hawkish comments from Federal Reserve char! Jay Powell. In Europe, the main indices fell yesterday but were off their earlier lows. The benchmark Stoxx Europe 600 retreated 0.8 per cent while Frankfurt's Xetra Dax dropped 0.6 per cent and the CAC 40 in Paris was down 0.8 per cent. London was closed yesterday for a

Japan's benchmark Topix led markets lower earlier in Asia with a drop of 1.8 per cent. The Hang Seng in Hong Kong fell

vell warned that the central bank would keep raising interest rates to tackle soaring inflation even in an economic

He asserted that the Fed "must keep at it until the job is done" on taming surging inflation through repeated interest rate cautioned that monetary policy would have to stay tight in Europe for an extended period.

The impact of Powell's speech or day reverberated through globa

The Impact of Powell's speech on Friday reverberated through global markets yesterday.

The VIx volatillity index, a benchmark that serves as a measure of expected swings in US stocks, rose as high as 27, its highest point since mid-July. The index is commonly called Wall Street's "fear

assets, the yield on the policy-sensitive two-year US Treasury note rose to 3.48 on firmer expectations of higher rates

The yield on the 10-year note rose 8

basis points to 3.11 per cent. "Officials remain strongly committed to returning inflation to the central bank's

2 per cent target," said Mansoor Mohi-uddin, chief economist at Bank of "We think the chances of a 0.75

percentage point move next month hav risen and will watch August's US payroll and consumer inflation data closely," he

Italian 10-year bond yields rose 11bp esterday morning to 3.7 per cent, which is close to the 4 per cent threshold that is seen by many as the point where its debt starts to look unsustainable.

Japan's yen fell 0.8 per cent to ¥138.66 against the dollar.

Sterling slipped 0.8 per cent to \$1.166 - its weakest level against the US currency since the early days of the pandemic — after Goldman Sachs cut its economic growth expectations for the UK to 3.5 per cent from 3.7 per cent previously. Hudson Lockett,

Philip Stafford and Martin Arnold

Tuesday 30 August 2022



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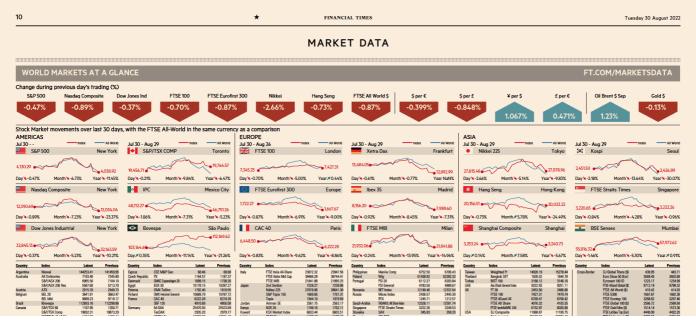


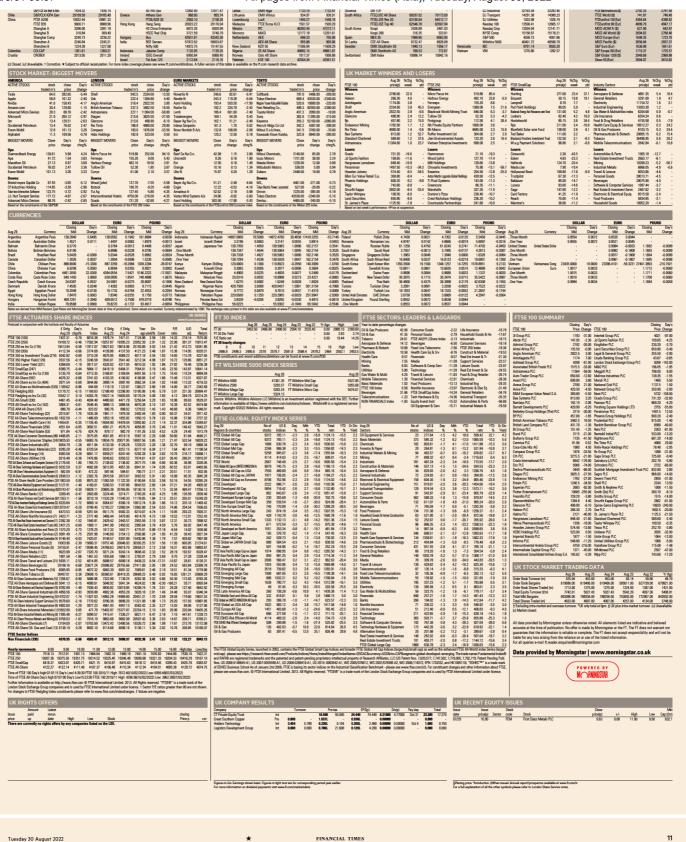


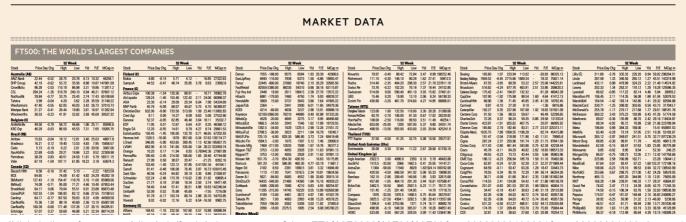
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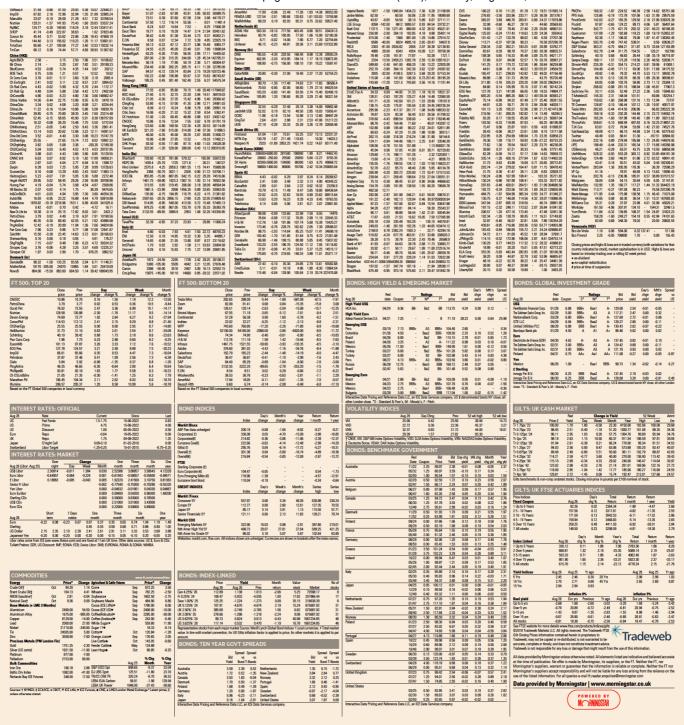
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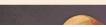
Soul survivors from Motown's golden age

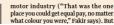
As The Temptations and The Four Tops prepare to go











on tour, original members Otis Williams and Duke Fakir talk to Michael Hann

n the beginning, there was the church. For 80-year-old Oits Williams, the sole surviving original member of The Temptations, the church was in Texas. "I'm a little country guy from Texarkana, Texas that used to run up and down the gravel coads with coveralls on and hot water cornbread in my hand, barefooted at times." In semplore, But sean before times," he remembers. But even before he moved from Texas to Detroit ("I was, like, 11 or 12 years old"), he had been steeped in gospel music: The Dixie Hummingbirds, The Soul Stirrers, Mahalia Jackson.

It was the same for Detroit native Duke Fakir, six years his senior, and the last of the original Four Tops standing. "My whole family and all my cousins sang in church. We were in the choir, a little baby choir. And we sang at least two or three times a week. We were in that choir from the time I was five right through high school. In fact, my mother is the one that prompted me to start to try to sing the solo. I told her I never wanted to, that I liked the choir sound. But she said I had a lovely voice and I should. And that's how life really started

should. And that's now the reamy start for me in the music world."

