

# FINANCIAL TIMES

WEDNESDAY 28 SEPTEMBER 2022

INTERNATIONAL NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

ASIA



## Why the strength of the dollar matters

MARTIN WOLF, PAGE 17

## Truss finds that UK cannot act like the US

JANAN GANESH, PAGE 17

## Sabotage fears as Russian gas pipelines suffer series of leaks

- Nordic states say accident unlikely
- Ruptures cause 1km-wide bubble

RICHARD MILNE — OSLO  
DAVID SHEPPARD — LONDON  
GUY CHAZAN — BERLIN

Suspicious leaks on two Russian gas pipelines in the Baltic Sea are likely to be the result of sabotage, Danish, German and Polish officials have warned, heightening concerns over the vulnerability of Europe's energy infrastructure.

Denmark's prime minister Mette Frederiksen said sabotage could not be ruled out as the cause of the leaks in the Nord Stream 1 and 2 pipelines, which have been at the centre of the energy crisis between Russia and Europe.

"There are three leaks, and therefore it is difficult to imagine that it could be accidental," she said.

German officials said the sudden loss of pressure in both pipelines could be the result of a "targeted attack". They added that Russia's involvement could "not be excluded", but said Germany was not involved in the investigation being run by Denmark and Sweden.

The leaks come as Russian gas supplies to Europe have dwindled as part of President Vladimir Putin's efforts to deter support for Ukraine. The leaks, which will not directly hit Russian gas flows because the pipelines were not operating, coincide with the inauguration of a pipeline that will deliver Norwegian gas through Denmark to Poland for the first time.

"We see clearly that it's an act of sabotage, related to the next step of escalation of the situation in Ukraine," Polish premier Mateusz Morawiecki said.

Mykhailo Podolyak, adviser to Ukraine's president Volodymyr Zelenskyy, said on Twitter: "Gas leak from NS-1 is nothing more than a terrorist

attack planned by Russia and an act of aggression towards EU. Russia wants to destabilise economic situation in Europe."

Asked if sabotage was the cause of the leak, Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov told reporters "no version can be excluded now", the Russian agency Interfax reported. "Obviously the pipe has been damaged somehow," he said.

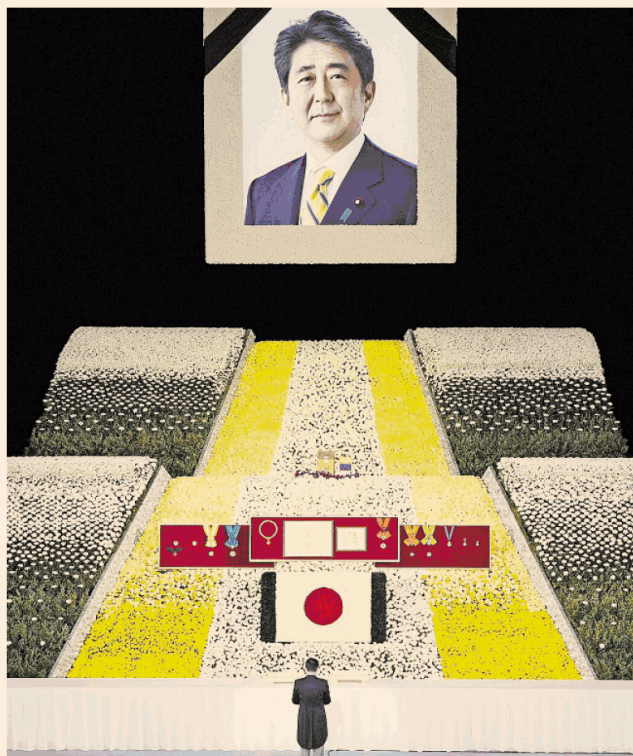
Sweden's maritime administration reported two leaks in the Russian Nord Stream 1's pipelines close to the Danish island of Bornholm in the Baltic Sea. That report came hours after Denmark's energy agency said there was a separate leak, also close to Bornholm, on the Nord Stream 2 pipeline — which Germany effectively cancelled shortly before Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

Nord Stream 2 had been filled with gas by Russia at the end of last year in preparation for its planned start-up, while Nord Stream 1 was transporting gas to Germany as recently as the start of this month.

Danish authorities said the gas bubbles in the Baltic Sea measured about 1km in diameter. Sweden and Denmark warned ships to avoid the area. Sweden's National Seismology Centre said it had detected two powerful blasts the day before in the area of the gas leaks. "There is no doubt that these were explosions," Björn Lund, a member of the seismic network, told Sweden's state broadcaster SVT.

Terje Aasland, Norway's oil and energy minister, said that as the leaks looked like sabotage the Nordic country was paying close attention to security, on the day that it opened a new gas pipeline to Poland.

## Abe honoured More than 4,000 dignitaries attend state funeral for assassinated premier



Kyodo News/Getty Images

Japan's prime minister Fumio Kishida stands before a large portrait of Shinzo Abe, one of his predecessors who was assassinated in July, as he delivers a eulogy at the state funeral in Tokyo yesterday.

During the ceremony at the Budokan arena, Kishida spoke before more than 4,000 guests including world leaders, Japanese politicians, business figures and some of the

imperial family. Foreign dignitaries included US vice-president Kamala Harris, India's premier Narendra Modi, Australia's prime minister Anthony Albanese and UK foreign secretary James Cleverly.

After a period of public grief following Abe's murder at the age of 67, the government's decision to hold an \$11m funeral sparked an outcry and a sharp fall in popularity for Kishida.

Demonstrators marched on Japan's parliament to protest against the state funeral, while tens of thousands of supporters queued nearby to honour Japan's longest-serving leader.

Abe was renowned for both his stimulus programme, dubbed Abenomics, as well as his hawkish opinions on reforming the country's pacifist constitution.

Parliament protest page 4

### Briefing

► **China falls behind Asia**  
The World Bank has forecast that economic output will lag behind the rest of the continent for the first time since 1990, as Covid policies take their toll. — PAGE 4;  
BIG READ: CHINA VACUUM, PAGE 15

► **Yellen defends green push**  
Treasury secretary Janet Yellen has defended the \$370bn in incentives passed by Congress, saying the US needed to speed up the green transition. — PAGE 2

► **Glencore in copper crisis**  
A liquidity crisis at Malte Metals International, its largest partner for selling refined copper in the Chinese market, has caused disruption at the miner. — PAGE 8

► **Crypto baron 'not hiding'**  
Do Kwon, co-founder of collapsed Terraform Labs, has broken his silence after Interpol issued an arrest notice against him. He said he was in his living room. — PAGE 6

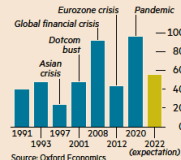
► **Nasa strikes asteroid**  
A spacecraft has hit an asteroid in a test of technology that could divert a space rock to prevent a cataclysmic impact on Earth. — PAGE 3; ANJANA AHUJA, PAGE 16

► **Nigeria rates hit record**  
The central bank has raised interest rates to 15.5 per cent as it struggles to contain a surge in inflation that has seen fuel and food prices soar. — PAGE 3

### Datawatch

#### World under stress

% of advanced economies in recession



The world looks set to narrowly avoid a recession next year. Less than half of big economies typically suffer recession in stress periods, roughly the same share as expected for 2022-23. Exceptions have been the financial crisis and pandemic.



### Draft dodging puts Putin in a bind over Ukraine war

Analysis ► PAGE 3

Australia	A\$7000 (inc GST)
China	RMB80
Hong Kong	HK\$33
India	Rs220
Indonesia	Rp45000
Japan	¥55000 (inc JCT)
Korea	₩500
Malaysia	RM150
Pakistan	Rupee 350
Philippines	Peso 140
Singapore	S\$5.8000 (inc GST)
Taiwan	NT\$40
Thailand	Bht140
Vietnam	US\$4.50

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## Tax the rich more to help victims of energy crisis, says ECB chief economist

MARTIN ARNOLD — FRANKFURT

The European Central Bank's chief economist has called on eurozone governments to tax rich people and companies more to finance support for those hit hardest by the energy crisis.

Philip Lane said that funding for policies to help the most vulnerable groups in society "could take the form of higher taxes on higher earners or on industries and firms that are highly profitable in spite of the energy shock".

Lane's remarks were published after the UK government's budget, which included a tax cut for the highest earners and triggered a bond sell-off and sharp depreciation of the pound.

The UK and EU member states have unveiled fiscal support for households and businesses to deal with soaring energy prices. However, after present-

ing plans for a £150bn energy price cap, the UK also unveiled £45bn of tax cuts — mainly for those earning more than £150,000 — funded by extra borrowing.

Investors globally are increasingly concerned that monetary policy and fiscal policy are out of sync. Central banks worry that expensive government support measures will lead to greater inflation, forcing them to raise rates higher.

Lane said governments faced a trade-off in choosing how to finance measures to support those hit hardest by the crisis created by Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which has drastically cut Moscow's supply of natural gas and oil to Europe.

"If you support those in need through higher taxes, it has less of an effect on inflation than if you increase deficits," he told the Austrian newspaper Der Standard, giving more detailed advice than is usually provided by the

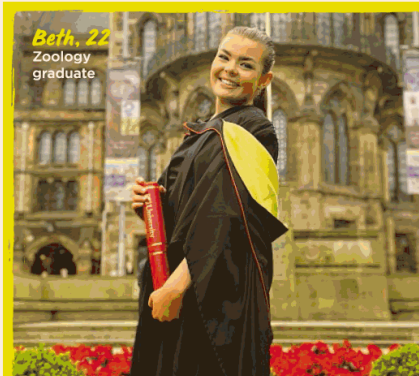
central bank to politicians on tax policy. Lane's comments support the EU's plan to raise €140bn from a levy on excess profits in the energy sector to spend on measures cushioning the blow of high prices, to be discussed by policymakers on Friday. The EU has not, however, advocated higher taxes for wealthier citizens.

"From the point of view of fairness, but also from a macroeconomic perspective, governments should support the income and consumption of those households and firms that are suffering the most," said Lane. "The big question is whether part of this support ought to be financed by tax increases for those that are better off."

BOE eyes action page 2  
Airlines attack UK leadership page 6  
Oxy profits page 10  
Lex page 18

### World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS					
	27	27	Prev	Pair	27	27	Prev	Yield (%)	27	27	Chg		
S&P 500	3654.58	3655.04	-0.01	\$/€	0.962	0.965	6/5	1.039	1.036	US 2 yr	4.30	4.29	0.02
Nasdaq Composite	10843.23	10802.92	-0.37	\$/£	1.078	1.079	£/\$	0.928	0.927	US 10 yr	3.96	3.80	0.16
Dow Jones Ind	32717.48	32590.81	-0.15	€/¥	0.893	0.894	6/2	1.120	1.118	US 30 yr	3.81	3.68	0.15
FTSE100	1539.06	1540.75	-0.11	¥/\$	144.736	144.355	W/E	139.250	139.281	UK 2 yr	4.65	4.52	0.13
Euro Stoxx 50	3333.55	3342.56	-0.27	W/E	155.953	155.773	£ index	74.097	74.532	UK 10 yr	4.50	4.26	0.25
FTSE 100	6984.59	7020.95	-0.52	\$/¥	0.952	0.956	\$/¥	1.066	1.069	UK 30 yr	4.98	4.56	0.42
FTSE All-Share	3810.44	3841.45	-0.81							JPN 2 yr	-0.05	-0.05	0.00
CAC 40	5753.62	5768.39	-0.27							JPN 10 yr	0.25	0.25	0.00
Xetra Dax	12139.68	12227.92	-0.72							JPN 30 yr	1.43	1.38	0.05
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Nikkei	26571.87	26431.55	0.5
Hang Seng	17860.31	17855.14	0.0
MSCI World \$	2408.44	2438.50	-1.2
MSCI EM \$	888.58	905.84	-1.9
MSCI ACWI \$	560.43	567.86	-1.3
FT Wilshire 2500	4747.22	4800.88	-1.1
FT Wilshire 5000	37064.71	37485.50	-1.1

GER 2 yr	1.96	1.93	0.03
GER 10 yr	2.23	2.11	0.12
GER 30 yr	2.08	1.94	0.15

Prices are latest for edition	
Data provided by Bloomberg	

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FINANCIAL TIMES

Wednesday 28 September 2022

## INTERNATIONAL

## Currency slide

## UK central bank eyes action on pound

Chief economist notes market turmoil but rejects call for emergency move

DELPHINE STRAUSS — LONDON

The UK government's loosening of fiscal policy "will require a significant monetary response", the Bank of England's chief economist has said, while signalling the central bank did not expect to act before its next scheduled meeting in November.

Speaking a day after sterling hit an all-time low against the dollar, Huw Pill said the Monetary Policy Committee was "certainly not indifferent" to the sell-off in sterling and gilt markets sparked by chancellor Kwasi Kwarteng's announcement last week of big unfunded tax cuts.

Pill highlighted the combined effect of the government's new fiscal stance, "significant"

reaction in the markets and the broader context of rising interest rates in other countries. "All this will require a significant monetary response," he said.

But Pill, speaking at a conference in London, pushed back against calls from some investors for an emergency interest rate rise to shore up the currency and restore confidence in the UK's macro-economic outlook.

He said the best time to carry out a "necessarily comprehensive assessment" of not just fiscal policy but also energy and labour market developments would be when the BoE updates its forecasts alongside its November decision on interest rates.

In the meantime, policymakers' ability to reassure markets would rely on the "essential stability and credibility" of the UK's macroeconomic framework, he said.

In an implicit criticism of Kwarteng's initial decision to publish fiscal plans without the usual procedures for a Budget, Pill added that it was helpful HM Treasury had now set a clear timetable to clarify the government's fiscal rules and submit to external scrutiny by the Office for Budget Responsibility.

"In my view, the combination of fiscal announcements we've seen will act as a stimulus to demand," said Pill, noting this did not necessarily represent the view of the other eight MPC members.

Pill said that when the BoE last published forecasts for the UK economy in August, they had shown the economy falling into a prolonged recession, partly because the government had yet to set out measures to protect households and businesses from higher energy prices.

This had left UK policymakers facing an acutely difficult trade-off because aggressive action to curb inflation

The BoE is concerned about persistent inflation and is prepared to raise interest rates

would mean a severe downturn, he said. Now that the government had set out fiscal plans that would support household incomes, "that has freed monetary policy to do its job," said Pill, adding: "That freedom will have to be used."

While the government is focused on generating growth, the BoE is concerned about persistent inflation and is prepared to raise interest rates to restrain demand and slow price rises. Pill said the bank had to be "prepared to take unpopular decisions, if necessary".

The pound was up 0.6 per cent in afternoon trading in London at \$1.075, trimming larger gains earlier in the session. Sterling has fallen about 20 per cent against the US currency this year and is near its lowest levels since 1985.

Markets were pricing in a 1.5 percentage point increase by the MPC to 3.75 per cent in November.

Martin Wolf sees Opinion

## Europe. Energy security

## France resists Spanish gas hub strategy

Paris has opposed a revived

Pyrenees pipeline plan despite

Berlin's enthusiastic backing

BARNEY JOHNSON — MADRID  
LEILA ABOUD — PARIS

Europe's urgent search for alternatives to Russian gas has provoked a stand-off across the Pyrenees as a Spanish quest to dig a pipeline through the mountains is stymied by French scepticism.

Spain is reigniting its ambition to become western Europe's new hub for gas imported from beyond the continent as the flow of Russian gas to the region through pipelines such as Nord Stream 1 dwindles. Key to its hopes is laying the MidCat pipeline that could carry 7bn cubic metres (bcm) of gas a year, equal to about a fifth of Spain's annual consumption, from Catalonia to south-west France.

But French president Emmanuel Macron voiced opposition to the multi-million-euro project this month, saying an argument that it would alleviate Europe's gas problems was "factually false".

Whether Spain can find enough allies to best French resistance will help shape the identity of Europe's new energy gatekeepers, as the continent's power map is redrawn amid rationing warnings and rising household energy bills.