Between them, as Motown recording artists, Williams and Fakir went on to sing on some of pop's greatest records—songs you can still hear wherever radios are turned on, or at wedding receptions (albeit neither were the lead soloists in their respective groups.) "The Tamps. (albeit neither were the lead soloists in their respective groups). The Temps gave the world "My Girl", "Get Ready", "Ain't Too Proud to Beg", "I Wish It Would Rain", "Papa Was a Rollin' Stone" and scores more. The Four Top's Single included the peerless "I Can't Help Myself (Sugar Pie Honey Bunch)", "Reach Out Til Be there", "Standing in the Shadows of Love" and "Bernadette".



ms of The Temptations, left, and Duke Fakir of The Four Tops. Below left: Fakir, far left, with the Tops in 1966 Above: Otis Will



ns, lett, and Duke Fakir ol The Four Tops
Nearly 60 years on from those
halcyon days, both are still working—
the two groups tour the UK together in
September and October—and both had
hits across multiple decades. But their
legends are founded on those glorious
songs from the 1960s. For each group,
the breakthrough came when great writeers presented them with a great track.
"When Smokey Robinson and Bob
Rogers first came up with The Way You
Do the Things You Do', I thought it was
tomfoolery," williams says. "When I
read the lyrics, I would say, "Wow, this is
some hokey stuff — "You got a smile so
bright/You know you could have been a
candle." But little did I know. It was a
cold January night and Smokey called.
The Temps was to come to the studio, to

a very special feeling. At that time it was David Ruffin, Eddie Kendricks, Paul Williams, Melvin Franklin and myself. And it was like something said, 'Oh, these are the guys that's gonna make history.' Once we started doing it [live], and saw the reaction from the crowd, I said, 'Wow, Smokey is a bad young man to come up with stuff that didn't make

sald, 'Wow, Smokey is a bad young man to come up with stuff that didn't make sense but made sense."

The Tops had been traversing the country for years — playing supper clubs, Borscht Belt hotels, the Chillin' Circuit of black-only yenues — before Berry Gordy signed them to Motown. At the Grey Standards, but Gordy shelved the tracks, wanting some-thing suitable for the R&B market. "We was disappointed," Fakir says. "And we let him know. He says, "Well, don't give up on me. 1 gol something to showy ou guys. There's three writers, Eddie Holland, Lamont Dozde, Brian Holland, and Ithink they can make some hits for you." That first song was "Bab y Inseed Your Loving," showcasing the incredible otice of Levi Stubbs. "Eddie Holland and Levi were in the engineering room, working on the melody. We went up there after we finished learning the song," says Fakir. "And we saw Levl, we was looking at the paper with the lyrics on it. And he says, 'Eddie, give me a piece of paper and a pen.' For what?" I need to write these words out. 'Eddie says, 'The words are right there, right in front of you.' Levi says, 'No, no, I need to write these words."

"And once Levi did that, he started singing his ass off. And that was the beginning of a wonderful, wonderful relationship with three of the greatest writers at that time."

While The Tops remained associated

beneath the surface, resentments were rumbling in the city's black population, culminating in the Detroit Rebellion of 1967, in which 43 people were killed. "That was a heck of a night," Williams

says. "That particular night I started to go to this noted club, called the Chit Chat Lounge. But something said, 'Otis, you better go home.' So I went to my apartpetter go nome. So I went to my apart-ment. As soon as I got home, everything erupted right down 12th Street. I had never heard a 50-caliber machine gun fire. To hear a 50-caliber machine gun outside my apartment, it was really thunderous. And after they opened the city up for us to travel, the first place I wanted to go, to see if it was still standing, was Motown Records. They did not touch Motown, throughout all that was going on. It was like a divine hand to say you can destroy everything

except Motown." By the mid-1970s the golden age had

'Norman Whitfield was smacking you across the face with that raw energy, the funky tracks'

sed for both groups, but the work never dried up and hits still came along from time to time (The Temptations released a new album earlier this year, Temptations 60). And here williams and Pakir are a combined one of 166 still Fakir are, at a combined age of 166, still singing the songs that make you want to

singing the songs that make you want to hig someone and never let go. "We live in a world that seems like it's so chaotic: all kinds of craziness is going on," Williams says. "And if we can bring any kind of happiness and enjoyment, and hopefully let them forget that, let's try and find as much enjoyment as we can in this world that has gone crazy."



with Holland-Dozier-Holland, The

Temps came into the orbit of another brilliant writer-producer, Norman Whitfield. "smoke is known as a lyricist and melody man," Williams says of Rob-inson. "Norman was smacking you across the face with that raw energy, the

funky tracks. It worked out real well because it gave us a balance in the way we performed, with 'Ain't Too Proud to

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Arctic Monkeys are back with a swagger

Arctic Monkeys

Neil O'Sulliv

The excited reaction to the announcement late last year that Arctic Monkeys would headline this year's feading and Leeds music festivals was a rare outherack of unity on social media. In the real world too, the sense that this was a major event was palpable — tickets for the band's first UK shows in four years sold out almost immediately. Sunday's performance at Leeds followed another big announcement: the sheffield group's long-awaited seventh album, *The Car*, will be released in October. But the gig itself was all about the ride so far, which has seen Arctic Mon-ride so far, which has seen Arctic Mon-ride so far, which has seen Arctic Mon-rides of a which has seen A The excited reaction to the announce

ride so far, which has seen Arctic Mon-keys become the biggest and arguably best-loved of current British bands. The crowd was vaster than anything I had

crowd was vaster than anything I had witnessed in Leeds in recent times, with 16-year-olds who weren't born when the band released their celebrated 2006 debut Whatever People Say I am, That's What I'm Not, asgiddy as older fans. It started with a swagger. The giant buzzsaw riff of "Do I Wanna Know?" heralded one of the hit singles from 2013's album AM, which brought the band, who began as the defining indie rock group of their generation, mainstream stadium-sized success on both sides of the Atlantic. These two faces of the group dominated the set early on, as frenetically arch earlier singles such as

"Teddy Picker" and "Brianstorm" ("Brian, top marks for not tryin'") alter-nated with the slicker strut of more recent songs such as "Snap Out of it.". For half an hour, there was no let-up.

For half an hour, there was no let-up. It was frontnan Alex Turner's show, and he was in excellent voice, switching from nimble wordplay to world-weariness without missing a beat. Turner is not one for much small talk between songs, but when he put on a pair of shades it was the signal to slow things down a touch. The next section showcased two albums that tend to command less stanting. "Compared less stanting." "Compared less stanting." showcased two albums that tend to command less attention —"Corner-stone" and "Pretty Visitors" (from 2009's Humbug) and "That's Where You're Wrong" (from 2011's Suck It and See)—all excellent.

They were also a reminder that the band's sound has rarely settled in one place for long, another reason why they are still going strong and reaching new

audiences. The only new song debuted here, "I Ain't Quite Where I Think I Am", had a laid-back 1970s funk feel, which suggests the new record will be another change of direction. Overall, the fact that the set was so strong, despite leav-ing out a number of old favourites, showed just how good Arctic Monkeys'

showed just how good Arctic Monkeys' songwriting is.

By the time they get to the lounge pop of "Tranquility Base Hotel & Casino", Turner had gone full crooner. Realising that, to quote one of his most famous lyrics, some banging tunes were in order, the pace was cranked up again. In the home straight, the band reached for old favourites including "I Bet You Look Good on the Dancefloor" and the highly popular "505" before ending with a suit-ably huge "R U Mine?" and disappearing

with minimal fuss. arcticmonkeys.com



Alex Turner of Arctic Monkeys on stage at Leeds Festival

Tuesday 30 August 2022 FINANCIAL TIMES 13 New tech ventures linked to climate change are gaining traction as companies seek to offset emissions. But critics fear that using blockchain to clean up carbon markets could lead to more greenwashing. By Camilla Hodgson and Siddharth Venkataramakrishnan

ast year, a British oil exploration company and a tech start-up joined forces on a project to lock away untapped fossil fuel reserves in Greenland permanently.

The idea was simple: the energy company, Greenland Gas and Oil, would not extract oil from an area on the east coast for which it had exploration licences. Instead it would monetise keeping the oil in the ground via a partnership with the tech company Carbonbase, which works on offsetting carbon emissions.

The mechanics were more complex. The partnership aimed to sell NFTs, digital collectibles that come with ownership certificates, linked to the unperplored land. The profits would then be used in part to compensate the energy company and the oil would stay underground. And, since the Greenland government had stopped is suing new exploration licences, the energy company and at 50 papel is suing new exploration licences, the energy company would not be able simply to apply for another and tap a different part of the country.

The pitch to buyers was that they

the country.

The pitch to buyers was that they could be sure their NPT investment was doing some environmental good. The tokens would also be paired with a new type of "non-production" carbon credit the venture hoped to develop, which owners could use to compensate for their own emissions.

But after months of discussions the But after months of discussions the partnership ran into problems. Carbon-base and Greenland Gas and Oil did no agree on how to structure the joint venture. Carbonbase also discovered that the country of Greenland had never successfully produced any oil, a fact that they said undermined the whole idea. Pursuing the project "would have destroyed our public reputation" and looked like "greenwashing", says Max Song, founder of Carbonbase.

Eric Sondergaard, chief operating

Eric Sondergaard, chief operating officer at Greenland Gas and Oil, con-cedes the scheme was not "perfect" and that it would have been better if an oil

Max Song, founde of Carbonbase,



producing company was "turning off

producing company was "turning off the flow of oil or gas from a well-head". But, he says, it was easier for a group not yet tapping reserves to win investor backing for such a proposal: "once the [oil] development wheels are in motion, it is harder to concince shareholders to opt for a block-chain alternative."

The attempt is just one example in a mass of tech ventures that hope to fuse concerns about global warming with bublic's interest in web's technology. A surfeit of start-ups have burst on to the scene this year, variously promising to "green" bitcoin, make NFTs sustainable and solve nigging problems in carbon markets once and for all.

These projects range from the relatively mundane to the outlandish and wacky, with interest coming from major corporations as well as fringe groups. One River Digital Asset Management launched "the world's first carbon neutral crypto asset fund" last year, while the world's largest metapacking group, JBS, has developed a blockchain platform to trace its cattle supply chain, in an effort to combat deforestation. Diamond miner De Beers is using block-chain technology to track the provenance of itsgems.

Many new initiatives focus on the

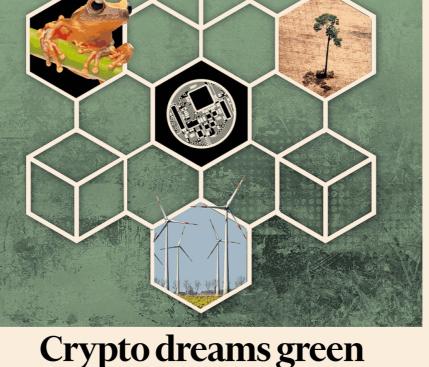
mond miner De Beers is using block-chain technology to track the provenance of its gems.

Many new initiatives focus on the booming market for carbon offsets—each of which is supposed to represent atome of carbon permanently removed or avoided from the atmosphere. They have soared in popularity in the past 18 months as companies seek to compensate for their emissions. WeWork founder Adam Neumann's venture Flowcarbon, which received funding from Andreessen Horowitz earlier this year, is one of a range of efforts to produce carbon tokens, which can either be used to compensate for emissions like traditional carbon credits or traded on certain crypto exchanges.

The trend for 'tokenising' carbon offsets, or converting them into the sort of fungible, digital tokens familiar to crypto traders has been notable: millions of credits have been digitised since late 2021.

Used well, analysts say Web3 technol Used well, analysts say Web3 technol-ogies could bring greater integrity to the carbon market and help verify the cre-dentials of products labelled as "sustain-able". But critics say complicated new initiatives could just as easily exacerbate existing problems in two unregu-lated markets (offsets and crypto finance), lure more people into a space with its own big emissions problem, and contribute to more greenwashing. William Pazos, cofounder of AirCar-

bon Exchange, says some new groups are not displaying "the level of rigour



that's necessary" to come up with credible climate solutions. "They are ticking the boxes: the climate box, the blockchain box — all these buzzwords that potentially could make them

A messy market

One of the risks of introducing green tokens in the carbon market is the

very weathy:

A messy market

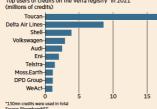
It was only a matter of time before advocates of blockchain — the distributed digital ledgers on which cryptocurrencies run — turned to climate change.

These supporters say the technology, which keeps an unchangeable record of transactions, can bring greater clarity to the messy market for carbon offsets. "Distributed ledgers are going to help with transparency" and with tracking the purchase and use of credits, says James Cameron, policy adviser at systemiq, the advisory group. Carbon-crypto initiatives might also be a way for retail buyers, who have found it difficult to buy offsets, to access the market.

But Pete Howson, who researches environmental technologies at the UK's Northumbria University, says he fears some tech pioneers "don't understand he way the carbon market works".

The sector is notoriously complicated, with its own well-rehearsed profiles. Since the late 1990s the decentralised market has only become more complicated as it has grown. Thousands of projects that generate offsets exist, such as tree planting schemes that can sell credits either directly to end users or via middlemen. Different project type are governed by various complex rules, ses. Earth were big users of

Toucan and Moss.Earth were big users of carbon offsets last year
Top users of credits on the Verra registry* in 2021
(millions of credits)



set by one of a number of third-party carbon offset standard setters such

set by one of a number of third-party carbon offset standard setters such as Verra.

Some offsets are of a reliable quality, but others may not deliver the climate benefits they promise. That makes it hard for non-experts to know what to buy, who to buy from and what to pay. The blockchain community is the latest to take up the gauntlet. Tokenising credits has become a popular starting point. The process can involve some mystifying jargon, but the goal tends to be the same the creation of digital versions of existing offsets that are simpler for people to understand, more liquid and transparently priced.

Carbon tokens have been launched by companies including Toucan, Just-Carbon and Moss Earth. Hype about the prospect of the tokens has bubbled up on social media. But the tokens have also drawn the attention of corporate investors: last year Anthony Scaramucci's alternative investment firm skybridge capital bought nearly 40,000 of Moss. Earth's tokens to offset the "historic carbon footprint" of its bitcoin holdings.

Adrian Rimmer, cofounder of just-Carbon, says the design of carbon tokens is easier for non-expert buyers to understand than the traditional offset market, which he describes as "horriommental projects and are difficult to compare, each of the new digital tokens on offer — JustCarbon's, Says or Moss. Earth's MCO2s, for example — are uniform and trade at the same price. Each company decides on a range of offsets, such as any from forestry schemes, that can be converted into its standard-

such as any from forestry schemes that can be converted into its standard

'No idea what you're buying'

Not everyone is convinced. Louis Red r, managing director of carbon con ncy Redshaw Advisors, says addin sultancy Redshaw Advisors, says adding another layer of complexity to the already confusing carbon market is probably "not making it better". Block-chain may be no more useful for eluci-dating the process than "a good spread-there" he care health as inseit the says. Redshaw insists the complicated nature of many projects is reason enough to be wary: "If you can't

understand what it is you're getting into, you shouldn't get into it," he says. Steve Zwick, a senior media relations manager for Verra, the offsets registry, says creating standardised tokens from a broad category of offsets masks key information, such as which project a credit came from. Such details are important, since some offsets are of dubious quality. "That transparency element is critical, especially with new buyers coming in. You've got to make sure the labelling is right," says Zwick. While buyers of Moss. Earth's tokens know they are underpinned by credits from a list of forest protection schemes published by the company, they do not know which specific project a given token is linked to. The group said its design ensured token fungibility. Last year Vaughan Lindsay, chief executive of offset seller Climate Impact Partners, told the Financial Times that efforts to make credits fungible "remind me of collateralised debt instruments". If you keep rolling stuff you have no idea what you're buying." Another risk is the temptation to use the token for financial speculation. Offsets are supposed to be bought to compensate for specific emissions, rather than endlessly traded. But the owners of tokenised credits can easily be swept up in the powerful currents of decentain credits in Mav. In Aueust it

Verra banned the tokenisation of cer Verra banned the tokenisation of ce tain credits in May. In August launched a consultation about desig ing "anti-fraud measures" for crypt carbon – new rules that could alle tokenisation to resume.

Toucan's tokens soared in popularity at the end of last year, largely because buyers can convert them into a new buyers can convert them into a new cryptocurrency, Klima. Yet experts pointed out that many of the millions of credits underpinning Toucan's tokens had remained unsold for years owing to quality concerns. Toucan said it had tightened up its rules about which cred-its could be tokenised.

its could be tokenised.
"If people are bundling credits and
selling them, what's important is the
underlying credit," says William
McDonnell, chief operating officer of
the Integrity Council for the Voluntary Carbon Market, an industry group that is drawing up rules for what constitutes a "good" credit. "Whether it's tokenised or not, what's important is the quality of

the credits." Florenzo Manganiello, a professor of blockchain technologies at Geneva Business School, warned of scams targeting those looking for "green" crypto. Tive been approached three or four times by people saying they're selling 'green" ckness they claimed were backed by carbon credits, beays. "In reality, they [looked like] a pump-and-dump scheme."

Then there is the broader threat posed by a turbulent crypto market, which crashed this year. The value of Toucan's "BCT" tokens fell from a high of nearly \$9 last year to around \$4.1.50 in August. Moss Earth's MCO2S dropped from more than \$17 in January to under \$4 this month, while JustCarbon's JCR moved from nearly \$40 in May to around \$24 in August.