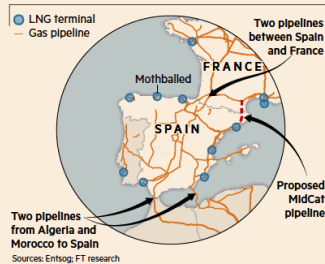
Teresa Ribera, Spain's energy and environment minister, said it was premature to write off the pipeline. "It is a conversation that goes beyond the bilateral relationship between Spain and France. These are not questions of shared infrastructure between two countries. There is a bigger picture that needs to be considered," she said.

Spain, which has long lamented being an "energy island" due to its poor connections with France, has Germany's backing. Europe's largest economy badly needs to replace Russian gas and could import fuel from Spain with some improvements to France's network. Olaf Scholz, German chancellor, last month said he strongly backs the link.

The 100km Spanish section of the MidCat pipeline would cost €375m and be built by Enagás, the national gas grid operator, which has two links to France



with a capacity of 8.5 bcm. Paris says the project and associated upgrades would cost at least €3bn. Ribera acknowledged MidCat could not ease the winter woes expected in Europe this year but said it



could be completed by autumn 2023. Paris believes it would take longer. Spain argues that MidCat should be paid for by EU funds. Brussels is trying to move from financing fossil fuel infrastructure but Madrid says the link could be able to carry hydrogen from 2030, an EU priority fuel against climate change and an area where France and Spain are set to compete as producers.

Although Spain is also a force in wind and solar power, and Ribera in 2018 scolded those who thought gas use could continue indefinitely, the war in Ukraine has shaken up Madrid's priorities. Spain produces little gas of its own but is eager to use billions of euros of infrastructure built since the 1980s. The system daily ingests gas from Algeria, Nigeria, Qatar and the US, plus some from Russia still, via two pipeline links to north Africa and six facilities that combine liquefied natural gas terminals and plants that turn LNG back into gas.

Expansion: Teresa Ribera last week in the Basque region at a natural gas pipe connecting Spain and France

Vincent West/Reuters

The 60 bcm a year those facilities can handle accounts for a third of EU re-gasification capacity, Enagás says.

Last week, as she announced a modest increase in the gas that could be sent via an existing Basque pipeline, Ribera said: "We want to contribute, because we can, to the security of supply in Europe and of our neighbours."

Macron does not agree. After meeting Scholz, he said France supported the idea of European energy solidarity but dismissed the pipeline as economically and environmentally unworkable.

"I do not understand why we would jump around like Pyrenees goats on this topic to claim this would solve the gas problem," Macron said, paraphrasing former president Charles de Gaulle.

He added that the two existing pipelines were not even being fully utilised, capacity use was only 53 per cent since February 2022, and that last month France had exported gas to Spain. Enagás said that since the start of the war in Ukraine, Spain had exported gas to France on about 70 per cent of days.

Separately, French officials have questioned whether it is wise to invest in gas infrastructure when the country relies on nuclear energy for most of its electricity and needs to invest massively to catch up in renewables.

The idea of MidCat has been around for about 15 years but it appeared to have been killed in 2019 when French and Spanish regulators said the project did not meet market needs and was too costly.

But Arturo Gonzalo Aizpuri, Enagás's chief executive, said supply risks and the gas price rise, now 12 times higher than three years ago, plus the EU bet on hydrogen have changed things.

Thierry Bros, an energy expert at Sciences Po Paris, said: "The Germans did not correctly manage their gas or electricity networks. The Spanish built too many LNG terminals. I don't see why France taxpayers should pay for mistakes made by Spain and Germany."

## GLOBAL INSIGHT

## FRANKFURT

Martin Arnold



## Policies to minimise inflation's bite risk longer-term problems

Caps on electricity bills, fuel rebates and cheap public transport tickets are just some of the ways European governments are trying to cushion the impact of surging energy prices.

While these policies will lower prices in the short term, the region's central bankers worry they risk boosting demand and forcing interest rates to go even higher in the longer term.

Tensions between governments and central banks are flaring. There is, as Dario Perkins, an economist at research group TS Lombard, put it, "a tug of war between fiscal and monetary policy".

"Central banks want to squeeze demand but governments want to support incomes," he said.

Since Russia's invasion of Ukraine, energy prices in the region have soared. The European Central Bank has raised interest rates at an unprecedented pace in response, aiming to suppress demand to bring eurozone inflation down from its all-time highs of more than quadruple its 2 per cent target, even if it means exacerbating a potential recession this winter.

At the same time, euro area governments are promising extra fiscal support, which Allianz estimates has already cost taxpayers almost €500bn. If these fiscal measures are too generous or broad-based, they will boost consumers' spending power and undo the cooling effect on demand from higher rates, keeping inflation higher for longer.

The EU's plan to raise €140bn from a levy on excess profits in the energy sector to spend on measures cushioning the blow of high prices is likely to amplify this.

"The continuous fiscal efforts will make the ECB's job more tricky, as they will keep inflation stronger for longer, hence not getting inflation down as soon as anticipated," said Piet Haines Christiansen, chief strategist at Danske Bank.

In the UK, tensions are at boiling point. Chancellor Kwasi Kwarteng's new economic strategy, which includes a £150bn energy price cap and £45bn of tax cuts funded by extra borrowing, caused a sell-off in bond markets after investors judged it would lead to more inflation and require bigger rate rises by the Bank of England.

The BoE on Monday reminded everyone of its aim "to ensure that demand does not get ahead of supply in a way that leads to more inflation over the medium term". Economists have also said US president Joe Biden's \$700bn climate, health and tax bill is as likely to add to price pressure as reduce it, while his waiving of billions of dollars of student loans is expected to fuel more inflation.

The ECB, where fiscal policy is handled by 19 governments, has an extra worry. Higher government debt levels may raise the spectre of a debt crisis and deter it from raising rates as high as needed to tackle inflation. ECB president Christine Lagarde on Monday said any government support should be "temporary and targeted", which "limits the risk of fuelling inflationary pressure... [while] contributing to preserving debt sustainability".

This is a new situation for Lagarde, who repeatedly praised the "strong and co-ordinated" approach of fiscal and monetary policy during the pandemic.

Some economists doubt governments will boost demand and enough to avert a sharp downturn, which will ease inflation. Silvia Ardragna, chief European economist at Barclays, said: "The extent of the current fiscal easing does not spare the euro area a recession and a cut in gas demand."

The question is whether fiscal support is spread too wide and therefore boosts the spending power of people who do not really need it. "It is all about distribution," said Jens Eisenschmidt, chief European economist at Morgan Stanley, who used to work at the ECB.

"If you are a taxi driver you probably don't have much extra savings," said Eisenschmidt. "Yet some of these fiscal policies, like fuel duty cuts, help everyone and that means they can stimulate demand too much."

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## US Treasury

## Yellen defends \$370bn climate and green power incentives

JAMES POLITI — CHAPEL HILL,  
NORTH CAROLINA  
MYLES MCCORMICK — NEW YORK

Janet Yellen yesterday defended the sweeping \$370bn in climate and clean energy incentives passed by Congress last month, saying the US economy needed strong government support to speed the transition to clean energy and compete internationally.

means coupling long-term incentives for private investment with regulation across key sectors in order to accelerate innovation and expand the productive capacity of the economy. And that's what the Biden economic plan delivers."

The legislation provides unprecedented incentives for investors and producers of wind and solar power over a 10-year horizon, as well as support for energy storage and hydrogen tech-

economy at the pace that is needed to meet our climate goals" and left the country "at risk of being left behind in the global competition for leadership of these low-carbon technologies and industries of the future."

Her comments came as Congress prepared to vote on proposals to overhaul the US's bureaucratic energy permits system. Clean energy executives have warned that unless the new laws are

politicisation of what they said should be a bipartisan priority.

"It seems to me this should not be a political issue," Pedro Azagra, chief executive of clean energy developer Avangrid, told the Financial Times. "Republicans are very keen on certain

'Like a large ship, the US economy requires



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The US Treasury secretary was speaking  
at a solar energy facility in North  
Carolina as part of a series of trips across  
the US to promote the Inflation Reduction  
Act – a package of measures core to  
Joe Biden's economic agenda and was  
passed last month after months of wran-  
gling among congressional Democrats.

While Republicans on Capitol Hill  
have attacked the plan for discouraging  
fossil fuel production at a time of high  
petrol prices, and unnecessarily boost-  
ing spending, Yellen said it was vital for  
the US economy to establish large-scale  
and long-term subsidies for clean  
energy.

"Like a large ship, the US economy  
requires a clear course to steer in the  
right direction," Yellen said. "This

energy shortage and hydrogen economy."

Yellen said that previous green energy  
tax incentives in the US "were not suffi-  
ciently strong to help transition the



Janet Yellen: climate change is a  
'threat to everyone on our planet'

renewable energy sources. The tax incentives will be much less  
effective, leaving the country short of  
Biden's emissions reduction targets.

The reform of permit legislation –  
which would speed up both renewable  
and fossil fuel projects – has been  
attached to a bill to avert a government  
shutdown, raising the stakes. But it faces  
heavy opposition from both Republi-  
cans and Democrats.

Joe Manchin, the West Virginia Dem-  
ocrat who put forward the bill, hit out at  
what he called "revenge politics" as po-  
liticians on both sides of the aisle looked  
to stymie it. Progressive Democrats  
have voiced concern that the bill will  
ease permits for new oil and gas pipeline  
projects.

Renewables bosses lamented the

clear course to steer  
in the right direction'

projects being done faster and we have  
the Democrats now [moving] in the  
same direction – probably because they  
realise otherwise their energy policy  
will not take place. This should be one  
example of people understanding each  
other."

During her remarks, Yellen warned  
that "unmitigated climate change"  
posed "an existential threat to everyone  
on our planet" and a "grave risk to the  
productive capacity of our economy  
while also impacting its stability" – in  
some of her most forceful comments on  
the subject.

Wednesday 28 September 2022

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FINANCIAL TIMES

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## INTERNATIONAL

# Russians prepared to run or hide from Putin's zealous military draft officials

Kremlin call-up has shattered the facade that has allowed life to continue as normal for the majority

MAX SEDDON — MOSCOW

Late on Sunday night, Ilya, a 38-year-old  
Muscovite, hobbled to his front door on  
crutches to find two officials handing  
him a draft notice.

Ilya pointed to the cast on the leg he  
broke falling down the stairs a few  
weeks earlier, refused to sign the papers,  
cursed the officials and slammed the  
door. "I told them: 'Why don't you go  
where the Russian warship went?'" Ilya  
said, referring to a cruiser that a Ukrain-  
ian serviceman told to "fuck off" at the  
start of Russia's invasion and that  
Ukraine later sank.

"What have Ukrainians done to me? I  
have a ton of friends there. What am I  
going to do, go and shoot at their rela-  
tives? Are they serious?"

Almost a week after President  
Vladimir Putin announced the "partial"  
mobilisation of army reservists to bol-  
ster his forces in Ukraine, tens of thou-  
sands of Russians are refusing to enlist  
in the biggest backlash against the  
Kremlin since the invasion began in  
February.

Only fit adult men with combat expe-  
rience are included but the Kremlin  
admitted on Monday that the draft had  
affected a much greater swath of the  
population than Putin had promised,  
shattering a carefully maintained  
facade that had allowed life for most  
Russians to carry on as normal.

The move has prompted some to  
refuse, others to protest and still more to  
flee the country, with flights sold out for  
days and long queues forming at Rus-  
sia's land border crossings.

No longer able to rely on Russians' tacit  
support or apathy, the Kremlin is  
faced with a dilemma. A further crack-  
down on society – where dissent about  
the war has been in essence outlawed  
since March – would risk undermining  
support for it further. But backtracking  
after Putin moved to annex four regions  
in south-eastern Ukraine and threat-  
ened the west with nuclear weapons  
could open space for more instability.

"They only know how to implement  
their ideas with violence. And violence,  
war and mobilisation weren't part of the  
social contract," said Andrei Koles-  
nikov, a fellow at the Carnegie Endow-  
ment for International Peace. "They are  
undermining their social support base  
of people who were indifferent and  
allowed to go on living their lives. This is  
a huge mistake."

The most striking protests against  
Putin's decree have been in Dagestan,  
an impoverished region in the north Cas-  
pian Mountains that has sent a dispro-  
portionate number to fight in Ukraine.

On Sunday and Monday, people in  
several cities in Dagestan chanted "No  
to war", blocked an important road and  
argued with officials. Footage posted on  
social media showed women scuffling  
with police officers, several violent  
detentions and apparent attacks on pro-  
testers by groups of thugs.

One doctor in the city of Makhachkala  
said patients had asked her for medical  
exemptions to avoid the draft. "On the  
day they announced mobilisation, eve-  
ryone started whispering in queues,  
shops and on the bus," she said. "There  
was already news – everyone had heard  
that someone they knew got drafted.  
Of course, people are upset."



Called up:  
recruits at a  
military centre  
in Bataysk,  
Rostov-on-Don,  
on Monday, as  
long queues  
formed at many  
borders, includ-  
ing with  
Georgia, below  
AP: The Insider via Reuters

The doctor, who spoke on condition of  
anonymity, said authorities had begun  
drafting medical workers in Dagestan,  
prompting some of her friends and rela-  
tives to flee to Kazakhstan. "We're going  
to hide and run away. We won't open the  
door, go to the draft office or take the  
notice. We've talked it all over."

There is also evidence officials are  
using draft notices as reprisals against  
people arrested for protesting against  
the war. Andrei, an 18-year-old student  
whose last name the Financial Times  
chose not to publish, was detained dur-  
ing a demonstration last week in central  
Moscow and taken to a police station.

After spending several hours there, at  
about 1am he and other young men

were told to head upstairs, where an  
official wrote out conscription notices.

They initially refused to sign but a  
police officer threatened them with  
being kept overnight and other reper-  
cussions. After seeing one young man  
sign and leave the station immediately,  
the others, including Andrei, followed  
suit. The FT has seen the copy of his con-  
scription notice.

Under Russian law, draftees must be  
handed their notices in person. The  
penalty for failing to obey a summons is  
a fine. The young men signed their draft  
notices but did not go to the office the  
next day, Andrei said. Moreover, as a  
student, he is supposed to have his mili-  
tary service obligation deferred.

"I don't fit the bill for mobilisation by  
any criteria," he said.

Many people have attempted to avoid  
the draft by fleeing the country amid  
widespread rumours Russia will pre-  
vent military-age men from leaving.

The Kremlin and the defence minis-  
try said on Monday that there were no  
plans to close the borders, a sign they  
were seeking to tame widespread public  
panic, and have blamed the anger on  
overzealous local authorities. On Sun-  
day, Vladimir Soloviev, a bellicose state  
television talking head, jokingly called  
on unscrupulous draft officials to be  
executed. Shortly after, one was shot in  
Ust-Ilimsk in eastern Siberia by a man  
reportedly angry a friend who did not  
meet the criteria had been enlisted.

'Everyone  
had heard  
that  
someone  
they knew  
got drafted.  
Of course,  
people are  
upset'

Some officials have called on Russia  
not to stop those who want to leave the  
country. "Let the rats who are running  
run. The ship will be ours, it's gaining  
strength and clearly moving towards its  
target," Ella Panfilova, Russia's election  
commissioner, said on Monday.

Officials at border stations in some  
airports and at the land border with  
Kazakhstan said they had been given  
lists of people who were forbidden to  
leave the country.

Alexander, a 33-year-old who works  
for a European company in Moscow,  
said that on Monday he was stopped  
from boarding a flight to Turkey with  
his girlfriend at the capital's Vnukovo  
airport. The FT has seen a copy of Alex-  
ander's exit ban.

"They were very polite. They told me  
the draft office is banning me from leav-  
ing Kazakhstan because of mobilisation,"  
even though he had never served in the  
military, Alexander said.

Lev, a 27-year-old who lives in subur-  
ban Moscow, quit his job and left home  
after officials put his draft notice in his  
mailbox. He said he had decided to  
avoid his registration address but stay in  
the country, fearful he would be caught  
at the border and handed a draft notice.