The emissions elephant

The crypto-climate crossover goes beyond carbon tokens. Shoppers can now participate in metaverses where they are encouraged to purchase virtual versions of fashion items such as cloth-

versions of fashion items such as clothing, instead of buying in the real world. Conservation-linked cryptocurrencies are also appearing, such as one developed by Estonia-based Single. Earth. The group generates "Merit" tokens, which landowners earn each time they store 100kg of carbon in their forests. Their woodland must be at least 20 years old to be eligible, and Single. Earth monitors the process using satel



lites and machine learning

However, since there is no penalty for landowners who later cut down the trees, except that they do not earn more tokens, the stored carbon could be released back into the atmosphere.

released back into the atmosphere. Merit Valdsalu, Single.Earth cofounder, conceeds this is a concern, but says she hopes the prospect of earning more tokens will incentivise landowners to keep trees standing.

The elephant in the room is the energy consumption involved in many crypto and blockchain transactions. Minting bitcoin, for example, requires huge computing power, which often runs on coal-generated electricity. That issue is drawing more attention. This issue is drawing more attention. This issue for consumption of the control of t

digital assets.
Enthusiasts have pushed back against this characterisation of crypto, arguing that many coins and blockchains are much less energy intensive than bitcoin. But the perception of digital assets as a gas guzzling, carbon generating problem is so prevalent that an NFT auction by the UK arm of conservation charity WWF was abruptly cancelled in February following a backlash. Despite such criticisms, many analysts do see a role for digital technologies in the fight against climate change and are encouraged by the interest in sustainability from some in the crypto community. The "recognition of the energy conundrum by major players... could signal a turning point for the crypto market in adapting greener algorithms," wrote HSBC analyst Camila Sarmiento. Banks and exchanges are exploring a middle ground between the traditional carbon market and the crypto-carbon crossover. AirCarbon Exchange has designed smart contracts that could allow credits to be sold in smaller quantities than one tonne of carbon. That could be useful for people making small, regular purchases, such as offsettling a taxi trip, says Pazos. "Just like we see caloric counts on food [packaging], we're going to see earbon counts on all types of different activities."

Lenders including NatWest, Standard Chartered and BNP Paribas have developed a blockchain-based settlement platform, Carbonplace, which aims to make buying offsets simpler and enhance the traceability of transactions. Buyers receive tokens representing credit ownership, which include the details of the offsets — not digital versions of the credits.

sions of the credits.
Even the UN Framework Convention
on Climate Change has taken an interest: it supported the creation of the
Climate Chain Coalition initiative in
2017, which works to "advance blockchain . . . and related digital solutions" to mobilise climate finance and action

But for now, the proliferation of new companies and the "low barriers to launching new projects" make it "hard to understand who you want to work with," says Claudia Herbert, from the advisory group Carbon Direct. "We're seeing the lessons of the [real-world off-

see calorie counts on food we're going to see carbon counts on all types of different

'Just like we

'If you can't understand what it is voure

getting into, you shouldn't get into it'

activities'

The FT View



FINANCIAL TIMES

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China's property-driven growth model is broken

Beijing should prepare for a long and difficult economic transformation

China's property-driven growth model, which has powered the global economy for at least two decades, is looking increasingly broken. Exingit: — or finding alternative engines for the world's second-largest economy — could take several years. This is why the choices that now confront Beijing's policymakersare so crucia.

that now confront Beijing's policymake-ers are so crucial.

The task requires an accurate assess-ment of what has gone wrong. On one level this is simple: the biggest property boom in human history has ended and is now turning into a bust. But a deeper level of analysis reveals a more compli-cated and intractable malaise at the heart of China's political economy. Local governments, which financed their investment activities largely by selling land to property developers, are

finding it harder to repay and service huge debts. This is mostly because developers now have little money or appetite to buy the land. Almost 20 of them are in such dire financial straits

appetite to buy the land. Almost 20 of them are in such dire financial straits that they have defaulted on bonds in the offshore market this year.

This dynamic is having knock-on effects. Local government financing vehicles—the thousands of poorly-regulated funds owned by city governments all over the country — are burdened by "hidden" debts that Goldman Sachs has estimated to total Rmb55th (\$8.2th) — or 52 per cent of GDP — at the end of 2020. Beiling is urging local governments to clean up such "off balance sheet" borrowing, with the result that LGFVs are reining in their horns.

The result is that fixed asset investment (FAI), which funds the construction of city precincts, roads, railways, ports and a thousand other pieces of infrastructure, has slumped precipiously this year, robbing the economy of one its main drivers. From January to

July this year, FAI grew at just 5.7 per cent — compared with an average of 17.87 per cent between 1996 and 2022.

So, the question before China now, as it allocates modest funds to alleviate the pain in its property sector, is stark. If the growth engine that has contributed so growth engine that has contributed so much to global prosperity is now gummed up with debt, what — if any-thing—could replace it?

There is one obvious answer. China needs to reorientate its economy away

from an over-reliance on investment and towards greater consumer spending. Private consumption accounted for 38.5 per cent of nominal GDP at the end of last year — a much lower ratio than those prevailing in the US or EU.

those prevailing in the US or EU.

This means that as Beijing charts a
way out of its local government debt
malaise in coming years, it cannot
afford to shift be burden to households.
It needs to create an economy in which
salaries rise strongly and vibrant, wellregulated financial markets provide a
healthy long-term return on savings.

In addition, Beijing should remind itself that much of the extraordinary economic progress of the past four dec-ades has derived from the dynamism of reorientate its economy away from an overthe private sector. In recent years, how-ever, the downfall of Jack Ma, founder of Alibaba, and the diminished standing of several leading privately owned tech companies has convinced observers that Beijing has moderated its support spending

for private enterprise.

The required shift to embrace the The required shift to embrace the consumer and the private sector will also require a counter-intuitive shift in mindset. Authoritarian governments prefer economic levers that they can control. Mobilising supply through muscular investment plans keeps ruling parties in the driving seat. Catering to the more democratic tastes of consumers does not

ers does not.

Beijing should prepare itself for a long and difficult economic transformation.

The world should prepare itself for the end of a four-decade era of supercharged Chinese growth.

Opinion Education

Governments beware the politics of tuition fees



Stephen Bush



had successfully paid off the last of my student loan and as a result I had overpaid on my tax return. (UK students' tuition fees are deducted at source alongside their taxes if they are salaried employees, or when they fill out their tax returns if they are self-employed.) I thought hard about what a mile-

stone this was, my good fortune in being able to do this while still doing a job I love and how I could best use this windfall to invest in my future, before going out and buying a PlayStation 5. One criticism of Joe Biden's plans to

cancel \$10,000 of student loan debt for low to middle income graduates is that American graduates will, like me, think about their windfall, and then go out and stoke some good old-

Ever-increasing fees have gone hand-in-hand with ever-larger numbers of students

fashioned inflationary consumer demand. But it is possible that extrap-olating from the behaviour of one affluent UK graduate to millions of

affluent UK graduate to millions American graduates on low and mid-dle incomes is not particularly helpful. The more useful political lesson runs the other way. Biden's plan is what happens in a democracy once graduate voters become sufficiently numerous and electorally important that they can do what voters have almost always done: lobby for financial relief

almost always done: lobby for finan-cial relief.

That has implications well outside the US. In France, for example, private universities charge flat three-figure registration fees to domestic students, while in England, graduates effec-tively pay an additional form of income tax until either they have paid off their tuition fees or for 30 years after graduation.

The American model manages to combines most of the downsides of French-style flat fees and large UK-style debt balances, without any of the

US graduates are saddled with mortgage-style loans in which they face the same monthly payment when they graduate, whether their first job is serving coffees or on a trading floor, and not all can switch to income-contingent loses.

But in all three countries, attempts to increase fees on students are the subject of fierce political resistance by students and the young, while proving a handy way for states to magic up extra revenue for higher education and to keep debt off the book. (Untila 2018 ruling by the UK's Office for National Statistics, successive British governments were able to pretend But in all three countries, attempt that all tuition fee expenditure was private, despite the fact a large chunk of it will never be repaid by the

In policy terms, tuition fees have been a stunning success. In the UK, they have effectively allowed a stealth se in income tax on most middle and high income workers. And across the developed world, the appetite for university degrees has proved to be astonishingly price-resistant: everincreasing tuition fees have gone hand-in-hand with ever-larger num

But the policy has come with a cost The UK model is a better deal for middle and lower-income graduates than the US one, but it still represents a considerable increase in the de facto tax siderable increase in the de facto tax burden. One irony of the politics of tui-tion fees is that an NHS consultant complaining about paying the addi-tional rate of income tax sounds right-wing, but doing the same about their tuition fees is considered cool and protuition fees is considered cool and pro gressive. But the impact of both poli cies is identical: they make practising medicine abroad or in the private sec-

medicine abroad or in the private sec-tor more attractive than continuing to work in public healthcare in the UK. The fees model also has knock- on consequences for academic freedom. Campus politics has always had illib-eral elements, but it is easier to ignore student demands to sack a professor or rewrite a course yilabus when indi-viduals do not influence a university's bottom line.

violusis do not innuence a university's bottom line.

As graduates become more numerous in Europe, what you might term the "Biden tipping point" inevitably makes tuition fees a less attractive policy option. As indebted graduates become more numerous, they become politically powerful enough that tuition fees cease to be a clever way of stealthily increasing income tax, and become every bit as politically painful as openly raising it.

Letters

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Society's thirst for data requires a water solution

World Water Week kicked off last week in Stockholm, with the issue of the water consumed by data centres emerging as a big concern ("Thames study utility probes data centres' use of water", Report, August 24). Data centres use water for cooling when fans cannot maintain the correct operating temperatures. In times of drought, the increase in water consumption at higher temperatures compounds the problems for local water supplies.

Drought-stricken citizens are pushing back against these water-guzzling facilities that create little employment. For example, in the Netherlands, Microsoft and Google data centres have been the target of repeated community anger around water consumption, and it's a similar story in Arizona and elsewhere in the US.

. Some forward-looking countries ve already taken action. For

example, in 2019 Singapore, a major data centre hub for south Asia, imposed a three-year moratorium (now lifted with restrictions) on constructing new data centres due to concerns around energy and water

usage. If drought-like conditions across the globe become more frequent and sustained, the data centre industry will rapidly need to rethink its approach to water. Perhaps now is the time to move

beyond "hot air" promises to adopt new cooling technologies, such as immersive liquid cooling, at scale. Withering petunias may survive a hosepipe ban, but society's thirst for data seems unquenchable, and a sustainable solution to cooling data centres needs to be implemented. Duncan White Partner, Environmental Technologies Hambro Perks London SW1, UK

Why chest-beating central bankers have me worried

Dankers nave the workers learn help but he a little worried at the display of chest-thumping from central bankers at last weekend's packson Hole symposium. They appear to have been stung by the criticism that they have failed to control inflation and are hopelessly behind the curve (Report, Anoust 27). ust 27)

Initially tackling inflation was a way to avoid a recession. They now seem to view a recession as a way to prove their mettle. Certainly, the Federal Reserve and the European Central Bank appear unfazed by the idea of tightening policy as their economies slide into recession. That was a good move when executed by Fed chair Paul Volcker 40 years ago

Of course, inflation is too high but central bankers seem to be in a competitive race to raise interest rates It's well to remember that most of the effect on inflation will be felt in late 2023 and early 2024. By that time the cost push element of inflation is likely to be weaker and perhaps even gone Stefan Gerlach

Steian Geriach Chief Economist, EFG Bank, Zurich Switzerland; Deputy Governor, Central Bank of Ireland, 2011-2015



"IT'S TRICKLE DOWN

Biden's debt write-off plan helps the wrong students

As an immigrant and a recipient of a Pell grant, I find Joe Biden's student loan forgiveness policy absolutely ridiculous ("Biden accused of fuelling 'inflationary fire' with move to cancel student debt", Report, August 26). I picked a college that was affordable

and I worked while a student to minimise my debt, attending few social events, focusing instead on my education to keep costs low.

After graduating, I worked hard and made paying off my student loans my priority. Now I see that people who were in the same situation as me (often in better financial circumstances) but who spent their loan/grant money on parties, luxury accommodation ("boogie dorms") and spring break trips are being rewarded, and I find it galling, Rewarding them is fiscally irresponsible, and will stoke inflation at a time when the Federal Refiseror is a social properties. at a time when the Federal Reserve is truggling to temper surging prices As a newly-arrived American, I h

my countrymen complain about the cost of education, but education in the US is affordable if you make the right decisions. Community college costs no more than a few thousand dollars a year; state universities are subsidised.

Hence, the only people who are punished in the US education system are those who chose a private university, where tuition can be as much as \$50,000 a year. Why should my tax dollars go to pay for those students who live beyond their means:

Edinburgh's litter-strewn streets are installation art

SUPECES AITC INSTALLATION AITC
You interpret Edihough's overflowing
bins and litter-strewn streets as
representing industrial action ineply
dealt with by Scotland's devolved
government (Report, August 29).
In fact, they comprise perhaps the
most ambitious public-participation
cultural event of all time. Scheduled to
coincide with the Edihough festival,
the relative of the state o this evolving, citywide, art installation
— celebrating the conflicted return of
mass consumerism — achieved enthusiastic engagement from both visitors and locals alike. Edinburah, UK

A bit hard on the EU?

You write that businesspeople call Uruguay the Switzerland of Latin America "as it is a beacon of sound government in a region beset by corruption and turmoil" ("Magnate aims to tear down Uruguay's 'Switzerland' image", Report, August 24). Surely this is a bit hard on the European Union.

Robert Hopkins

Müstair, Graubünden, Switzerland

outlook

MIDDLE EAST

Lebanon's crisis pushes families to the brink



assam al-Sheikh Hussein was desperate. With mounting debts and medical bills for his alling access to the \$209,000 he kept in a savings account in Lebanon's Federal Bank. But, like most Lebanese trapped in the Kafkaesque nightmare of their country's financial collapse, his funds have been frozen for more than two years, with monthly than two years, with monthly withdrawals capped at the equivalent of \$400 — hardly enough for his

within awas capped at the equivalent of \$400 – hardly enough for his family to survive on. Lately, according to Hussein, the west Beirut branch of his bank had been withholding even that paltry monthly allowance, despite his remonstrations. After another argument with the branch manager on August 12, Hussein went to his car, brought out a rifle and a canister of gasoline, and held six people hostage, demanding the release of his funds. Mobile phone footage of the incident spread rapidly on social media. Many were quick to endorse the actions of a man whose anger they shared – seeing him as more Robin Hood than Clyde Barrow, driven to desperate measures by an entrenched ruling class that has yet to implement a road map for recovery.

the bank agreed to hand over \$35,000 of his money, following six hours of tense negotiations. After five days in custody the Federal Bank dropped its charges, and he walked free. Last charges, and he walked free Last week, he told Vice News that he may try the stunt again: "Even before the money runs out, I will go to the bank and take more . . . Maybe the same bank, another bank, but I will do it again." The bank did not immediately

bank, another bank, but I will do it again." The bank did not immediately respond to requests for comment. He is not the first disgranuled depositor to "rob" a bank since the crisis began. In January, in the northern Bekaa Valley another man armed with a gun took nine members of staff hostage until the Back bank gave him \$50,000 from his account. Back then, the public was divided on whether to call him a hero or a criminal. But seven months later, there was a more visible outpouring of support for Hussein." If shouldn't really be saying this but . . . we all understand what [Hussein] did. He actually did what many of us want to do," said Leen, a bank teller who asked her last name be withheld for fear of retribution from her employer. "He was pushed to the extreme." She added: "I'm just surprised there haven't been more people trying to rob banks so far."

published a scathing report, accusing the Lebanese authorities of operating a giant Ponzi scheme that has "caused unprecedented social and economic pain". The report said public finance was used to capture the state's resources for political patronage, creating a "deliberate" depression. It added that a "significant portion" of people's savings had been "misused and misspent over the past 70 (1907)"

of people's savings had been "misused and misspent over the past 30 years". In the absence of formal capital control laws, banks decide who can access their funds, with most people limited to small monthly withdrawals. But media reports show that politically connected people have sent millions of dollars abroad. Meanwhile, the government has stalled on reform initiatives that could unlock international aid money, while endemic corruption and a lack of public infrastructure mean punishing bills for exhausted citizens. Despite these hardships, the capital is full of recently imported luxury cars and its beaches and restaurants are packed with expats home for the summer. But children are also sifting through dumpsters for scraps with their malnourished parents, while gaunt retirees, whose savings have been lost in the crisis, spend stilling

mitigating factors in either system. French students can choose to study at state institutions and apply for scholarships at private universities, while repayments from English graduates are automatically deducted alongside their salaries and are contingent on the ability to repay. Some

Tuition fees, then, are becoming a lot like the degrees they pay for: an attractive option for those considering them, but one with upfront and long-



As police arrived on the scene, dozens of people massed outside, turning the hold-up into a full-blown protest against Lebanon's banks and ruling class. Shouts of "let him go" and "down with the banks" rang out.

Hussein released the hostages when

Lebanon's financial collapse — one of the worst economic crises in modern history — is in its third year, and has forced three-quarters of people into poverty. The currency has lost more than 90 per cent of its value. Earlier this month, the World Bank

er days without power in their tiny, cramped apartments. In the absence of state efforts to alleviate the crisis, Hussein's bank hold-up may not be the last.