"Putin's 'special military operation'  
has just destroyed my life and my  
chances I had," he said. "And now he lit-  
erally wants to take my life away."

Additional reporting by Polina Ivanova in  
Berlin

## Mobilisation decree

# Kazakhstan and Georgia welcome exodus of young men

POLINA IVANOVA — BERLIN

Kazakhstan and Georgia will welcome  
Russians fleeing conscription, their  
governments said yesterday, as queues  
of thousands of mainly young men  
unwilling to fight in Ukraine built up on  
their borders.

The exodus, triggered by President  
Vladimir Putin's announcement last  
week of a wide-ranging mobilisation  
and by fears that Russia might shut its  
borders, poses challenges to all its  
neighbours, with some countries, such  
as Finland, taking steps to curb access.

But Kazakhstan's president said that  
keeping the country's doors open to  
Russians was a humanitarian issue, sig-  
nalling an indirect condemnation of  
Moscow's invasion of Ukraine as well as  
of its conscription laws by one of its close-  
est economic partners.

"In recent days, many people are  
arriving from Russia," said President  
Kassym-Jomart Tokayev. "Many of them  
have been forced to leave as they have  
no other way out of the situation. We  
must show them care, and ensure their  
safety. It is a political and a humanitar-  
ian question." Tokayev added that he  
would discuss the matter with Moscow.

Kazakhstan, which shares a border of  
more than 7,500km with Russia and has  
historically been one of its most reliable  
economic and political partners in the  
wider ex-Soviet region, has increasingly  
shown its disapproval of Moscow's war.

On Monday, Kazakhstan's foreign  
ministry said it would not recognise the  
possible annexation of occupied south  
and eastern Ukraine where Russia held  
referendums, which ended yesterday.

Kazakhstan also rebuffed suggestions  
it would extradite people to Russia if  
they got a call-up notice or were accused  
of evading conscription. "If the con-  
scription offices are looking for some-  
one, this is not a legal basis for extradi-  
tion," Kazakhstan's interior minister  
Marat Akhmetzhanov told news agency  
Kazinform yesterday.

Since Putin issued the mobilisation  
decree on September 21, about 98,000  
Russians have crossed into Kazakhstan,  
the ministry said. Russians do not need  
to obtain a visa to enter Kazakhstan or  
even carry their passports.

Videos on social media showed hun-  
dreds of Russians queuing outside reg-  
istration offices in Kazakh cities to apply  
for identification numbers that would  
allow them to open bank accounts.

But many have also used Kazakhstan  
as a transit route to other destinations,  
with more than 64,000 Russians leaving  
the country in the past six days, the inter-  
ior ministry added.

Roads out of Russia into Georgia have  
been crammed with cars and check-  
points swamped by those on foot or on  
bicycles. Georgia has already had a big  
influx of Russians since the invasion of  
Ukraine, causing tensions in a country  
which lost a fifth of its territory after a  
2008 invasion by Moscow.

But interior minister Vakhtang  
Gomelauri said yesterday the govern-  
ment saw no reason to close the border.  
He said the main crossing between the  
two countries had seen more than  
10,000 Russians pass through it every  
day in the past week, double the amount  
before the draft decree.

## West Africa

# Nigeria lifts rates to record high as prices surge

AANU ADEOYE — LAGOS

members disagreed about the scale of due to theft of an estimated 400,000

## Space

# Nasa hits asteroid in test deflection mission

CLIVE COOKSON — LONDON

The collision was observed by Licia

Nasa chose this target because it is



Nigeria's central bank has raised interest rates to an all-time high of 15.5 per cent as it struggles to contain a surge in inflation.

The bank increased its benchmark interest rate by 150 basis points – its third consecutive rate rise – to combat price pressures that have left citizens facing soaring costs for fuel and food.

Central bank governor Godwin Emele said after a two-day meeting that the committee could not rule out further tightening, adding that it was “imperative” to rein in price pressures.

“Inflation in the last four months has gone up aggressively. It is difficult for us to not go in the aggressive way we have today. This is the best option at this time,” Emele said.

Annual inflation in August was 20.5 per cent. Core inflation, which excludes volatile food and energy prices, is 17.2 per cent. The naira currency had weakened sharply to a fresh low against the US dollar ahead of the interest rate decision, threatening to raise the price of imported products further.

Emele said the decision to raise rates was unanimous but committee

tightening needed. Ten of the committee's 12 members voted to raise rates by 150bp, one voted to lift by 100bp and the other backed a 50bp increase.

Analysts had predicted a modest rise of between 50bp and 100bp.

Virág Fórtiz, Africa economist at Capital Economics, a research firm, said Nigeria's central bank was “reluctantly

**‘It is difficult for us to not go in the aggressive way we have today. This is the best option at this time’**

hawkish” and forecast a lowering of interest rates early next year.

Many economies are struggling because of the strength of the US dollar and the impact of higher US rates on global borrowing costs.

However, Nigeria's economic woes have been compounded by the lacklustre performance of its oil sector in 2022. Africa's most populous nation usually earns more than 80 per cent of its foreign currency from crude but has not benefited from rising oil prices this year

barrels per day, under-investment in infrastructure and the cost of fuel subsidies. Nigeria lost its crown as Africa's largest oil producer to Angola last month when it produced 1.1mn b/d of crude, far short of its Opec quota of 1.8mn b/d.

Low oil production has led to a scarcity of US dollars in its import-heavy economy. Imports have become more expensive as businesses raise prices to reflect the high cost of sourcing dollars from the black market, where it trades freely and is almost 50 per cent higher than the central bank's official exchange rate. The Nigerian currency has depreciated almost 25 per cent against the dollar on the black market since the start of the year.

Nigeria's decision comes amid soaring inflation across west Africa. Ghana is experiencing 33.9 per cent inflation, its highest since 2001, forcing its central bank to raise rates by 300bp to 22 per cent at an emergency meeting last month.

Economic insecurity will be a key issue as Nigeria goes to the polls to replace outgoing President Muhammad Buhari in February.

A Nasa spacecraft has smashed into an asteroid in a spectacular first test of deflection technology that could in future divert the path of an incoming space rock to prevent a cataclysmic collision with Earth.

As the 600kg DART projectile closed in on its target, Dimorphos, early yesterday, its camera sent back a spectacular series of images at a rate of one per second, until rocks, boulders and smooth ground became visible on the surface of the peanut-shaped asteroid.

Then came the moment of impact, right on target at 23,000kph, and the picture feed died. Scientists and engineers at mission headquarters at Johns Hopkins Applied Physics Laboratory in the US cheered and hugged each other.

“We are now embarking on a new era for humankind – an era in which we potentially have the ability to protect ourselves from a hazardous asteroid impact,” said Lori Glaze, Nasa planetary science director, after the test.

“Now is when the science really starts. Now that we have impacted, we’re going to see how effective we’ve been [at deflecting the asteroid].”

Cube, a small satellite made in Italy that had accompanied DART – or Double Asteroid Redirection Test – on its journey to Dimorphos 11mn kilometres from Earth. It separated from DART 15 days ago and flew past a few minutes after impact at a safe distance of 58km. LickCube will take longer to transmit its images back to Earth for analysis.

In the line of fire: Dimorphos, pictured by the DART spacecraft 11 seconds before impact



They are expected to show not only the impact site but also the resulting cloud of dust and gas, giving Dimorphos a temporary tail, similar to a comet.

But terrestrial telescopes will carry out the main job of assessing the effects of the collision over the next few weeks. The asteroid, about 160 metres in diameter, is too far from Earth to glean images in detail, though several telescopes saw a dust plume emerging after impact. They will now evaluate how much the impact shifted its path.

part of an unusual double asteroid. While orbiting the sun, Dimorphos also revolves around a larger partner called Didymos. A deflection in this local orbit is far easier to detect than a change of orbit around the Sun.

Dimorphos takes about 12 hours to travel around Didymos. Advance calculations suggest the impact will cut this time by 10 to 15 minutes. The decrease in its orbital time will provide critical information about the asteroid's texture – hard or soft, consolidated or crumbly. There was zero chance the impact could push the asteroid on to a path that threatened Earth, astronomers said.

In 2024 the European Space Agency will launch a probe called Hera to carry out a detailed post-impact survey of the binary asteroid system in 2026.

Surveys have convinced astronomers there is no risk over the next few centuries of Earth encountering anything as big as the 10km-wide asteroid that struck 66mn years ago and put an end to the dinosaurs. But there are thousands of smaller “near-Earth objects” that are uncharted – and capable of devastating vast regions of the planet.

Anjana Ahuja sees the FT View page

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FINANCIAL TIMES

Wednesday 28 September 2022

## INTERNATIONAL

## World Bank

## China's growth to fall behind rest of Asia

Covid curbs and property woes prompt downward revision of forecasts

EDWARD WHITE — SEOUL  
MERCEDES RUEHL — SINGAPORE

China's economic output will lag behind the rest of Asia for the first time since 1990, according to World Bank forecasts that highlight the damage wrought by President Xi Jinping's zero-Covid policies and the meltdown of the world's biggest property market.

The bank has revised down its forecast for gross domestic product growth for this year in the world's second-larg-

est economy to 2.8 per cent, compared with 8.1 per cent last year, and from its prediction in April of between 4 per cent and 5 per cent for 2022.

At the same time, expectations for the rest of east Asia and the Pacific have improved. The region, excluding China, is expected to grow 5.3 per cent in 2022, up from 2.6 per cent last year, thanks to high commodity prices and a rebound in domestic consumption after the coronavirus pandemic.

“China, which was leading the recovery from the pandemic, and largely shrugged off the Delta [Covid variant] difficulties, is now paying the economic cost of containing the disease in its most infectious manifestation,” Aaditya

Mattoo, the World Bank's chief economist for east Asia and the Pacific, told the Financial Times.

China had set a GDP target of about 5.5 per cent this year, which would have been a three-decade low. But the outlook has deteriorated markedly over the past six months. Xi's policy of relentlessly suppressing coronavirus outbreaks through snap lockdowns and mass testing has restricted mobility and sapped consumer activity just as China's property sector, which accounts for about 30 per cent of economic activity, suffers a historic collapse.

The Washington-based group's latest forecast follows a series of financial institutions, including Goldman Sachs

and Nomura, slashing their outlook for next year. The rise in pessimism is based on expectations that Xi will prolong his zero-Covid policy beyond this year.

Many economists and analysts had predicted Beijing would significantly increase stimulus measures in response to flagging economic growth, accelerating easing measures to boost consumption and help arrest the housing market downturn.

However, Mattoo said that while China had “immense ammunition to provide powerful stimulus”, it appeared Beijing had concluded that fiscal stimulus would be “emasculated” by the zero-Covid restrictions.

The data come against a backdrop of

broader concerns that Xi, who is set to secure an unprecedented third term as Communist party leader next month, is undoing the economic dynamism that began in Deng Xiaoping's reform era.

The World Bank also worried that the property slowdown represented a deep “structural” problem. To reduce the immediate risk of contagion from the property sector “turmoil”, the bank said Beijing needed to provide more liquidity support to distressed developers and financial guarantees for project completion. In the long term, however, fiscal reforms were needed to give local governments revenue sources beyond land sales, including a property tax.

China vacuum see FT Big Read

## US politics. Midterm elections

## Savvy campaign keeps Democrat in Senate race

Pennsylvania hopeful unable to hold rallies after illness turns to social media

KIRAN STACEY — WASHINGTON  
CAITLIN GILBERT — NEW YORK

John Fetterman looks off camera and pulls at the shoulders of his trademark hoodie before a series of images of the Democratic Senate candidate in his scruffy youth – all to the strains of “Teenage Dirtbag”.

To the ordinary TikTok viewer, this is just another in the viral trend of users making videos of their younger selves looking dishevelled while the 22-year-old hit single by Wheatus plays.

But for Fetterman, who is locked in one of this year's most competitive Senate races, it is part of a carefully orchestrated social media strategy that has involved spending \$12mn on communications consultancies alone.

Despite health problems that have stopped him campaigning in person, the innovative online playbook has helped to propel him into an early lead in Pennsylvania. “It is fun but this is also a deliberate strategy,” said Joe Calvello, Fetterman's head of communications. “We have a creative team which is willing to take risks and do things other campaigns might not.”

Fetterman, 53, leads his Republican opponent, the television doctor Mehmet Oz, by 4 percentage points in the polls, making Pennsylvania one of the tightest midterm races in the country, and potentially the one that could decide which party controls the Senate.

It is also the most expensive – both parties have flooded the state with money since the start of the campaign. Fetterman is already an unlikely candidate. He is 6ft 8in tall, with a bald head, goatee beard, tattooed arms and a reputation for blunt speaking. He espouses progressive causes such as legalising cannabis but has also built a blue-collar base of support by focusing on regenerating communities such as his home town of Braddock, where he worked as mayor for 13 years.

His team already wanted to make his campaign days unconventional as the candidate. But when Fetterman suffered a stroke just days before winning the Democratic primary, leaving him un-



Back on the road: candidate John Fetterman returns to rallies, while his TikTok account, below, takes aim at a Mehmet Oz gaffe

Kristen Ansell/REUTERS

Gerry Images



turned attention mainly through punchy social media messaging, much of which has taken direct aim at his opponent.

When Oz posted on Twitter a video in a local supermarket complaining about how inflation had made crudites more expensive, Fetterman shared it with the comment: “In PA [Pennsylvania] we call this ... a veggie tray.”

In July, he posted on Twitter a video of Nicole “Snooki” Polizzi, star of the television show *Jersey Shore*, in which she urged “Mehmet” to come home to New Jersey. “I heard that you moved from

New Jersey to Pennsylvania to look for a new job,” she said. “But don't worry because you'll be back home in Jersey soon.” He followed it up with an endorsement video from Steve Van Zandt, the musician and star of *The Sopranos* television series – another well-known New Jersey celebrity.

“Fetterman is recovering from a stroke, so fighting over social media was his only option,” said Maggie Macdonald, a fellow at New York University's Center for Social Media and Politics. “But he's done it better than I would have thought anyone could do it. If it was not for his social media presence he would be out of this race by now.”

Calvello said that the tone of the messages came from Fetterman himself. But the campaign has also put together a team of well-paid external communications consultants from agencies including The Win Company – to which it has paid \$5.8mn, according to public records analysed by the Financial Times – and Middle West Consulting, which has received \$6mn.

**‘Fighting over social media was his only option. But he's done it better than I would have thought anyone could do it’**

appearance service, he said. Snooki was not aware of how the message was going to be used and was paid her regular Cameo fee of \$400.

Meanwhile, the response to Oz's crudites video came from a genuine reaction from Fetterman, Calvello said. “We told him about Oz's video, and he said: ‘What's a crudite? Am I having a stroke symptom?’ When we explained it to him, he said: ‘Oh, a veggie tray.’ And that was the tweet.” Calvello added that the campaign raised \$1mn in the three days after that Twitter post.

Fetterman's health has improved in recent weeks and he has begun holding election rallies – though at times his speech has appeared slow and he says his hearing has not yet fully recovered.

Republicans have been infuriated that he has remained competitive in the race while not campaigning in person. “John Fetterman sits in his basement and lies to the public about how sick he is,” said Barney Keller, a spokesperson for Oz. “People are starting to catch on.” Josh Novotney, a Republican strate-

## Japan

## Protesters march on parliament against Abe's state funeral

KANA INAGAKI, LEO LEWIS  
AND ERI SUGIURA — TOKYO

Demonstrators marched on Japan's parliament yesterday to protest against the state funeral of Shinzo Abe, while tens of thousands of supporters queued nearby to honour one of the country's most powerful and divisive leaders since the second world war.

After an initial period of shock and public grief that followed Abe's assassination in early July at the age of 67, the government's decision to hold a ¥1.6bn (\$11mn) funeral sparked a public outcry and a sharp fall in popularity for Prime Minister Fumio Kishida.

In a ceremony at Tokyo's Budokan arena, Kishida spoke in front of more than 4,000 guests including world leaders, Japanese politicians, business figures and some of the imperial family.