Tuesday 30 August 2022 FINANCIAL TIMES

Opinion

Actors worry that AI is taking centre stage



ficial intelligence would come for the bean counters first. It seemed reasonable to assume that AI would transform or even eliminate jobs in sectors such as accountancy and insurance, while work associated with human traits such as creativity would be relatively untouched. But this theory looks flakier by the day. One group of workers who are really begin-ning to worry about AI are actors and other performance artists. A survey this year by Equity, the UK

A survey time year by Equity, the Ox-union for actors and other performing arts workers, found that 65 per cent of members thought AI posed a threat to employment opportunities in the sec-tor, rising to 93 per cent of audio artists.

This wasn't just an amorphous fear about the future: more than a third of members had seen job listings for work involving A. I and almost a fifth had undertaken some of this work.

A range of Al start-ups are developing tools for use in film and audio, from making actors look and sound younger to creating Al voices that can be used for marketing campaigns, consumer assistants or even audiobook narration. Audio is such a popular medium now that companies need lots of it, but human actors are expensive and nowhere near as flexible as an Al voice, which can be made to say anything at the push of a button. These companies typically hire actors to provide hours' worth of audio which can then be turned into a voice-for-line.

into a voice-for-hire.
Vocalib, for example, offers a range of
voices such as "Malik" ("warm, soothing, urban") "Terri" ("educated, optimistic, sophisticated") and "AI Very
British Voice" ("trustworthy, warm, calm".) Sonantic, another AI company which was just acquired by Spotify, creates voices that can laugh, shout or cry. Its voices are often used by video

game companies in the production process so they can play around with different scripts. They're not as good as humans, but they don't need to be. Industry experts say no one is going to use AI to narrate the audiobook of a bestselling novel, but there is still a market to be tapped in veast number of lower-profile books that are published or self-published every

You might find your voice in something violent when you had your heart set on a career in children's film

can create an audiobook in 10 minutes with 146 voices to choose from in 43 lan-

Voice actors aren't just worried about losing work to these synthetic vocalists.
They're also worried about their rights
when they help to create AI personas. Both Equity and SAG-AFTRA, its US equivalent, say they are seei

tracts for AI work that give tech companies the right to use an actor's likeness or voice Irrevocably and in perpetuity. Non-disclosure agreements are also common. Young actors, in particular, might be tempted by the upfront fee only to regret the long-term implications.

tions. What kind of implications? Once your voice or face is in the wild and you have no control over it, you might find it associated with something violent when you had your heart set on a career in children's films. Or you might find your likeness is working for a competitor to a company you now want to join. As Equity explains in its guidance to members doing A1-related work: "If at a later date you are asked to work on an excludate you are asked to work on an exclu-sive basis for another client, would the presence of your AI voice and the possi-bility of it working for competitors be problematic contractually?" Equity is calling on the UK govern-

ment to update copyright law to make sure performers have the right to control AI-made "reproductions" of performances. Unions on both sides performances. Unions on both sides of the Atlantic are also trying to make

agreements with tech companies that give performers royalties when their Al voice or image is used, as well as the right to approve its use in each new scenario. Some companies already do this: Sonantic says it has a profit-share agreement with voice actors, for example.

state agreement with voice actors, for example.

There are opportunities as well as threats. With decent contract agreements in place, it could be very helpful for actors to have a source of passive income from the At version of themselves, which is out there diligently doing work which might be boring but still brings in some money. At also opens up the possibility of more flexible work for people who can't always be on set, whether because of health or family reasons.

That said, the broader lesson for the world of work is that AI doesn't have to be "as good as humans" to begin to dis-rupt things for ordinary workers. In Hollywood, as in the economy as a whole, the superstars will be fine — everyone else will have to stay on their toes.

The enemies of globalisation are circling



lobalisation is not just about trade and technology. It is also about politics. Political change, above all the collapse of communism, created the conditions for an age of hyperglobalisation. Now political change, above all rising nationalism, is threatening the dense network of economic ties built up over the last three decades.

The enemies of alphalication.

decades.

The enemies of globalisation can be found across the political spectrum, from the nationalist right to the anticapitalist left, and from the environmental movement to the intelligence

It is true that deglobalisation has not yet really shown up in the trade figures. As my colleague, Alan Beattle pointed out recently, "most standard measures of globalisation – cross-border movements of goods, services, capital, data and people – (are) doing pretty well." One possible conclusion to draw is that global economic connections and supply chains are now too intricate to be disentangled. While there may be a will to deglobalise, there is no real way.

A sudden retreat into economic autarky by the world's leading trading It is true that deglobalisation has not

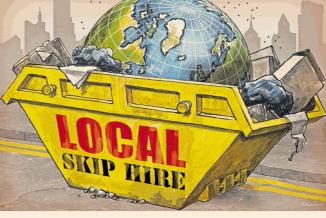
nations would certainly cause chaos and hardship. But for all the upheaval involved, international economic ties can break down suddenly. Over the past two years, the pandemic and the Ukraine war have demonstrated how vulnerable international trade is to unexpected shocks. Covid-19 shut down global travel and distrupted supply chains. The war in Ukraine led to a rupture in the west's economic ties with Russia. And the combined political and social forces that are now pushing against globalisation make it likely that there will be further shocks to come.

A decade ago, protectionism was still a dirty word in US politics. But the Trump administration started a trade war with China and the Biden administration has kept the tariffs in place war with China and the Biden administration has kept the tariffs in place dependence on China and to repatriate key industries, in particular semiconductors. India has followed the decoupling trend, banning Chinese tech companies, such as Tikrok, as a response to rising tensions with Beijing.

The Chinese themselves are activative and the practicipants in this process of decoupling. Arguably, they made the first significant move, with a drive to promote domestic production of key technologies. Beijing's "Made in China 2025" policy was announced in 2015, before Donald Trump's election.

When economic logic was more pow-

icy was announced in 2015, before Don-ald Trump's election. When economic logic was more pow-erful than geopolitical rivalry, the domi-nant question was: where is it cheapest or most efficient to buy or produce?



That led to the construction of intricate cross-border supply chains. But in a world in which international rivalries are growing, different questions are asked. Where it is safest to produce or buy? And should we even be trading with nations that we regard as a threat? The invasion of Urkaine has not just asked is teem imprudent to rely on political rivals for key economic inputs, it has also allowed the west's national security establishment to seize the moral high ground from the free-traders. Jens Stoltenberg, the secretary-general of Nato, asys that "Freedom is more important than free trade". There are not many influential voices making the counterargument.

ounterargument. The political and strategic arguments or cutting trade ties are increasingly

A sudden retreat into economic autarky by the world's leading trading nations would cause chaos

supplemented by arguments about the environment and social resilience. After the pandemic, governments are reluctant to go back to a world in which the production of vaccines, say, or even rubber gloves, is concentrated in just one or two countries. Insisting on domestic production facilities, which once seemed inefficient, now looks prudent. As one industrialist puts it: "We're noving from just in time to just in case." The potential vulnerability that is preoccupying national security establishments everywhere is semiconductors — crucial for everything from mobile phones to missiles. According to US president Joe Biden, some 90 per cent of the world's most advanced semi-conductors are made in Taiwan by a single producer, TSMC. One senior US official says that a Chinese invasion or blockade of Taiwan would create a "semiconductor nuclear winter". Rectifying that situation could take many years. But the drive to dojust that is now under way with the passage of America's Chips Act.

The US has long had rules that can

nips Act. The US has long had rules that can

restrict inward investment on national security grounds. The Chips Act creates new rules that will restrict outward investment, discouraging US firms from making semiconductors in China.

National security hawks believe that globalisation meant that the western democracies naively sponsored the rise of hostile rivals such as Russia or China. Leftwing critics associate the "neoliberal" era of globalisation with widening inequality and environmental degradation. There are elements of truth to both of these critiques. But the pressure to cut trade and investment ties is not simply a product of rising nationalism and

cut trade and investment ties is not simply a product of rising nationalism and conomic stress — It is also contributes to both processes. For ail the discontents that hyperglobalisation has created, I suspect that, in decades to come, the period from 1989 to 2022 will come to be seen as a golden age of peace and prosperity. The world may soon discover that globalisation is the worst possible system — apart from all the alternatives.

Heirs to Thatcher ignore her lead on industrial policy

Geoffrey Owen

mong the issues facing the Conservative leadership contenders there is one that has received almost no This topic, while not in the same league as the energy crisis, will present the gov-ernment with tricky decisions in coming months. They are important, not least in showing how far the next prime minister believes in an active role for the state in influencing the structure and

performance of particular industries.

Margaret Thatcher, admired by both
leadership candidates, believed that the leadership candidates, believed that the government had no business deciding that one industry was more important than another, and therefore deserving of special help. She also insisted that no obstacles should be put in the way of for-eign acquirers of British companies — that put her at odds with Tory MPs. She was greatly irritated when backbench pressure forced her to abandon the sale of parts of British Leyland to Ford and General Motors. As she wrote later, a kind of "pseudo-patriotic hysteria" had swept through politics.

swept unrougn points.

But the Conservative party has shifted in a non-Thatcherite direction. Since Theresa May's government, substantial sums have been spent on developing batteries for electric cars. This has included both funding for early-stage research and direct support for com-mercial ventures, such as Britishvolt's battery factory in the north-east.

The government's case is that it will help British assembly lines transition to electric cars and contribute to decar-bonisation. Similar considerations

Consistent policy in this area has helped to make the UK an attractive destination for acquirers

apply to the Port Talbot steelworks in South Wales; the owner, Tata Group, has asked for help in financing the replacement of blast furnaces with a less carbon-intensive technology. Should steel have a higher priority than others facing similar problems? Despite lengthy debate, no dear definition of a strategic industry has emerged.

As for foreign takeovers, here, too, the influence of Thatcherism appears to be failured to the sure that the property of the sure of the

As for foreign takeovers, here, too, the influence of Thatcherism appears to be fading, in the pre-Thatcher era, merger control in the UK was widely regarded as arbitrary and unpredictable, with the Monopolies and Mergers Commission (now replaced by the Competition and Markets Authority) using a range of public interest criteria.

The commission was expected to assess the suitability of the acquirer and make predictions on the consequences of the takeover — a process hat provided ample scope for lobbying. This changed in 1984 when trade and industry secretary Norman Tebbit announced that references to the commission would be based primarily on the effects on competition. Although the legislation has been modified, competition has remained the focus in

the legislation has been modified, com-petition has remained the focus in merger control. Consistent policy in this area has helped to make the UK an attractive destination for acquirers. An important change took place at the start of this year with the National Security and Investment Act. This gives the government wide powers to review and prohibit takeovers that might pose arise to not the proper security. Uk the beyond a risk to national security. Like the word "strategic", national security is open to interpretation; an interesting test will interpretation, an interesting test will be the expected decision on whether to unwind the acquisition of semiconduc-tor company Newport Wafer Fab, by a Chinese-owned company. Some observers believe that the new act will deter potentially valuable for-

Insurers must rethink handling of cyber attacks on states

Josephine

he invasion of Ukraine ear lier this year drew consider-able global attention to the that scrambled data from the computer systems of companies in more than 60 countries. These spanned industries from energy to shipping, forcing many of them to shut down operations for several days. The White House estimated that the NotPetya malware ultimately caused more than \$10bn in damage and later referred to it as "the most destruc tive and costly cyber attack in history

many different countries, including the US, and pointed out that in previous insurance disputes about whether events such as plane hijackings or missile attacks were covered by insurance, the question of whether a sovereign power or military was behind the inci-dent was usually crucial to determining whether something was war or not.

from their coverage because the war exclusion "applied only to traditional forms of warfare". It was a significant victory for the company but it may not be a long-lived one for others that fall victim to state-sponsored cyber attacks

Earlier this month, Lloyd's of London issued a bulletin noting that, "when writing cyber attack risks, underwriters

commonplace that it insurers start refusing to cover them at the same time as governments continue ramping up their cyber capabilities, then companies won't buy these insurance policies. Not only will this mean that compa-nies end up less able to recover finan-cially from cyber attacks but it may also make them more likely. There is con-cern that companies deciding not to buy

commonplace that if insurers start

https://digital.olivesoftware.com/olive/odn/ftasia/printpages.aspx?doc=FTA%2F2022%2F08%2F30&ts=20220829192831&uq=20220804103507

possibility that Russia might combine its physical attacks on the country with cyber attacks aimed at weakening critical infrastructure and information systems. Russia has had limited success tems. Russia has had imitted success, so far, in using such cyber attacks against Ukraine, but that hasn't stopped those insurance companies that sell cyber-in-surance policies from worrying that this could cost them billions of dollars — not only in Ukraine, but also in countries such as the US and the UK, where most

cyber-insurance policies are sold.

They have good reason to be worried:
Russian cyber attacks have already cost insurers a great deal of money. Russia and its government has been widely blamed for the 2017 NotPetya attack

In the attermath of NotPetya, some insurers denied claims for the resulting costs, on the grounds that the attack was costs, on the grounds that the attack was a 'warlike act' because a government was behind it. Since many insurance policies exclude coverage for acts of war, the insurers reasoned that this same exclusion should apply to acts of cyber war or state-sponsored cyber attacks.

On these grounds, Zurich denied a \$100mn claim by multinational food company Mondelez, and a group of more than 20 insurers denied \$1.40n in Nettonia sold deline free puberma.

NotPetya-related claims from pharma ceutical company Merck.

Both Mondelez and Merck then sued

their respective insurers. The insurers argued that the attack had been attrib-uted to the Russian government by

After NotPetya, some firms denied claims on the grounds that the attack was a 'warlike act'

Meanwhile, Mondelez and Merck dis-Meanwhile, Mondelez and Merck dis-puted that NotPetya was a "warlike action" and Merck further noted that it is not certain Russia was behind the attack, given the difficulties of defini-tively attributing cyber attacks to a par-

uvery attributing cyber attacks to a par-ticular perpetrator.

The Mondelez case is still pending, but Merck won its case in December, when a New Jersey court found that the insurers could not exclude NotPetya

need to take account of the possibility that state backed attacks may occur outside of a war involving physical force. Since the Merch ruling suggests that these attacks may not be considered sufficiently "warlike" to fall under existing war exclusions, the Lloyd's bulletin requires underwriters to start explicitly excluding certain types of state-backed cyber attacks from their coverage, especially attacks that "significantly impair the ability of a state to function" or "that significantly impair the security capabilities of a state." These new exclusions may help insurers to lower costs in the short term, but they will be bad for the cyber insurance

they will be bad for the cyber-insurance market in the long term. State-sponsored cyber attacks are now so cyber-insurance may also take lewer security precautions to protect their own data and networks because they no longer have to meet the requirements of their insurers.

urers must understand that no one Insurers must understand that no one will want to buy (increasingly expensive) policies that don't cover attacks by some of the most sophisticated and active online adversaries. By only excluding from their coverage those cyber attacks that occur in the context of wars involving physical force, insur-ers can both better protect their policy-holders and also their own business in a world now constantly on alert.

The writer is a professor at Tufts and author of 'Cybersecurity Policy

eign acquisitions. Others argue the government should go further in taking powers to block foreign acquisitions of companies with special importance for the UK economy. That would involve greater involvement by ministers and the politicisation of merger control—an outcome that should not have much appeal for the heirs of thatcher.

True, the current trend in the US and the EU is towards more interventionist industrial policies, with subsidies for strategic industries and stricter curbs on takeovers. It does not follow that the

ers. It does not follow that the UK should move in the same direction

The writer, a former FT editor, is head of industrial policy at Policy Exchange, a

FINANCIAL TIMES

Interest rates: small fried



Twitter: @FTLex

Electric vehicles: California goals

California last week set an ambitious target: all new cars sold by 2035 must

target. all new cars sold by 2035 must generate no greenhouse gas emissions. The UK has already adopted this worthy goal. The EU is seeking to follow suit. But America's love affair with gas-guzzling vehicles runs deep. The move from the Golden State is punchy by US standards. Electric vehicles made up 15.1 percent of new car sales in the state in the first half of this year, according to the California New Car Dealers Association. Add plug-in hybrids and the total is close to 18 per cent. To get on track with the new target, sales must reach 35 per cent in the next two years.

sales must reach 35 per cent in the next two years.

This is not the first time California has set stretching emissions hurdles. Not all have been met. In the mid-90s, the state walked back a requirement that 2 per cent of cars sold be EVs – then set even tougher goals.

California has the highest proportion of EV sales in the US, with more than a third of the market. The California Energy Commission estimates the state also has the most extensive public charging infrastructure.

Rising petrol prices and tax credits could spur consumers thinking of making the switch. Tesla's Model Y is the state's most popular EV, suggesting the company stands to benefit most. Traditional carmakers hope to steal market share. Ford is a smaller EV maker but a more familiar brand for consumers.

consumers.

Price and availability are obstacles.

EVs are more expensive than the
average car. Experts had projected that
the gap would narrow. Instead, it may
grow. Prices for lithium used in
batteries are down from their March high point, but remain four times higher than last year.

As material prices rise, costs are assed on to consumers. Tesla increased its own prices 5 per cent in March. Ford has lifted prices for its Mustang Mach-E range by up to \$8,000, blaming "market conditions". US companies are competing for materials with Chinese carmakers,

which are scaling up their own

BYD, China's biggest electric vehicle maker, reported that sales tripled year

on year in July. But Ford has already signed deals with a number of mining

groups.
Only companies able to sustain and increase production will benefit from California's phaseout plan.