Among the foreign dignitaries were US vice-president Kamala Harris, Indian prime minister Narendra Modi, Australian prime minister Anthony Albanese and UK foreign secretary James Cleverly.

“Mr Abe, you were a person who should have lived much, much longer. I was certain that you would serve as a compass for the future of Japan and the world for the next 10 to 20 years,” Kishida said in front of a large photo of Abe surrounded by white chrysanthemums.

Following a short stint as prime minister from 2006 to 2007, Abe became Japan's longest-serving leader during his second term in office between 2012 and 2020.

He was known for his stimulus programme dubbed Abenomics and hawkish opinions on reforming the country's pacifist constitution to expand the military's role in response to an increasingly aggressive China.

Abe's murder prompted public scrutiny of the close ties between the ruling Liberal Democratic party and South Korea's Unification Church. The suspect in Abe's killing said he was seeking revenge for the financial ruin his mother allegedly suffered through her involvement with the religious group.

Abe and his family had a longstanding association with the church, which is known formally as the Family Federation for World Peace and Unification, more commonly as the “Moonies”. An internal investigation by the LDP found that nearly half the party's 379 parliamentarians had some connection with the Moonies.

One retired school teacher had travelled with her sister and friends from Chiba prefecture, a suburb of Tokyo, to join hundreds marching on parliament, protesting against the cost of the funeral and honouring a leader they regard as tainted by scandal and nationalism.

“He was not a good example to anyone. We want fewer politicians like Abe. We came here today as Japan became less safe in his time as prime minister,” said the teacher, who wished to be known only as Sakurada.

Elsewhere in Tokyo, Aoi Doi, 20, a student, said: “I have never been interested in politics but Abe has been prime minister since my earliest memory. The shocking killing made me want to commemorate him.”



able to hit the campaign trail, the team had little choice. Instead of holding large rallies and events, Fetterman has cap-



It was a staff member who came up with the idea of paying Snooki to record her message via the Cameo celebrity

gist in Pennsylvania, said: "If Fetterman wins, it will be the craziest thing I have seen in politics for a long time."

Japan last held a state funeral in 1967 for Shigeru Yoshida, one of the country's most important postwar leaders.

## Semiconductors

# Threat of global competition provokes 'sense of crisis' in South Korean chip industry

SONG JUNG-A AND CHRISTIAN DAVIES  
SEOUL

South Korea's science minister has said a "sense of crisis" is gripping the country's semiconductor industry, as the east Asian nation is braced for greater challenges from the US and China in an intensifying global chip war.

There is growing fear among Korean officials and industry executives that the country will shed production facilities as domestic chipmakers, lured by subsidies and tax incentives, rush to build semiconductor plants in the US. China is also catching up fast in the

memory chip sector on the back of generous state funding.

Lee Jong-ho, minister of science and information communications technology, and a renowned semiconductor expert, told the Financial Times that legislation passed last month had "laid the legal groundwork to support the semiconductor industry against severe competition from countries like the US, China, Japan [and in] Europe and Taiwan".

"It reflects a sense of crisis about our competitiveness on the global stage and the act is designed to strengthen our competitiveness in supply chain and security," said Lee.

"Korean companies have received relatively smaller tax benefits from the government and suffered from a lack of talent compared with China, the US and Taiwan, so we addressed the problems with the legislation."

Washington is using \$52bn in grants outlined in the Chips and Science Act to entice global chipmakers to expand their manufacturing in the US. But the legislation also includes "guardrails" that prohibit recipients of funding from

expanding or upgrading their advanced chip capacity in China for 10 years.

Last week, South Korea's trade minister Ahn Duk-geun told the FT that "our semiconductor industry has a lot of concerns about what the US government is doing these days". He acknowledged disagreements between Seoul and Washington over the restrictions on the transfer of cutting-edge manufacturing capabilities to facilities in China.

South Korea remains the world's biggest memory chip producer, with Samsung and SK Hynix together controlling about 70 per cent of the global Dram market and more than half of the Nand flash market.

Dram chips enable short-term storage for graphic, mobile and server chips, while Nand chips allow for files and data to be stored without power.

But the Korean chipmakers' technological edge over US rival Micron in the Dram business appears to be narrowing, while Chinese chipmakers such as YMTC are expanding their market share in the Nand flash market. Apple said this month that it was "evaluating sourcing from YMTC for Nand chips to

be used in some iPhones sold in China".

"The sense of crisis and anxiety over our industry's competitiveness is greater than ever," said Kim Yang-paeng, senior researcher at the Korea Institute for Industrial Economics and Trade. "There is a concern that the country's role in the global supply chain could be threatened as Korean chipmakers flock to the US."

James Lim, an analyst at US hedge

fund Dalton Investments, said: "The volume that YMTC supplies to Apple will be small but it shows that China is catching up fast in terms of technology and could be a threat to South Korean chipmakers."

South Korea industry officials want the government to provide more support for domestic chipmakers as the US, China and Europe boost investment in the sector.

President Yoon Suk-yeol, who has said semiconductors "determine the fate of the South Korean economy", has promised greater backing for the industry. However, two important bills aimed at bolstering it, known as the K-Chips Acts, are still pending in parliament.

The Yoon administration, which came to office in May, has expanded tax breaks and cut red tape.

It also intends to provide funding for essential infrastructure for chip production facilities, such as electricity and water supply.

It wants to develop large "chip clusters" that will gather production and research and development and attract foreign chipmakers to Korea.

"The domestic chip market is not big, so companies need to set their sights on the global market to generate profits," said Lee.

Addressing the "lack of talent" referred to by Lee, the government plans to train 150,000 people over 10 years to boost the semiconductor workforce.

But the chip clusters have been held up by environmental issues and problems securing permits. They are also unlikely to satisfy US officials, who worry that too many of the world's chips are already produced in geopolitical hotspots across east Asia.

Analysts also noted that much of the R&D development being conducted by Korean companies on next-generation semiconductor technologies was taking place in the US.

"The South Korean semiconductor industry is worried that they could be overtaken by promising new competitors, just as they overtook others in the past," said Burn Jin-wook, professor of electronic engineering at Sogang University in Seoul.

Inside Business see Companies



Yoon Suk-yeol: president has pledged greater backing for the chip sector



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# 2021 HAS ALREADY BEEN DECLARED THE HOTTEST YEAR ON RECORD.

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Girl power South Korea's Zepeto, the metaverse platform dominated by young female users, takes on larger US rivals COMPANIES

# Companies & Markets

## Airlines attack UK leadership over tumbling value of pound

- Virgin leads calls for policy U-turn
- Sector's dollar costs dent outlook

PHILIP GEORGIADIS — LONDON

The head of Virgin Atlantic has called on the UK government to "consider reversing" course after its mini-budget sent the pound tumbling to a record low and undermined investors' confidence in the economy.

Chancellor Kwasi Kwarteng's plan to borrow more to pay for the biggest package of tax cuts since the 1970s unleashed turmoil in financial markets, with the pound plunging to as low as \$1.035 on Monday.

Virgin Atlantic chief executive Shai Weiss said yesterday that he was con-

'Sometimes all of us in this room should be humble enough to say . . . maybe I should reverse course'

cerned about the direction of Prime Minister Liz Truss's government since it took office less than a month ago.

"Truss said she would take difficult decisions upon entering into the role," Weiss said. "Maybe they need to take more difficult decisions to reverse the decline of the pound and ensure this country is not left with . . . perceived weakness in international markets."

"Sometimes all of us in this room should be humble enough to say that if I said something that is not working, maybe I should reverse course. That is not a bad thing to do," he added.

While the pound had already been

sterling's weakness. Sixty per cent of Virgin's costs are in dollars, while it generates only 30-35 per cent of its revenue in the US currency.

Willie Walsh, head of global airline lobby group Iata and a former head of British Airways, said that he had "a lot of sympathy" for Weiss's intervention.

"I think his criticism is well founded, particularly the additional challenge it will create for his company, given he will have a lot of sterling revenues and significant dollar costs," Walsh said.

"It is very frustrating when you see these knee-jerk government responses to some of the challenges they face. Clearly in an effort to make themselves look popular with the electorate, taking decisions that have massive economic impact on companies," he added. Ryanair chief executive Michael O'Leary, a persistent critic of the UK government, said its economic policies were "all going in the wrong direction".

"The Truss government has poured petrol on a bonfire with a budget that does not really make a lot of sense, and is likely to drive inflation further," O'Leary said.

The airline bosses' interventions are the most outspoken criticism so far from the business world of the mini-budget, which also scrapped a planned increase in corporation tax and cut the rate of tax for the highest earners.

Kwarteng yesterday sought to reassure UK banks, insurers and asset managers, telling them that he was "confident" his strategy would work.

After plunging almost 5 per cent on Monday, the pound closed back some

### Tunnel vision Eurostar forced to raise fares as Brexit border controls and high loan rates bite



Peak capacity at London St Pancras is 50 per cent down on 2019 because of UK passport checks — Simon Dawson/Bloomberg

PHILIP GEORGIADIS — LONDON

Eurostar has been forced to raise prices and slash services to focus on its most profitable routes as it struggles with Brexit border controls and high interest rates on commercial loans agreed in the pandemic.

The company's outgoing chief executive, Jacques Damas, said that Eurostar "cannot currently pursue a strategy of volume and growth" because of the headwinds facing the business.

"We are having to focus . . . services on core routes which make the maximum contribution per train and to charge higher prices to our customers," he wrote in a letter to the Com-

ment, which does not hold a stake, did not take part in the rescue.

Eurostar had been at risk of bankruptcy following a collapse in revenue after passenger numbers plunged because of the Covid-19 crisis. Damas said that the loans were underpinned by "demanding financial ratios".

The company has been criticised in the UK for cutting some services, including direct trains between London and Disneyland Paris. But Damas told MPs that the company had also been forced to prioritise because of lack of space at stations to handle new border checks in place after Brexit.

Peak capacity at London St Pancras is 50 per cent lower than in 2019, at

2019 levels that we are not seeing daily queues in . . . London similar to those experienced in the Channel ports," he said.

As the economic outlook worsens, Eurostar faces questions over whether demand for travel will hold up. Airlines have continued to report robust ticket sales this autumn, but there are concerns over consumer spending power in the event of a deep recession and the cost of living crisis.

Damas also said track access charges on HS1, the UK's high-speed rail line that runs from London to the Channel Tunnel, were rising almost three times as fast as in France. He warned that unless these charges

## Kwon denies he is hiding as crypto probe intensifies

SONG JUNG-A — SEOUL

The co-founder of collapsed cryptocurrency operator Terraform Labs has broken his silence after Interpol issued a red notice against him, saying he is not in hiding despite a global manhunt.

Do Kwon has remained active on social media as he faces the threat of prison in South Korea. He wrote on Twitter on Monday that he was making "zero effort to hide. I go on walks and malls," hinting that there had been no change in his routine. "I'm writing code in my living room," he said, adding that he had not seen his name on Interpol's red notice list. "For something that has notice in the name, it sure gives no notice."

Not all names on the red notice list are made public. Kwon left for Singapore in April, before the \$40bn implosion of the terraUSD and luna tokens in May, according to South Korean prosecutors.

Kwon showed his location as Singapore on his Twitter account on Monday, but his whereabouts remains unclear. Singapore police said this month that he was not in the city-state.

South Korean prosecutors declined yesterday to say whether they had discovered his whereabouts. "Locating and arresting someone is tricky. The situation changes every time. We're doing our best to get him," said the Seoul southern district prosecutors' office.

Experts said it may only be a matter of time before Kwon's arrest and extradition to his home country, as law enforcement agencies worldwide were co-operating to apprehend him.

Kwon and five associates are accused of financial fraud and violating South Korea's capital market laws. Prosecutors have also asked the foreign ministry to cancel Kwon's South Korean passport after he previously told law enforcement via his lawyer that he had no intention of appearing for questioning.

The meltdown of terraUSD and luna coins affected hundreds of thousands of investors, many of whom were drawn in by a scheme in which clients could lend their terra for a yield of 20 per cent.

Kwon is facing lawsuits in South Korea and the US for allegedly deceiving investors. The Securities and Exchange



dragged lower this year by the strength of the dollar, the currency's decline accelerated after Kwarteng's fiscal plan raised alarm over the sustainability of the UK's public finances.

With many of their most significant costs, including fuel, priced in dollars, airlines are among the most exposed to

Monday, the pound clawed back some of the decline to trade at \$1.082 yesterday. Yields on UK government bonds, which have surged since the fiscal plan was announced on Friday, were lower yesterday.

*Additional reporting by Oliver Barnes  
See Markets and Lex*

ers, he wrote in a letter to the Commons transport select committee published yesterday.

Eurostar took on £500m of commercial debt to help it survive the pandemic, as well as a £250m bailout from shareholders, including the French government. The UK govern-


is 30 per cent lower than in 2019, at 1,500 passengers per hour, because it takes an average of 15 seconds per passenger longer to process people with a British passport.

"It is only the fact that Eurostar has capacity-limited trains and has significantly reduced its timetable from

warned that unless these changes could be lowered then "at best, the business will find itself indefinitely locked into the present position".

HS1 said its focus was "on helping the HS1 line recover following the pandemic", aided by rail industry and government support.

investors, the Securities and Exchange Commission and South Korean prosecutors are examining Terraform Labs' marketing tactics amid allegations that Kwon and his company may have misled investors by labelling terraUSD a stablecoin. Terraform has denied any fraud or breach of financial regulations.



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## Seoul anger over short-term US hit to Hyundai misses bigger picture

### INSIDE BUSINESS

#### ASIA

Christian Davies



On his visit to South Korea in May, US president Joe Biden revelled in Hyundai's fresh \$10bn investment in US manufacturing, telling the carmaker's chair Euisun Chung: "Thank you again for choosing the United States. We will not let you down."

So there was consternation in the Korean capital last month when Biden signed into law a provision of his landmark Inflation Reduction Act that eliminates subsidies for electric vehicles assembled outside of North America.

Hyundai's \$5.5bn EV plant in the US state of Georgia, announced during Biden's visit, is not scheduled to begin production until 2025 – making it ineligible for subsidies until then, and US rivals more competitive in the period.

The resulting furor continues to rage, exposing growing tensions between South Korea and the US over Washington's use of tools ranging from legislation to export controls and investment screening to restrict the transfer of cutting-edge technology to China.

But Korean talk of "betrayal" has baffled some industry analysts, who point out that what amounts to a short-term setback for a single company pales in comparison with the benefits likely to be accrued by Korea Inc overall.

Section 45X of the Inflation Reduc-

tion Act allocates \$35 per kilowatt-hour in subsidies known as "advanced manufacturing production credits" to battery-cell makers. That means that a 40 gigawatt battery plant in the US would stand to receive around \$1.5bn each year in tax credits between now and 2032. This amounts to a big subsidy for battery makers with a presence in the US – and the South Koreans are perfectly placed to take advantage.

In July, SK On launched a \$7.8bn joint venture with Ford to build three battery plants in the US, while LG Energy Solution and GM announced a \$2.6bn investment earlier this year to build a third plant as part of their joint venture in Michigan. Samsung SDI has a similar partnership with Stellantis, the group behind Peugeot, Fiat Chrysler and Jeep.

"All the global automakers will try to source from US-based battery manufacturers, and the Korean companies have a huge capacity in the US," said Angela Hong, an analyst at Nomura.

According to Tim Bush, a Seoul-based EV battery analyst for UBS, by 2026 Korean battery makers will be operating plants in the US accounting for at least 200 gigawatt hours each year. That would mean an annual collective subsidy of upwards of \$8bn, likely to rise in line with expanding capacity, from the advanced manufacturing production credit alone. Moreover, restrictions on Chinese components mean that the Koreans' only serious competitors will soon be eliminated from the US market. "Given the amount in subsidies the EV supply chain is going to be collecting, I just can't get my head around the complaints," said Bush.

The potential benefits don't stop

there. There do not appear to be any restrictions on US-subsidised batteries being exported, raising the prospect that Korean battery makers could be poised to knock their Chinese rivals not just out of the US market, but out of the European market too.

Used wisely, the US subsidies could also finance the transition from graphite to next-generation silicon anodes.

This could raise energy density, lower cost and reduce charging times.

"Before, there was no catalyst to get silicon produced at scale, but the Inflation Reduction Act changes that," said Bush. "Because of the advanced manufacturing credit, you have money to make that investment. It will go from high end to mainstream, and this could give Korean battery makers a crucial advantage over the Chinese."

Nor is it even clear that the US legislation will inflict significant damage on Hyundai. Restrictions on the sourcing of Chinese components that kick in from 2024 mean that Hyundai's competitors are unlikely to manage to steal a march before its Georgia plant comes online.

"Many European and even US automakers won't qualify for these tax incentives, because there are still many conditions to be met," said Hong. "There are no definitive winners or losers."

Seoul does have reason to feel aggrieved. According to Wendy Cutler, a senior former US trade official, the provisions in the Inflation Reduction Act are likely to violate both WTO rules and the free trade agreement between South Korea and the US. But Korean leaders might also reflect on the wisdom of kicking up such a fuss over short-term harm to a single company, while ignoring the long-term benefits for an entire industry that can be measured in decades.

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FINANCIAL TIMES

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## COMPANIES &amp; MARKETS

## Basic resources

## Glencore hit by woes at China's Maïke

Disruption for miner as copper distribution partner faces debt crisis

HARRY DEMPSEY — LONDON  
CHENG LENG — HONG KONG

Mining group Glencore faces disruption at its largest partner for selling refined copper in the Chinese market as Maïke Metals International, a powerful trading house, grapples with a liquidity crisis.

The slowdown in the Chinese economy and downturn in the real estate market have caught out several domestic trading houses, leading to a string of scandals including missing copper at warehouses.

Glencore was selling about 600,000 tonnes a year of high purity copper into

China through Maïke, before the Xi'an-based trading group ran into liquidity constraints, according to people familiar with the matter. That level is equivalent to a fifth of Glencore's sales of copper metal and concentrates last year, according to its annual report.

Glencore's sales volumes through Maïke had more recently been reduced, one of the people added.

Maïke was Glencore's biggest local intermediary to market refined copper, accounting for 80 per cent of sale volumes in China.

But Maïke ran into trouble this year, and its founder He Jinbi admitted last month that it was facing liquidity issues. Last week, He told the Financial Times that Maïke was selling assets and studying a broader restructuring to survive the crisis. It is also working with credi-

tors to extend existing loans. Maïke, founded by He in 1993, grew into one of the most important bridges between big international trading houses and Chinese consumers, with revenues of Rmb160bn (\$22.6bn) in 2021.

The trading house used imported metal to raise financing from banks with usually 90 days to repay, which He then ploughed into China's property sector, according to traders. The company had property investments of Rmb6.65bn, or around 60 per cent of its illiquid assets, at the end of 2020, according to a report by China Lianhe Credit Rating, a Beijing-based rating agency.

Now that China's real estate sector has slowed, Maïke is laden with debts that it is struggling to repay to creditors. The largest were the Xi'an branches of the Bank of Beijing and Industrial and Com-

mercial Bank of China, according to company filings for mid-2021.

At the end of June 2021, lenders had extended credit lines of about Rmb10.6bn to Maïke, of which it had used Rmb9.6bn, according to the company's filings. It also had three bonds with an outstanding value of Rmb3.3bn, according to data provider Wind Information. Founder He said in the latest interview that the company still had an outstanding bank debt of about Rmb7bn.

London-based ICBC Standard Bank has been moving some copper stocks that were collateral for its lending to Maïke outside China, according to two people familiar with the matter.

Foreign lenders have become increasingly nervous about financing commodity trading in China after a string of

problems at trading houses. The credit squeeze has made it more difficult to get physical copper inside China, and stocks in Shanghai are close to their lowest level in a decade.

Other large copper miners, including the world's largest mining group BHP and Chile's Codelco, have also paused sales to Maïke, according to commodity trading executives.

Foreign groups including Glencore, Mitsui, Trafigura, Codelco and Aurubis supplied 30 per cent of Maïke's annual imports in 2020, according to China Lianhe Credit Rating. A person familiar with the matter said Trafigura had not done any business with Maïke this year.

Glencore, BHP and JPMorgan declined to comment. ICBC Standard and Codelco did not respond to requests for comment.

## Automobiles

## Energy crisis has slowed EV push into Europe, says China's Nio

PETER CAMPBELL — MUNICH

The head of Chinese electric-car maker Nio has warned that Europe's energy crisis is slowing its expansion in a region where it is aiming to take on dominant performers such as Mercedes-Benz and BMW.

William Li, the group's founder and chief executive, said soaring energy costs were one impediment to the company's rollout of battery swapping stations across Europe.

In contrast to rival carmakers that rely on recharging their batteries, Nio uses a system of swap stations in which batteries are replaced with new ones in a process that takes just minutes.

"Right now we are behind the schedule regarding the swap station installation, but that is driven by multiple reasons and the electricity cost is one part," Li said in an interview. Slower than expected planning approvals and the need to train workers were also hindering the rollout, he added.

The company began selling electric cars in Norway last year, its first step outside China, but has only two swap stations operating there, short of a forecast of five made at the start of the year.

Nio is betting that its domestic success will prove a springboard to crack Europe and the US. The group, whose

## Technology. Virtual worlds

## Asia metaverse champion challenges US rivals

South Korea's Zepeto targets global expansion after proving a hit with young female users

CHRISTIAN DAVIES AND SONG JUNG-A  
SEOUL

Asia's largest metaverse platform, Zepeto, is stepping up its global expansion as it looks to compete against the Big Tech groups that are betting billions on creating avatar-filled virtual worlds.



"Right now we are behind the schedule regarding the swap station installation"



Owned by South Korean tech group Naver, Zepeto has attracted 340mm users since it launched in 2018. Unlike rivals developed by gaming companies, it is dominated by young female users.

The K-pop and fashion-focused avatar platform, which is valued at more than \$1bn, has attracted investment from South Korean entertainment companies JYP Entertainment, YG Entertainment and Hybe, as well as from SoftBank's Vision Fund II.

"We have a long way to go to be more of a globally dominant player, but we are very much on the right track," said Ricky Kang, head of business at Naver Z, the subsidiary that operates the Zepeto platform.

"We have established a very strong presence in Asia-Pacific, so we want to grow further in the region, but we also place a very strong emphasis on growing in the US and western Europe, [for example] in France, where we have already established high growth," said Kang.

He added that Zepeto was popular in Brazil, and that it was working on Turkish and Arab language versions as part of a push into the Middle East.

It comes as groups from Facebook parent Meta to Microsoft are betting billions of dollars that the three-dimensional metaverse will become the next big tech platform.

Zepeto has quickly become the largest such site in Asia. It has about 15mm-20mm active monthly users, predominantly in South Korea, Japan and China. Of those, 70 per cent are female and mostly aged between 13 and 21.

But it has a long way to go to catch up with US rival Roblox, the \$50bn online gaming company which also has a devoted pre-teen following among its 200mm monthly active users.

Kang said that while Zepeto had focused on users purchasing virtual items, "moving forward, the items and the experience that they can purchase



User friendly: K-pop and fashion-focused avatar platform Zepeto is valued at more than \$1bn. It has more than 15mm active monthly users and counts SoftBank among its investors. Below, Ricky Kang — FT magazine

will be more focused on individual virtual worlds... it's a very similar business model to Roblox".

Other competitors cited by Kang include online social platforms Rec Room and VR Chat, as well as gaming juggernaut Fortnite.

But he also stressed that "Zepeto is essentially a social network, not just people chatting while they play games".

"It's actually a feed that really looks like TikTok or Instagram, but which only contains avatar content — the first avatar-centric social network of its kind," he added.

Accessed principally through a smartphone app, Zepeto has monetised its audience by offering users the chance to customise their avatars and to design and trade millions of items — mainly clothing, accessories and hairstyles — as well as to create their own virtual worlds.

Appliances and furnishings for virtual homes can also be bought and sold on the marketplace.

It operates a licensing model, forming partnerships with athletic and luxury fashion brands including Gucci, Ralph Lauren, Bulgari, Adidas and Nike.

Samsung appliances are offered and avatars can drive Hyundai cars.

Naver Z has also sealed IP partnerships with Disney and Universal. Girl group Blackpink, which is represented by YG, held a virtual signing on the platform during the pandemic.

"One of our key strengths has been our relationship with K-pop companies," said Kang.

Last year, the South Korean government launched a "Metaverse Alliance" of more than 200 companies and institutions. It has earmarked almost \$8bn for its 2022 budget for the country's next digital transformation.

But analysts have questioned the sustainability of Zepeto's popularity, citing its limited user base.

"It needs to expand its user base beyond teenagers, as Facebook and Instagram did," said Choi Joon-chul, head of VIP Research and Management.

"Teenagers are enthusiastic users but their interest tends to be short-lived. They get satisfaction from the platform by relishing things that they can't afford in reality. But I doubt if they will keep using Zepeto as they grow older."

Kang accepted that the platform needed to "grow" with its users as they become older. He said: "As our users get older, we want to make sure we grow with them. This is true for all the social

platforms that have become dominant players, including Snapchat or TikTok. They always started with teens and then became more of a general audience app."

But South Korean academics and campaigners have raised concerns about the potential vulnerability of Zepeto's users. While in the EU the minimum age for joining such platforms is 16, in many Asian countries it is 13 and in some places even younger.

This month, Naver Z joined the Tech Coalition, a global alliance of companies fighting online sexual abuse and exploitation of children.

Kang acknowledged the difficulties in policing the metaverse, saying that Naver Z had artificial intelligence programs to identify inappropriate behaviour and call centres that users could contact for help. But he accepted that "bad apples can be very sneaky and go through those protection mechanisms".

Wi Jong-hyun, a business professor at Chung-Ang University in Seoul, said the company needed "to come up with tougher and more pragmatic measures".

"Many of these teenagers totally identify with their avatars so they get shocked by these unpleasant online experiences," he said.

As our users get older, we want to make sure we grow with them. This is true for all the [big] social platforms'

swap station installation

William Li, Nio founder

shares are listed on Wall Street, has ambitions to have 1,000 charging stations outside China by 2025, with the majority in Europe.

Li, who founded Nio in 2014, also said that rising battery costs, driven by increases in the price of raw materials, would delay the company's target of becoming profitable in the short term. The group posted a second-quarter net loss of \$411m.

"Profitability is still our target, but what matters most is finding the right cadence for us to become profitable," he said, pointing to the cost of growing its Chinese business while funding an aggressive international expansion.

Nio already has about 800 stations in China's biggest cities, a total it expects to reach 4,000 by 2025. "We have been pretty fast and efficient in China" at rolling out the battery swapping stations, said Li. "Then we didn't really manage our expectation for the European market, and the speed is actually behind our expectation."

The company is banking on the same model working in Europe, despite lower population density requiring it to install more stations. Given that a battery can account for a third of the price of an electric car, Nio reckons that its model of selling drivers the car and giving them the choice of leasing the battery will give it a larger market than rivals.

In Norway, where it began selling cars last September, 95 per cent of its customers lease batteries rather than buy them with the car. A further hurdle for its European rollout is the need to install transformers, which are essential to running the stations and can take up to two years to build.

Nio would consider manufacturing in Europe if sales there hit 200,000. It has sold about 240,000 cars globally, with a handful of those outside China.

Technology

Singapore's Grab aims for 2024 profitability

MERCEDES RUEHL — SINGAPORE

Grab, one of south-east Asia's biggest tech groups valued at \$10.8bn, said the 10-year-old business would be profitable by 2024, even as growth slows against mounting global recession fears and rising inflation.

The Nasdaq-listed company, which is backed by Uber and SoftBank, said at an investor day yesterday that revenue growth would slow to between 45 per cent and 55 per cent in 2023 on a constant currency basis. The company expects its 2022 revenue to be between \$1.25bn and \$1.3bn.

Grab's share price has plunged since its listing via a special purpose acquisition company in December 2021. As well as never having been profitable, the ride-hailing and deliveries company has been buffeted by a sell-off in tech stocks, sending its share price down 61 per cent over the year to date.

The announcement is the first time

Grab has given a target for becoming profitable, albeit on an adjusted basis that excludes exceptional items such as restructuring costs. The company said it wanted to clarify a strategy that focused on local commerce and mobility.

"We are expecting the environment to remain tough," said chief operating officer Alex Hungeat in an interview in Singapore, where the company is headquartered. "We want to be the largest, most efficient on-demand platform in south-east Asia. We are a single app for the consumer, but we are not doing everything for the consumer."

Grab sought to reassure investors that it was in a strong position, with \$6bn in cash and liquid items. The company expects losses to narrow to \$380mm on an adjusted basis in the second half of this year, compared with \$520mm in the first half.

Grab, which operates in 480 cities across eight countries in south-east Asia including Indonesia, Thailand and Sin-

gapore, has long been a barometer of consumer tech sector health in the region. The company started out in ride-hailing and expanded into banking, lending, grocery delivery and hotel bookings, among other services.

Grab said yesterday it had abandoned some of the business lines that helped to burnish its reputation as the region's "super app" but burnt cash. The company lost \$3.4bn in 2021.

A move into dark stores, where the company built its own warehouses and distribution centres and bought inventory wholesale, has been cast aside in favour of partnerships with major retailers.

Grab said it had not had to announce big lay-offs seen in other tech companies. Hungeat added that it would be hiring next year, especially in financial services. The group has launched a digital bank in Singapore and has plans to hire staff for two more banks in Indonesia and Malaysia in 2023.

Support services

Biffa agrees lower £1.3bn private equity bid

MARK WENBRIDGE AND LEKE OSO ALABI LONDON

Biffa has accepted a lowered £1.3bn takeover bid from a group controlled by US private equity firm Energy Capital Partners, as turmoil in UK markets weighs on dealmaking.

The British waste management company said yesterday it had recommended shareholders accept the 410p a share offer from ECP-controlled Bears Bidco, below a tentative bid of 445p a share submitted in June.

Including dividend payments, the offer is 28 per cent higher than the FTSE 250 group's closing price of 325p a share the day before the June bid was announced, and values Biffa's equity at about £1.3bn.

Shares in Biffa, which closed at less than 320p on Monday, jumped 27 per cent to £4.06 in late trading yesterday.

"It is the Biffa board's view that this offer represents a compelling opportu-

nity, particularly in a weakening economic environment, for shareholders to realise, in cash and with certainty, the potential for future value creation," said Biffa chair Ken Lever.

However, he conceded that the offer was "lower than the proposal previously announced".

Analysts at Citibank said the lower offer "could be the outcome of a weak macro environment and the recent sterling devaluation". Citi said: "While

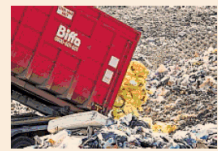
waste management is generally non-discretionary, production of [commercial and industrial] waste was shown to be cyclical between 2008 and 2010.

"Against a range of fixed costs, we would expect I&C collection to exhibit negative margin leverage during the UK's next recession."

ECP said it had targeted Biffa because of the group's "position as a leader in UK sustainable waste management, underpinned by a strong national brand and extensive service coverage".

"Given generally supportive but uncertain public policy in the waste management sector, ECP believes that Biffa requires patient, sustained capital investment predicated on a long-term investment horizon," ECP added.

After providing haulage services to coal-fired power stations, Biffa was bought by Severn Trent in 1991 and floated in 2006. In 2008 it was taken private again by investors before rejoining the London bourse in 2016.



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COMPANIES & MARKETS

Brazil's Petrobras at centre of battle between populism and privatisation

Two presidential candidates offer competing visions for future of state-controlled oil and gas giant

MICHAEL POOLER — SÃO PAULO

The last time the left was in power in Brazil, the country's most important company was looted in a multibillion-dollar corruption scam and almost buried under a mountain of debt.