Prada: Milan, darling, Milan

On the first Thursday of each month, fans join the digital queue for the Crypted event on the Prada website. They bid on bespoke clothing and matching non-fungible tokens. But the future is a sideshow to a strategy of reconnecting with its past. Prada wants to broaden its investor base. It is considering a second listing to raise at least 5th in firesh capital in Milan. The group opened its first shop there in 1915.

Milan. The group opened its first shop there in 1913.

Asian capital lured the maker of the handbags and bucket hats to Hong Kong for its 2011 initial public offering. European brands were rushing to exploit the ballooning wealth of Asians. That was before the pandemic narrowed the price premium enjoyed by luxury brands in the region. This has fallen from 80 per cent a few years ago to an average of 30 per cent.

XI Jinping's drive for "common prosperity" has meanwhile pushed consumers to think twice before flaunting wealth.

Listing in Europe would align Prada with the group's local heritage. Miuccale Prada and her husband and co-chief, Patrizio Bertelli, control the

Miuccia Prada and her husband and co-chief, Patrizio Bertelli, control the business via an 80 per cent stake. Lifting the velvet rope for more US and European investors must seem natural for a company whose 22 per cent sales rise in the first half of 2022 leaned on gains in Europe. The Milan quote might, however, test the durability of a price premium to the likes of LVMH and Ferragamo. Prada is a valued stock in Hong Kong partly because its cachet and sales in Asia are higher than for

comparable European luxury brands. The shares trade on a trailing earnings multiple of 36 times compared with 25 times for LVMH and 28 times for Ferragamo, according to Refinitiv. Prada should only come to market in Milan if it can do so without diluting multiples. Shares are a

Higher rates will impose the worst stresses on businesses that endured tough times during the pandemic, most in the tourism and travel sectors. Lex calculations show that interest cover for many SAP 500 groups falls bel



FT graphic Sources: S&P Capital IQ; FT Research

US interest rates are at their highest level since the financial crisis. In recent months, the inflation-fighting US Federal Reserve has hiked the cost of money as much as it did in a span of a few years. The hawkish tone of the central bank at the Jackson Hole meeting is taking steam out of a premature rally in US stocks. Higher rates would hurt most for companies whose balance sheets ballooned during the long period of low rates. High energy prices and supply chain disruption will compound the problem. A stagflationary scenario of rising prices, higher interest rates and slowing growth represents the worst of all possible outcomes in the worst of all possible worlds. The resilience

of one-fifth of non-financial S&P 500 companies would be tested, according to a Lex data screening. Companies hardest hit during the pandemic, such as cruise operator Carnival, American Afrilnes and casino group Caesars Entertainment, are all in the danger zone again. The findings mirror a screening of European companies. Here, interest cover for one-fifth of big listed companies would fail below two times operating profits. We assumed interest costs would rise by half and earnings fall a quarter from current forecasts. Free money handed out during the pandemic — with the enthusiastic assistance of Wall Street — would cushion balance sheets, however.

cushion balance sheets, he American Airlines migh ight not be able

to cover its interest payments from earnings. But \$12bn of cash and equivalents represents five years of interest cover, even after adjusting for higher rates.

Carnival is in a similar boat. The cruise line has enough cash to meet interest payments for more than four years at past rates. Its rival, Royal Caribbean, meanwhile can only cover last year's interest charge 1.5 times with cash on hand.

Smaller businesses are at greatest risk. A stress testing of \$8P 400 mid-caps found a quarter would fall below to times interest cover in our severe scenario. Available liquidity was also lower as a share of current assets.

The little guys always end up carrying the depreciating buck.

different proposition to the Prada digital time capsules listed at prices of over \$4mn on NFT websites.

Honda/LG: friends electric

So much for the unshakeable supplier relationships that supposedly characterise Japanese industry. Honda is collaborating with South Korea's LG is collaborating with South Korea's LG to build a \$4.4bn battery plant in the US. The tie-up is the latest sign that Panasonic is losing its position as a key supplier to Japanese carmakers. The partners would start building

the new lithium-ion electric car battery plant early next year. Mass production would begin by the end of 2025. Ohio,

home to Honda's main US factory, would reportedly be the site. Panasonic might superficially seem the easier pick for Honda's battery partner. The pair have been involved in research for years. The two formed a joint venture company in Indonesia four years ago. Their local ties are mirrored by those of LG Energy Solution 19. South Korea; it supplies all mirrored by those of LG Energy Solution. In South Korea, it supplies all carmakers including Hyundai, Kia and Edison Motors.

Panasonic and LG meanwhile rub shoulders as Tesla's main battery suppliers. But LG has a more diversified client base — including Porsche, Ford, Volkswagen and General Motors — and the experience that comes with that. In Japan, it has won over Nissan and Isuzu, the largest commercial vehicle maker.

Honda shares are up a tenth this year. It has revealed an unexpectedly aggressive push into the electric market. The group plans to roll out 30 electric models and produce about 2mn units a year by 2030. It wants to phase out petrol cars by 2040. For Honda, the US accounts for nearly a third of sales. A stable supply chain in the region is critical. President Joe Biden this month signed a bill excluding electric cars assembled outside North America from receiving tax credits. tax credits

Honda's stock, at 7 times forward earnings, has long suffered a discount to much larger rival Toyota. But when it comes to electric vehicles, Toyota is just as far behind. The tie-in with LG will help give Honda the edge in the battle for battery supplies.

BlackBock/ESG: Texas scold 'em

Texas scold 'em

It is a case of virtue signals crossed. The State of Texas recently published a "blacklist" of investment companies. It accuses them of boycotting the fossil fuel industry via policies with environmental, social and governance aims. Texas public bodies, notably pension funds, could divest their shares in nine listed Buropean investment firms as well as BlackRock Welcome to the world of ethical doublethink. The \$10m asset manager is emblematic of this. It is the favourte punch bag of seeptics and zealost of the ESG cause. Target investment groups have two ripostes. The first, that boycotts are counterproductive, is implict self-criticism. The second is that values driven investing is economically rational. Climate change, for example, is an inexorable trend that is creating investment opportunities. As for legacy oil and gas groups, they are furtously positioning themselves for clean energy transition, even if current cash flow comes from dirty origins. The Texas blacklist appears largely symbolic. The state may sell modest equity stakes in the managers. But its more meaningful investments are in funds run by them. These would remain unaffected. This manufactured dust-up may leave each side happy with their own selective victimhood. Previously, West Virginia banned five wall street lenders from state contracts, accusing the likes of JPMorgan and Goldman Sacks of engaging in a

Wall Street lenders from state contracts, accusing the likes of JPMorgan and Goldman Sachs of engaging in a "boycott of energy companies". Several institutions sent letters quantifying the millions still committed to fossil fuel.

Banks have taken a genuinely hard

line with firearms makers. Another Texas law forced such institutions out of underwriting municipal bonds in the gun-loving Lone Star State. Academic research shows that Texas, by relying on a smaller group of banks, could pay perhaps \$500mn of additional interest on \$32bn in municipal debt issuance. Social conservatism thus happily

cohabits with financial flexibility. Wall Street, always ahead, rarely lets any value surpass that of the dollar.

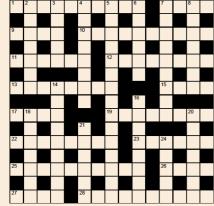


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CROSSWORD

No 17,186 Set by JASON



(4)
7 Yes, solid prop, we hear, is unerring (4)
9 50% drop in fatigue in church's recess

10 Fuel spontaneous and boastful

blabber (7,3)

11 Developing begonias without, eg, reducing art? (6)

12 One's blown fashionable Bordeaux bottles (8)

botfles (8)
13 Corresponding with latitude (8)
15 Irish broadcaster maintaining old learning technique (4)
17 Swanky hotel withdrawing advantage

It awains note wintor awing advantage (4)

9 Apprentices left with those making a crust? (8)

22 Expression of appreciation forced out about something pocketed (5,3)

23 Keep nothing back being jolly in Paris, perhaps (3,3)

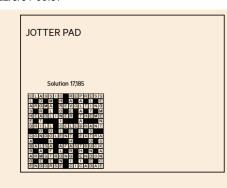
25 John, say, given least arrangementonversion (10)

26 Item of state appare! York returned (4)

27 Give up some plerced earrings (4)

28 Toy with sink as a place for rinsing? (6,4)





Greek jar (7)
3 Choppers spending an hour carrying vessels (5)
4 Working Libs seen having both feet on the ground? (8)
5 Deception caused by sharp look? (7,8)
6 Cutting a National plaid (6)
7 Continue dealing with slice of toast of the continue dealing with slice of the continue deali

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