After emerging from the scandal and financial turmoil of the previous decade, \$76bn oil and gas giant Petrobras Brasileiro today is leaner, more profitable — and a cash machine for its owners.

As Latin America's largest nation prepares to choose a new president in elections beginning on Sunday, very different visions are on offer for the state-controlled group better known as Petrobras.

Incumbent rightwing leader Jair Bolsonaro has spoken of privatising the region's top hydrocarbon producer and most valuable listed business.

His main challenger and the frontrunner, leftist ex-president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, intends to reassert greater government influence over what was at one time considered the crown jewel of the Brazilian economy.

Lula's manifesto calls for Petrobras to



Financials

Credit Suisse dealmaker to join Citi ahead of investment bank shake-up

ARASH MASSOUDI AND OWEN WALKER LONDON

Credit Suisse has lost one of its most senior remaining dealmakers to Citigroup, as the beleaguered Swiss lender prepares for a major restructuring of its investment bank after a series of scandals.

Jens Welter is quitting Credit Suisse less than nine months after being named co-head of global banking, ending a 27-year career with the Swiss bank where he became known as a top adviser to consumer companies such as Nestlé.

Welter will join Citi as its new co-head of European investment banking and also become chair of its consumer and retail advisory business, which works with the largest companies in those sectors globally. He will join Spanish banker Ignacio Gutiérrez-Orrantia in leading Citi's business in Europe, the Middle East and Africa.

"Jens is one of the best consumer bankers around. We have been talking for a long time," said Manolo Falco, global co-head of investment banking at



once again be an “integrated energy company”, present in fertilisers, renewables and biofuels – areas that it has largely exited in order to focus on its core activity of pumping deepwater crude. There would be a bigger role for Petrobras in the clean energy transition.

He also wants it to work towards national self-sufficiency in refined derivatives, such as petrol and diesel, and stop charging international prices for fuel sold domestically.

“We would like to use oil so that Brazil can be an exporter of petroleum products and not an exporter of crude oil,” Lula told the Financial Times in July.

“Petrobras has to be profitable, it has to earn, it has to distribute dividends to shareholders,” he said. “But it cannot be the madness that it is today. What is happening is a total debacle; it is a crime against the Brazilian people.”

The veteran politician’s resource populism taps into public discontent in Brazil over living costs, a sentiment inflamed by bumper profits at Petrobras. Like other oil majors, it benefited from a spike in crude benchmarks triggered by Russia’s invasion of Ukraine.

As well as beating predictions with a 27 per cent increase in net income to R\$54.3bn (\$10bn) during the second quarter of 2022, Petrobras was the world’s biggest corporate dividend payer in the period, according to research by fund manager Janus Henderson.

Private shareholders, including western financial institutions such as Baillie Gifford and Fidelity, together hold almost two-thirds of the company’s equity, but with more than half of voting rights the Brazilian state wields control.

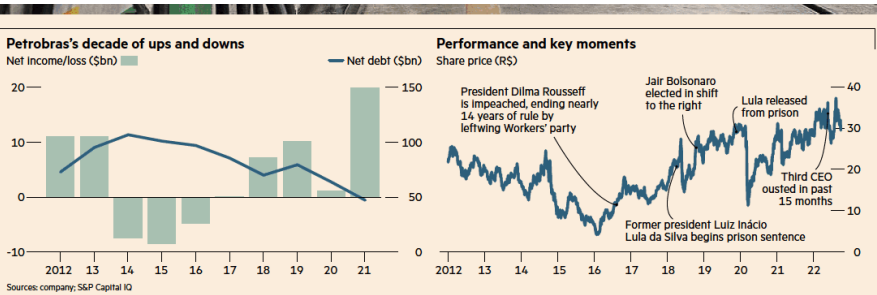
Despite a recent tumble, its São Paulo-listed preference shares are up more than 50 per cent so far in 2022, outperforming the local stock index.

Lula’s proposals have unnerved some investors. The fear is a return to the days of political interference under Lula’s Workers’ Party, or PT, which ruled Brazil for 13 years until 2016.

“They used Petrobras almost as an arm of the government,” said a large shareholder, who asked not to be named. “If they do what they’re saying they will with Petrobras, it will be very bad. Without a doubt, it is better as a focused company.”

A worry is that a diversification push requiring extra investments could hit profit margins and cash generation.

Yet others hope that Lula, who governed Brazil for two terms between



Fuel and fire: customers at a Petrobras petrol station in Brasília, where presidential rivals Jair Bolsonaro (top) and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva are arguing over the future of a group that was once the crown jewel of Brazil's economy (bottom).  
Gustavo Gomes/Bloomberg

2003 and 2010, will prove pragmatic on economic matters and avoid radical interventions. “The challenge we have is understanding what are actual proposals and what is campaign rhetoric,” said another shareholder.

During Lula’s time in office, Petrobras found vast offshore oil and gas deposits known as “pre-salt” reserves that ranked among the largest discoveries in decades. But on the PT’s watch, the group was at the centre of a labyrinthine graft scheme revealed by a probe code-named *Lava Jato*, or Operation Car Wash. Senior company executives and politicians were found to have received kickbacks in exchange for awarding inflated contracts to construction firms.

Petrobras suffered losses of R18bn (\$3.4bn) as a result of the cartel, Brazil’s federal audit court estimated in 2020.

The US Department of Justice described it as “the largest foreign bribery case in history”. Dozens of businessmen and politicians were jailed, including Lula, though he maintained his innocence and his two convictions were later annulled. Other Car Wash cases against the former president were either dropped, expired or suspended.

Mismanagement and meddling also took a toll. Under Lula’s chosen successor, Dilma Rousseff, Petrobras was forced to keep fuel prices artificially low in a bid to tame inflation. A former CEO estimated this cost the group \$40bn.

Elsewhere, refinery projects went over budget and unfinished. Borrowings exceeded \$130bn by 2015, making Petrobras the most indebted company in the sector. Since these crises, the group has tightened compliance and

reduced its gross debt to \$54bn. It has looked to offload assets such as mature fields, petrol stations and refineries, concentrating instead on exploration and production in the Atlantic Ocean.

“The company has gone through a trajectory of recovery. Not only financially, but also in governance and credibility,” said chief financial officer Rodrigo Araújo Alves.

The Bolsonaro era has not been without tumult either. The rightwing populist president has regularly attacked Petrobras over fuel costs and fired three CEOs in little over a year.

Brazil produces enough crude for its own needs, but lacking refining capacity to meet domestic demand relies on shipments of derivative products from abroad. “Oil is a global market – there is no room for artificial prices [or] price controls,” said Alves. With around one-fifth of diesel consumed in the country coming from overseas, “the importers need to be able to buy at the international price and sell in Brazil”.

Lula’s advisers have sought to soothe market concerns. A way to implement his pledge to “Brazilianise fuel prices” is through reference values formulated by a government agency, with vendors free to follow or ignore them, according to PT senator Jean Paul Prates.

While Lula has rallied against the sale of public-owned enterprises, Prates played down the possibility of renationalising assets divested by Petrobras.

“What we’re going to try to do is recover a vision of Petrobras for the future,” he said. “There is no reason to fear the return of President Lula.”

One issue for investors is that fertilis-

ers, refining and biofuels all have lower returns than exploration and production, according to Marcelo de Assis at consultancy Wood Mackenzie.

Petrobras says that oil extracted from the pre-salt zones has lower carbon emissions per barrel than the world average. But given that exploratory drilling there has disappointed in recent years, de Assis echoed criticisms that the company was not doing enough to prepare for a changing energy landscape. “Brazil has an opportunity to start the [energy] transition now, but we really need a change in Petrobras today,” he said.

Privatisation is viewed as the best possible outcome by lots of analysts and investors. By removing the threat of government intrusion, they believe it would untether the company’s share price. “It would take the company to completely different level,” said one of the shareholders.

Yet the process is at an early stage and even if Bolsonaro wins it is likely to be an unpopular move, face legal and political hurdles and take years, say experts.

If the polls are correct and Lula wins, investors can find some comfort in legal reforms and new corporate governance norms at Petrobras approved after Car Wash. These are designed to prevent governments using state-controlled enterprises for political gain and oblige ministers to reimburse costs incurred as a result of enforced subsidies.

But as controlling shareholder, the state can still effectively shape strategy by replacing the board. “Petrobras is still protected at this point, but again a lot can be changed,” said de Assis.

Citi. “We really wanted to fit this properly. We don’t usually do a move like this.”

Gutiérrez-Orrantía said: “Jens and I are fully aligned on the ambition and growth potential for the franchise and what it will take to succeed.”

Falco said Citi was looking to capitalise on the downturn in the market to hire senior bankers in Europe. Citi has recently hired veteran Deutsche Bank dealmaker Patrick Proewen and JPMor-

Jens [Welter] is one of the best consumer bankers around. We have been talking for a long time’

gan Chase banker Barry Weir to senior roles in its European advisory business.

Citi has also been adding senior deal-makers to its consumer and retail advisory business, including Goldman Sachs banker Chuck Adams last year.

In contrast, Credit Suisse has suffered a swath of senior departures from its investment bank over the past two years, as scandals have hit the group’s share price and led senior staff to take rival offers. Welter will join Citi after three months’ gardening leave.

New chief executive Ulrich Körner, who was installed by chair Axel Lehmann over the summer, is in the middle of planning a wholesale revamp of the 166-year-old lender, which will involve paring back the investment bank and cutting thousands of jobs.

The latest plans under consideration, which will be unveiled by the bank’s third-quarter results on October 27, include splitting the investment bank into three and resurrecting a “bad bank” holding pen for high-risk assets and businesses for sale, the Financial Times reported last week.

Credit Suisse board members have recently proposed offering senior managers equity in the investment bank as a means of retaining staff. The idea has been widely viewed as heralding a future spin-off of the bank’s advisory business, though people with knowledge of the matter said that was not an immediate priority.

Credit Suisse shares hit an all-time low yesterday of below SF4 after dropping 17 per cent in the past week following market fears the bank was preparing a capital raise. Shares are down more than 56 per cent this year.

Retail

## Two arrested on fraud charges linked to trading frenzy over ‘\$100mn deli’ in New Jersey

MARK VANDEVELDE — NEW YORK  
STEFANIA PALMA — WASHINGTON

A New Jersey sandwich shop with a valuation of \$100mn, which became a symbol of stock market exuberance, was at the centre of an international conspiracy that defrauded investors and wrecked the ambitions of two high-school teachers, according to an indictment unsealed in US federal court.

Federal agents in North Carolina arrested Peter Coker, 80, and James Patten, 63, on securities fraud charges related to their alleged role in inflating the share price of Hometown International. Coker’s 53-year-old son Peter Coker Jr also faces charges and is still at large.

The deli gained notoriety on Wall Street in April last year after Hometown International was named by hedge fund manager David Einhorn as an example

of the “quasi-anarchy” that he said had taken hold in financial markets.

“The past year must be amazing,” Einhorn quipped at the time.

Hometown’s share price soared from \$11 in October 2019 to nearly \$14 by April 2021, even as revenue hovered at about \$40,000 and lawyers for the company acknowledged it was having “limited success operating its . . . delicatessen”.

Prosecutors said the inflated valuation was the result of co-ordinated trades designed to create the false impression there was real market interest in the securities. They added that some of the trades were placed by the defendants, using brokerage accounts belonging to friends and associates.

Last January, an account belonging to a Staten Island resident who was an associate of Patten was used to sell shares at a price of \$13.99, prosecutors said. The buyer, who lives in New Jersey,

turned out to be a close relative of Patten’s romantic partner, they added.

Prosecutors claimed some of the allegedly manipulative transactions were placed by an undicted co-conspirator based in Hong Kong. They said Coker Jr also lives in Hong Kong.

The charges filed by New Jersey prosecutors, together with a parallel civil action by the Securities and Exchange

Commission, shed light on one of the strangest episodes to emerge from the financial frenzy that seized Wall Street during the coronavirus pandemic.

The saga began in 2014, when two employees at Paulsboro High School began making plans to open a delicatessen in the dusty refinery town. Patten, who had known one of the teachers since his youth, offered to lend a hand,

prosecutors alleged. “Unbeknownst to the deli owner . . . Patten and his associates began positioning Hometown International as a vehicle for a reverse merger that would yield substantial profit to them,” prosecutors said on Monday.

Shares in Hometown International began changing hands on OTC Market-place, a trading venue for illiquid small-cap stocks, in October 2019. By last year, shareholders included the endowments of Duke and Vanderbilt universities.

The universities invested via a Hong Kong-based hedge fund that saw Hometown as a kind of special purpose acquisition vehicle that would merge with a company seeking a stock market listing, the Financial Times reported last year.

In an email Coker Jr allegedly sent last January, he seemed to envisage a similar strategy. “The ‘announcement of [a reverse merger] deal’ would lead to a

‘massive’ increase in the trading volume of [Hometown],” prosecutors wrote, summarising the email.

“Such manipulative schemes diminish the trust investors must have in the integrity of the markets,” said Scott Thompson, associate director of enforcement at the SEC’s Philadelphia regional office, in a statement.

Patten is charged with wire fraud and money laundering, which carry a maximum sentence of 20 years. He also faces charges of securities fraud and conspiracy to manipulate securities prices along with the Coker duo. The defendants could not be reached for comment.

The school workers who founded the deli quit after “rais[ing] significant concerns” with Patten regarding the negative news on its listing, prosecutors said.

Hometown merged with Makamer Holdings, a bioplastics company, this year and has ceased operating the deli.



Hot stuff: shares in Hometown International, operator of a sandwich shop, soared to give it a \$100mn valuation despite its sales of \$40,000  
Google Street View

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Currencies. Mini-budget fallout

Odey and rival fund managers profit from pound's tumble

**Crypto**  
**Mashinsky quits as head of Celsius Network**

SCOTT CHIPOLINA AND KADHIM SHUBBER

Alex Mashinsky, head of crypto lender Celsius Network, resigned yesterday with an apology to customers for the “difficult financial circumstances” that the company’s bankruptcy had left them in.

Celsius filed for bankruptcy protection in July, saying it had a \$1.2bn hole in its balance sheet, making it one of the highest profile casualties of the crash in crypto markets this year.

The lender has hundreds of thousands of customers who deposited crypto with the company, which promised double-digit interest rates on some crypto and stablecoin assets.





Short positions are based on  
forex trade underestimating  
longevity of high UK inflation

LAURENCE FLETCHER — LONDON

Hedge fund managers including Crispin Odey are among those profiting from steep falls in sterling and UK government bonds as investors take flight on fears over the sustainability of the country's public finances.

The founder of Odey Asset Management is one of several leading hedge fund managers who believe the pound could now fall to parity against the dollar or below.

Both his group and other trend-following hedge funds have been running short positions — bets on falling prices — against the pound and longer dated gilts for some time.

Odey's bets — based on the belief that the market had badly underestimated how long inflation could stay high — are now paying off handsomely.

His flagship European hedge fund is now up about 145 per cent this year.

"I don't think you can start getting bullish on sterling," Odey told the Financial Times, expressing his belief the pound could hit one-to-one against the dollar. "It's so close [to parity]," he said.

The adverse market reaction to chancellor Kwasi Kwarteng's tax-cutting, high borrowing plan last week has hit both sterling and the gilts market as investors fretted about its impact on inflation, government debt and Britain's hefty current account deficit.

After the chancellor — who at one stage worked for Odey — suggested at

Sterling slides against the dollar  
\$ per £



the weekend there could be further tax cuts, sterling hit an all-time low of \$1.035 on Monday.

"It's been helpful," Odey said about his short sterling position. "It [sterling and gilts] is all part of the same story of higher inflation. . . . The market has been a long way from where inflation was."

The pound is now down more than 4 per cent against the dollar since Kwarteng's fiscal plan on Friday while UK gilts are on course to post their worst month on record dating back to 1979.

Odey described his bets against gilts as "the gilts that keep on giving".

The fund manager has donated significant sums of money to Conservative party causes over the course of the past decade.

He has given more than £800,000 to pro-Brexit campaigns, including £32,000 to the UK Independence party when it was led by Nigel Farage.

Odey donated £10,000 to Boris Johnson's Tory leadership campaign in 2019 but was criticised by Labour party politicians after it was revealed

that he was betting against the pound. He told the FT that suggestions he donated to the campaign to profit from a potential chaotic Brexit outcome were "crap".

Many of the bearish bets on sterling have also been run by so-called managed futures hedge funds, a sector running \$590bn, according to data provider HFR.

These strategies try to latch on to trends in global markets.

The pound's fall from more than \$1.40 in June last year has provided a strong trend for funds to follow.

Funds have held a short sterling position for well over a year, according to Société Générale's Trend Indicator, which models the positions of such funds, and in 2022 it has been the second most profitable bet for them behind only wagers against Japan's currency.

Rotterdam-based Transtrend, which manages \$6.3bn in assets, is shorting sterling against several other currencies and also betting against British fixed income instruments.

Such bets together have been a big

Braced for falls:  
Crispin Odey,  
above, at one  
stage employed  
chancellor  
Kwasi Kwarteng  
as a consultant  
at Odey Asset  
Management  
FT magazine

contributor to the fund's gains of 7.4 per cent this month while so far this year the fund is up about 30 per cent.

Many in the market are bracing themselves for further falls.

"Buying sterling here is like licking honey from the razor's edge," said Hugh Hendry, founder of Eclectica Asset Management, which wound down its hedge fund in 2017.

"It would be remiss of the foreign exchange community not to allow for [sterling] to trade back at parity with the dollar and possibly trade below that level in the short term."

Pilar Gomez-Bravo, director of fixed income for Europe at MFS Investment Management, has been shorting the pound for some time and increased this bet to the maximum allowed in her portfolio following Kwarteng's announcement last week.

She believes the pound could fall to parity with the dollar "and keep going unless there is a policy response" from the Bank of England or the government, although she added that she expected such a response to come.

Odey said he expected the pound to "bounce around now" and that both sterling and gilts were getting closer to the point at which being short was no longer attractive.

He said his bet against the pound was not magnified by using debt and had been bigger in the past.

Odey said he did not have a trading advantage because Kwarteng previously worked as a consultant to Odey Asset Management.

"There's a mad idea that one's behind every twist and turn," said Odey. "All I can do is catch the wind now and again." Additional reporting by Sebastian Payne in Liverpool

on some assets, and who now race significant losses on their savings.

The sudden resignation came two months into a bankruptcy process that has yet to produce clarity for Celsius customers over when and how much of their money they can expect to get back.

Celsius said Mashinsky would be replaced by Chris Ferraro, the company's chief financial officer and a former executive at JPMorgan Chase.

"I regret that my continued role as chief executive has become an increasing distraction and I am very sorry about the difficult financial circumstances members of our community are facing," Mashinsky said in a letter to the Celsius board. He

'I am very sorry about the difficult financial circumstances members of our community are facing'

remains a director of the Celsius parent company.

Mashinsky, a former telecoms entrepreneur who founded Celsius in 2017, added that he was committed to helping Celsius "flesh out and promote" a plan for the company to return assets to creditors "in the fairest and most efficient way".

In recent weeks, leaks of meetings at Celsius have indicated that the company may propose a restructuring that involves giving customers a crypto token substitute for their claims while launching a new business based on providing custodian services for crypto.

Celsius's collapse rocked crypto markets. It was the first major crypto business to freeze customer accounts in June, firing the starting gun on a markets crisis that has felled several digital assets start-ups.

Rival crypto broker Voyager Digital, another business that offered interest on crypto tokens, also fell into bankruptcy.

Mashinsky has faced intense criticism as a result of the bankruptcy, with angry customers filing letters to court claiming they had been misled during the weekly YouTube appearances that he used to promote Celsius.

The complaints were echoed by the Vermont state securities regulator, which alleged in a court filing that Celsius operated what could be said to resemble a Ponzi scheme for at least two years before its collapse.



Our global team gives you market-moving news and views, 24 hours a day  
ft.com/markets

## Crypto

# FTX \$1.4bn bid wins auction to buy assets of bankrupt platform Voyager

SCOTT CHIPOLINA

Crypto exchange FTX US has won the auction to purchase the assets of Canada's Voyager Digital, the bankrupt digital assets lender, with a bid of just over \$1.4bn.

The agreement, revealed late on Monday, ends a two-week sale process after Voyager filed for bankruptcy protection in July in the wake of the collapse in crypto market prices.

Voyager, a popular digital asset lender, offered customers high yields for depositing funds on its platform but halted withdrawals when it was stricken in the crypto market downturn.

In particular, Voyager was caught out by the collapse of Three Arrows Capital, incurring losses of more than \$650m on a loan to the crypto hedge fund. Court documents showed that the lending platform had more than 100,000 creditors and billions of dollars in liabilities.

The deal also marks a further expansion of billionaire Sam Bankman-Fried's influence on crypto markets.

The FTX founder has been looking at assets that have been laid low by the

market collapse. FTX agreed a deal to support lender BlockFi in July, with an option to buy for \$240m.

Voyager had previously rebuffed an approach by the billionaire to buy the assets, describing an offer as a "lowball bid dressed up as a white knight rescue".

Bankman-Fried was already a crucial player at Voyager. His Alameda Research trading company had borrowed \$377m worth of cryptocurrency from Voyager, its second-largest loan after the one extended to Three Arrows. Alameda also lent \$75m to Voyager



The deal furthers the crypto reach of billionaire Sam Bankman-Fried

this year as it became distressed. It also owned almost a tenth of Voyager's stock, which was in effect worthless and which was delisted in Toronto in August.

The winning bid was valued at approximately \$1.4bn, comprising the fair market value of all Voyager cryptocurrency at a "to-be-determined date in the future", Voyager said in a statement. The current value of all Voyager cryptocurrency is estimated to be \$1.3bn.

"FTX US's bid maximises value and minimises the remaining duration of the company's restructuring by providing a clear path forward for the debtors to consummate a Chapter 11 plan and return value to their customers and other creditors," Voyager said in a statement. The deal will be subject to approval from a bankruptcy court in New York next month.

Voyager added that the company received multiple bids and, based on the results of the auction, "determined that the sale transaction with FTX is the best alternative for Voyager stakeholders".

Wave Financial, a Los Angeles and London-based crypto investment management company, said it had also made a bid for the assets.

## Derivatives

# ICE to accept European energy groups' carbon allowances as margin payments

PHILIP STAFFORD

Intercontinental Exchange plans to accept allowances generated by the €1tn carbon market as collateral in its European futures venue, in an effort to relieve pressure on utilities and traders hit by the region's energy crisis.

ICE Clear Europe is consulting with members about accepting allowances for companies wanting to hedge against or bet on the price of carbon falling, according to a circular published late on Monday.

It follows a push from authorities and exchanges to find flexibility within the market to ease the burden on stretched energy companies using futures and struggling with volatile price moves.

The cost of buying and selling gas, electricity and power has fluctuated wildly since Russia's invasion of Ukraine and been exacerbated by droughts across the continent.

Utilities that have hedged their power sales on futures markets must make regular margin payments to clearing houses to insure those deals. A clearer path between buyer and seller to prevent a default from infecting the market.

But clearing houses typically demand assets that are easy to buy and sell such as cash or sovereign bonds. The leap in prices has raised costs and few energy groups can afford to make the payments. That has created a liquidity crisis and forced governments including Finland's and Germany's to step in.

ICE said it hoped its move would give market participants more options and

The exchange wants to give participants flexibility and help 'with the current liquidity pressures'

flexibility "as well as assisting the energy markets with the current liquidity pressures".

The clearing house aims to free up scarce collateral from the European carbon market, the world's biggest. Utilities typically hold a surplus of carbon allowances because each year they have to "give up" a certain amount to cover their pollution. However, they can sell the rest for profit. Last year, the EU handed out just over 1.5bn allowances.

ICE is asking members if they will accept European carbon allowances as initial margin for traders wanting to cover a potential market fall as a future and an option. Initial margin is held by clearing houses to cover potential losses from a default.

The tweaks only require a change to the ICE clearing house rule book and can be implemented in two weeks with regulatory approval.

European authorities have played down their ability to intervene and change legislation for fear of extending financial stability risk to clearing houses. But the price of carbon has fallen by more than a fifth since the start of the war in Ukraine, to €70 a tonne, in part on fears the EU may flood the market with allowances.

Last year, ICE moved trading of carbon emissions from London to Amsterdam in the wake of the UK's departure from the single market. However, clearing of carbon remained in London.

Traders often trade markets such as gas, crude and carbon in conjunction and consolidate their positions at one clearing house, to save themselves additional margin payments.

Wednesday 28 September 2022



FINANCIAL TIMES

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## COMPANIES & MARKETS

### The day in the markets

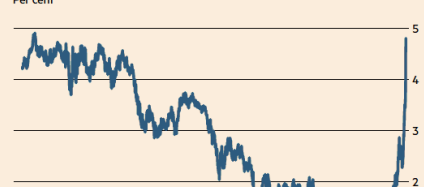
#### What you need to know

- Renewed selling in UK bonds ricochets across global markets
- Core government debt yields rise from US to Germany
- Wall Street's S&P 500 hits lowest level since November 2020

UK bonds sold off strongly yesterday on a third day of turbulent trading, a move that ricocheted across global markets and pulled US and European government debt sharply lower.

The benchmark 10-year gilt rose 26 basis points to hit 4.5 per cent, a fresh 14-year high after the Bank of England's

UK 30-year gilt yields soar  
Per cent



## Europe can learn to live without Russian gas

Pierre Andurand

### Markets Insight

Russia has historically supplied about 30 per cent of the EU and UK's gas consumption by pipeline. Those

temperatures of 22C to levels already experienced in recent history.

A 1982 study found the average indoor temperature in the UK was about

above most analysts' expectations. The industrial sector in the EU's group has switched 35 per cent of its natural gas consumption to oil. Extra wind and





Chief economist Huw Pill said the loosening of fiscal policy announced last week would "require a significant monetary response".

The pound and UK government debt have sold off sharply since chancellor Kwasi Kwarteng announced £45bn worth of unfunded tax cuts on Friday.

The pound on Monday reached an all-time low against the dollar and gilts across maturities sold off.

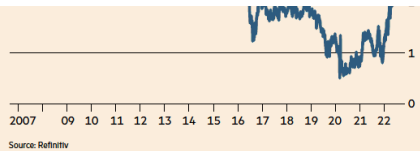
The magnitude of the selling in the UK has also intensified tremors across global markets, which have already been shaken by concerns about interest rate rises.

The US S&P 500 yesterday shed gains of as much as 1.7 per cent and was down 0.5 per cent by lunchtime.

The fall left the benchmark US equities barometer at its lowest level on an intraday basis since November 2020.

European equities closed at their lows of the day as bonds began selling. The region-wide Stoxx Europe 600 ended the day down 0.1 per cent.

The biggest moves yesterday were



among long-dated debt with the 30-year gilt yield rising as much as 51bp to 5.04 per cent, its highest level since 2002.

The rise in long-term bonds suggested that investors were "now worried that the BoE may not be acting quickly enough to control inflation", said Jim Reid, a strategist at Deutsche Bank.

He added that investors were also concerned about more debt coming into the market with a 30-year deal expected to take place later this week.

The moves in the UK have reverberated across global markets with German and Italian bonds falling sharply,

as well as a significant, though more muted, move in the US.

The German 10-year Bund yield rose 15bp to 2.25 per cent, its highest level since 2011.

Italian bond yields rose for the second consecutive day after a coalition of far-right politicians won Italy's elections.

The yield on Rome's 10-year bonds rose as high as 4.7 per cent, its most elevated level since 2013.

In the US, the 10-year Treasury yield rose to 3.97 per cent, close to breaking through the key 4 per cent level.

Nikou Asgari and Kate Duguid

exports have already been cut by 75 per cent. If Moscow stops them entirely, will Europeans freeze to death in the winter, as Russian propagandists have been warning?

Almost certainly not. In fact, it looks as though Europeans have a great deal more capacity in managing the situation than the fearmongers thought.

Much of European gas demand comes from heating. If Europeans just lower thermostats in their homes by an average of 3C – down to 19C this winter – that could make a big difference.

The International Energy Agency estimated in a March report that a 1C drop in average thermostat levels from 22C in the winter would save 10bn cubic metres of gas in EU and UK demand.

But let's look at the impact of a 3C reduction by focusing on a group of nine European countries for which data are the most detailed: Germany, the UK, France, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Austria, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. In 2021, this EU+ group represented 69 per cent of EU and UK demand.

Rising imports of liquefied natural gas and a switch by industry to using more oil have cut much of the 2023 deficit caused by the loss of Russian imports.

A reduction to an average of 19C would solve two-thirds of the remaining deficit for these nine countries. And if accompanied by a 5 per cent cut in power usage – which could be achieved by switching it off in unused rooms and buildings – the deficit would disappear.

How uncomfortable would a 3C lowering of indoor temperature be? It would only involve reducing current

consumption by 16C in 1978. A 1996 study from the UK Department for the Environment, Transport and the Regions found that indoor temperatures hovered at about 18C in the winter. Therefore, 19C is not a very high price to pay given what is at stake with Russia's behaviour.

Furthermore, this inconvenience would have to last only a couple of years, as Europe attracts more of a growing LNG supply while increasing solar and windpower generation.

Imports to the EU+ group of natural

A 1C drop in average thermostat levels from 22C would save 10bn cubic metres of gas demand

gas from Russia via pipelines are expected to fall from 103bn cubic metres in 2021 to 42bn cubic metres in 2022 – a drop of 61bn cubic metres. Let's assume that they fall to zero from October 2022 onwards.

This will be partly offset by LNG imports from elsewhere. These have gone up more than the IEA or other analysts believed possible a few months ago.

For 2022, the EU+ is expected to import 41bn cubic metres more LNG from elsewhere than in 2021, covering 67 per cent of the expected drop in Russian imports. From 2023 onwards, we can safely assume the countries will further import between 30 and 50 per cent of global LNG production additions. Industrial switching has also been

solar-power capacity is expected to help displace 3bn cubic metres a year of natural gas, with potential to expand more.

But this is still not enough to avoid natural gas shortages going forward.

Without any further demand reduction, a deficit is expected for the EU+ group of 28bn cubic metres in 2023 – with Russian supply down 103bn cubic metres. LNG imports up 50bn cubic metres and industrial switching of 30bn cubic metres to oil. On the IEA figures, a 3C drop in average thermostat levels would cut that by 21bn cubic metres.

To avoid social unrest, governments in the EU and UK have chosen to shield consumers from most of the increase in wholesale natural gas prices. As a result, we should not expect a significant drop in consumer demand unless there are widespread public awareness campaigns on ways to save energy, such as lowering our thermostats.

The hardest adjustment will be in the coming six months. If Europe can do what is needed to reduce demand, it will have proven both that it is more resilient than thought, and that it can live without Russian gas.

This will take a lot of froth out of the market, and bring significantly lower prices, as the situation will then ease every year. On top of a potential \$100bn revenues from natural gas exports to Europe, Russia will have lost much of its ability to blackmail European countries over energy.

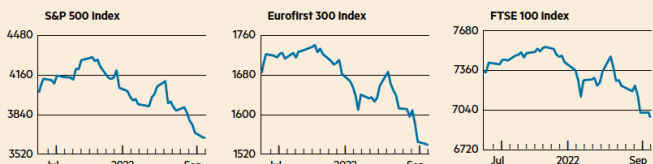
Pierre Andraud is founder and chief investment officer of Andraud Capital Management

## Markets update

	US	Eurozone	Japan	UK	China	Brazil
<b>Stocks</b>	<b>S&amp;P 500</b>	<b>Eurofirst 300</b>	<b>Nikkei 225</b>	<b>FTSE100</b>	<b>Shanghai Comp</b>	<b>Bovespa</b>
Level	3654.58	1539.06	26571.87	6984.59	3093.86	108457.24
% change on day	-0.01	-0.11	0.53	-0.52	1.40	-0.60
<b>Currency</b>	<b>\$ index (DXY)</b>	<b>\$ per €</b>	<b>Yen per \$</b>	<b>\$ per £</b>	<b>Rmb per \$</b>	<b>Real per \$</b>
Level	113.630	0.962	144.735	1.078	7.159	5.350
% change on day	-0.415	-0.511	0.263	-0.093	0.095	-0.119
<b>Govt. bonds</b>	<b>10-year Treasury</b>	<b>10-year Bund</b>	<b>10-year JGB</b>	<b>10-year gilt</b>	<b>10-year bond</b>	<b>10-year bond</b>
Yield	3.955	2.226	0.249	4.503	2.706	12.647
5-year yield	15.540	11.600	0.120	24.500	1.700	3.900
<b>World Index, Comd</b>	<b>FTSE All-World</b>	<b>Oil - Brent</b>	<b>Oil - WTI</b>	<b>Gold</b>	<b>Silver</b>	<b>Metals (LME)</b>
Level	369.61	85.61	77.93	1643.35	18.64	3473.50
% change on day	-0.01	1.84	1.59	-0.01	-1.92	-1.74

Yesterday's close apart from Currencies – 1600 GMT: S&P, Bovespa, All World, Oil – 1700 GMT: Gold, Silver – London pm fix. Bond data supplied by Tullett Prehon.

## Main equity markets



## Biggest movers

	US	Eurozone	UK
<b>Ups</b>			
CF Industries Holding	5.41	Salpem	3.82
Royal Caribbean	4.47	Renault	3.48
Norwegian Cruise Line Holdings Ltd	4.37	Telecom Italia	3.41
Vertex Pharmaceuticals	3.75	A.p. Moller - Maersk B	3.15
Mosaic (the)	3.70	Tenaris	3.02
<b>Downs</b>			
Global Payments	-2.37	B. Sabadell	-6.47
Estee Lauder Companies (the)	-2.31	Terna	-5.49
Cms Energy	-2.22	Enel	-5.40
Edison Int	-2.18	Grifols	-4.98
Consolidated Edison	-2.15	Sham	-3.92
		Kingfisher	-6.58

Prices taken at 17:00 GMT

Based on the constituents of the FTSE Eurofirst 300 Europe

All data provided by Morningstar unless otherwise noted.

## Wall Street

Car-rental business Hertz rallied on news that it had signed a memorandum of understanding with BP for the development of a national network of electric-vehicle charging stations.

BP Pulse, the energy major's EV subsidiary, would manage Hertz's charging infrastructure and the customisation of its "Omega" software, an energy-management tool.

A contract extension pushed SkyWater Technology higher. The Department of Defence awarded the chipmaker up to \$99m to continue an initiative to broaden the "production capabilities for strategic radiation-hardened electronics", it said.

Another contract extension buoyed drugmaker Eagle Pharmaceuticals, which secured up to \$50.3m from US government agencies for the development of ENA-001, a medicine aimed at treating drug overdoses.

A cut to its full-year guidance weighed on polymer materials manufacturer Avient, which forecast earnings of \$2.70 per share, down from an earlier estimate of \$3.50.

The announcement that it was returning more money to investors sent Beauty Health rallying, with the group behind the Hydratone skin treatment authorising a share buyback programme of up to \$200m. Ray Douglas

## Europe

Italian payments group Next rose off the back of a well-received strategic update at its capital markets day.

It said the shift from cash to digital payments on the continent should allow the group to generate net revenues and core profits of 9 per cent and 14 per cent, respectively, through to 2025.

Next hinted that cash generation of about €2.8bn during this period might be used to "return capital to shareholders through buyback or dividends".

German bioenergy group Verbio Vereinigte Bioenergie jumped after unveiling "record" full-year results, it said. Revenue increased 77 per cent year on year to €1.8bn while core profits leapt 203 per cent to €503.3m.

Underpinning this performance was "a global increase in demand for biofuels and from the improved environment for advanced biofuels in Europe", it said.

A downgrade weighed on Hugo Boss with Deutsche Bank lowering its rating for the German fashion group from "buy" to "hold".

Tailwinds that had benefited the company during the past few months were "fading", said the broker, which was concerned that "European consumers, especially in key markets like Germany and the UK, were being hit with skyrocketing inflation rates".

Ray Douglas

## London

Waste management group Biffa surged on accepting a 410p per-share bid from affiliates of US private equity firm Energy Capital Partners.

The offer that was 29 per cent higher than Monday's closing price but below the 445p bid mooted in June from the buyout group.

The approval of a lower price "could be the outcome of a weak macro environment and the recent sterling devaluation", explained Citi.

The news helped lift Biffa's peer, Renewl – a company that traded at an "unjustified" discount to its larger rival, said Liberum analyst Alexandro da Silva O'Hanlon, who highlighted the latter's "green credentials" and "growth opportunities".

A cut to its full-year outlook sent Saga tumbling.

The group, which provides services such as travel and insurance to the over-50s, expected its underlying pre-tax profit to land between £20m and £30m, down from an earlier range of £35m to £50m. The revision was blamed on "inflationary pressures within the insurance market".

Merchant banker Close Brothers dived after posting a 13 per cent year-on-year slide in adjusted operating profit, dragged lower by its Winterford Securities business. Ray Douglas



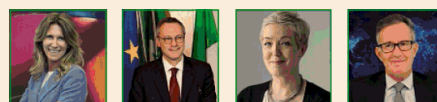
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## MARKET DATA

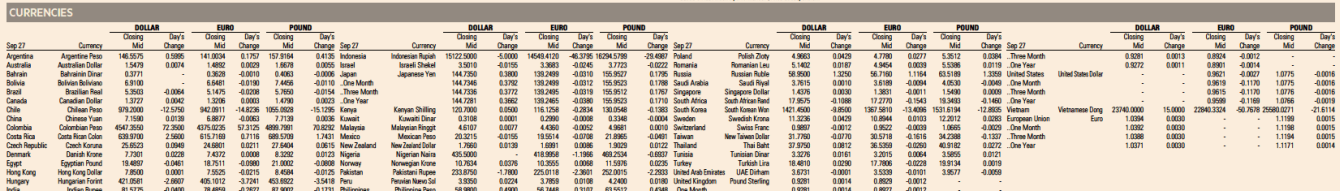
### WORLD MARKETS AT A GLANCE



Stock Market movements over last 30 days, with the FTSE All-World in the same currency as a comparison







FTSE ACTUARIES SHARE INDEX      FTSE 100 INDEX      FTSE 100 SUMMARY

[illegible]

Figures in £m. Earnings shown basic. Figures in light text are for corresponding period year earlier.







## ARTS

# Why opera has tuned into the modern world

*'Last Days', which draws on the life of Kurt Cobain, is the latest opera inspired by real-life characters and recent history. By Hugh Morris*

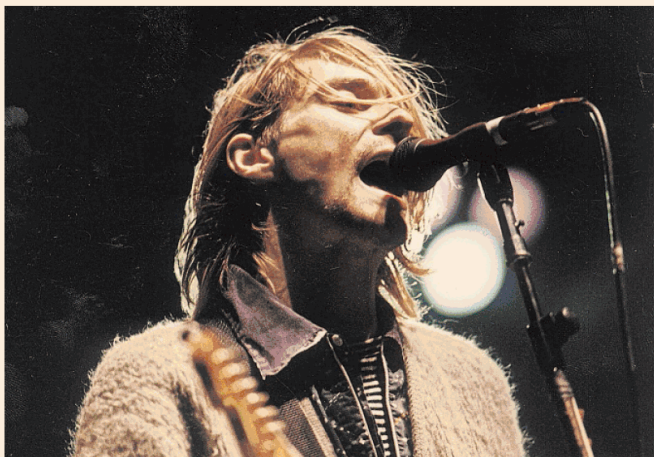
Relevance is a perennial concern for the opera world, and the new season at London's Royal Opera House – with three operas on contemporary history – seems to be placing it at the top of its agenda. Making their debut are *History of the Present*, which marks the 25th anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement; *Leahy the Other*, a portrait of Rosemary Kennedy, the younger sister of John F Kennedy; and *Last Days*, Oliver Leith and Matt Copson's adaptation of a film based on the final few days of Nirvana lead singer Kurt Cobain.

Framing an opera about a living or recently dead figure raises important problems for its creators. How can it explore figures that audiences already know and have strong opinions about? And how does it deal with subjects who have the power to fight back?

*Last Days* proposes one answer: blur everything in sight, thus avoiding the concerns of history altogether. "If you're expecting it to be a Kurt Cobain opera, you'll be extremely disappointed," says Leith, a London-based composer who grew up with Nirvana records. "There's no grunge." He has opted instead for music that captures a sense of the beautified everyday, where every instrument – strings, saws, kettles and kettledrums – can sing (or at least, rustle at pitch).

That saturation of singing things adds to the estrangement felt by the central character, Blake, who can only mumble. "There's a kind of Brechtian alienation going on there," Copson says, "which is already there in opera as a form. You have to buy into the idea of everyone singing." Leith adds, "Blake is like a first-time opera visitor, asking, 'What the fuck is going on?'"

Part of *Last Days*' abstraction derives



from its source. Gus Van Sant's art-house film of the same name from 2005 avoids conventional storytelling, focusing instead on the everyday movements of central character Blake as he stumbles confusedly through his life. The

Clockwise, from main: Nirvana singer Kurt Cobain; Mark-Anthony Turnage's 'Anna Nicole'; John Adams's 'Nixon in China'

Getty Images; Alamy Stock Photo

canonical understanding of Cobain's final days – involving an escape from rehab in Los Angeles, a return to his native Seattle, the acquisition of a shotgun and his suicide – is only referenced on occasion. "Our interest was not in it as a Kurt Cobain biopic," Leith says of the film. "It was in its tone, and its everydayness."

The trend for operas that deal with contemporary historical settings really began with John Adams's 1987 *Nixon in China*. Why the sudden change? Opera had approached near-contemporary subjects and settings for years – think of the rough-and-ready Paris of Puccini's *La bohème* – but none as immediately relevant as this. For Adams and director Peter Sellars, exploring the mythology of America's contemporary history chimed with seeing operatic archetypes in everyday life. "As Americans, we're obsessed with our president, because that person embodies our national psyche," Adams said in 2011.

Aside from dramatic concerns, there's a noticeable box office draw for contemporary historical operas – *Last Days* has sold out its run this year, as did Mark-Anthony Turnage's *Anna Nicole*, about former Playboy model Anna Nicole Smith, and *Nixon* has become one of Adams's most reprised stage works. Drawing on popular culture as a route into deeper questions helps opera



houses avoid accusations of stuffiness.

In *Nixon*, Adams balances iconic moments with less-public events. Nixon's visit to China in 1972 was dubbed the media event of the century, but Alice Goodman's libretto was able to pit the well-publicised events – the touchdown of the presidential aircraft, the trip to the Peking Opera – with the bits the media didn't see, leading to touching moments such as the scene in Act Three as Nixon and Mao reminisce from their beds about their experiences. Drama leans further into myth.

Where Leith and Copson aim for mythologising, Turnage zooms in on his subject in 2011's *Anna Nicole*. "The trouble with a lot of operatic subjects is their distance from today," Turnage said

'If you're expecting it to be a Kurt Cobain opera, you'll be disappointed. There's no grunge'

ahead of the premiere. "I'm not against using myth or history, and obviously I'm aware that both can have relevance to me and to now. But in reality, it hardly ever grabs me like that."

The tale of Anna Nicole Smith is certainly striking: it is a classic operatic plot of rise and demise, of money, sex, pathetic tragedy and a scandalous marriage, with false plenty. Yet with it comes empathy towards the characters caught up in her whirlwind life. It's a far cry from Thomas Adès's frosty depiction of the comparably scandalous Margaret, Duchess of Argyll, and her coterie in *Powder Her Face*, but both pieces provoke via their salaciousness.

While Smith is dealt an even hand by Turnage and Richard Thomas's libretto, critical barbs are reserved for the

media. In the original production, dancers wearing TV-camera headresses followed Anna Nicole around incessantly, pointing directly to the media attention that contributed to her downfall.

The knowledge of the death of a central character is what carries both *Anna Nicole* and *Last Days*. But what happens when the subject is still very much alive? While following the dimensions of musical rather than opera, *Jerry Springer: The Opera* is the most infamous example of the consequences of fictionalising the present; its full-hearted embrace of profanity and irreverence towards religion led to performances being picketed by religious groups around the UK, and its 2005 BBC broadcast elicited nearly 50,000 complaints, then a record number.

Co-writer Stewart Lee, interviewing Springer in 2003, found his subject surprisingly unflustered by the show. The chat-show host "is a fictionalised character," said Springer, "and I've worked pretty hard at developing this persona in *The Jerry Springer Show* that would not be me so that I could keep this separation in my life, yet this persona has been going on for 15 years." Even when drawing directly on reality, then, there is still a heavy element of fiction and myth.

With these operas, "relevance" is a Trojan horse: although they have familiar settings, they avoid purely factual recreations of historical figures and moments. What intrigues is exactly how they obscure the literal, how recent events pass through blurry, mythical, surreal and hyper-real lenses and in turn reveal the dramas' own truths. The Metropolitan Opera's programme notes called *Nixon* "a media event about a media event" and there's an element of that in all these operas – where the subject is less important than the strange space between us and them.

'Last Days', October 7-11, roh.org.uk

FT FINANCIAL TIMES

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## Playing cards adapt to suit the times

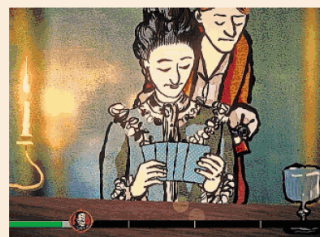
GAMING  
Tom  
Faber



In 1889, Nintendo was established by Fusajiro Yamauchi to produce *hanafuda*: Japanese playing cards, which often feature elegant designs of flowers and foliage. The company became the biggest *hanafuda* manufacturer in Kyoto, selling many decks to the yakuza. Nintendo then branched into taxi services, ramen noodles and toys before finally arriving at video games in the 1970s. It still makes *hanafuda* cards today, now bearing the likenesses of Mario and Pokémon, beloved stars from its gaming empire.

Playing cards are a social technology that has long offered an excuse to get a group of people around a table to join in some light-hearted entertainment and let their defences down. While today this role is often fulfilled by video games – groups of young men often best express their feelings over a game of *FIFA* – playing cards have not disappeared, and still find their way into all manner of video game genres.

In *Card Shark*, one of this year's best indie titles for the Nintendo Switch, you join a con artist and must cheat your way to the top of 18th-century French society through the medium of card tricks. Meanwhile, *inscriptio*, winner of several major awards when it was released last year, subverts a simple card game into something new by lurching nightmarishly into a postmodern horror story. More than a millennium after they were first used, playing cards can still surprise and delight us. What gives them this endurance, when the 21st century



In 'Card Shark', a game for Nintendo Switch, players cheat their way to the top of French society

the hearts, diamonds, clubs and spades we today view as standard. They also decided that each king should resemble a historical monarch: King David for spades, Alexander the Great for clubs, Charlemagne for hearts and Julius Caesar for diamonds.

For players of a certain generation, it's likely that their first introduction to digital games was *Solitaire*, which was built into early Windows PCs. Digital technology has expanded this game's horizons dramatically: while the physical version is a simple affair to be enjoyed alone,

There is something soothing about the strict rules and predictable patterns of card games

video game versions allow players to compete against friends online or test out *The Zachtronix Solitaire Collection*, where indie designer Zach Barth offers seven wildly original takes on the game.

Collectible trading card games such as *Pokémon*, *Magic: The Gathering* and *Yu-Gi-Oh!* have capitalised on the principle

But the influence of cards is more notable in the popular genre of "deck-building" games. These titles such as *Slay the Spire* and the enormously popular *Hearthstone*, from World of Warcraft creator Blizzard, prove particularly compelling because they augment cards with all the capabilities of digital technology, offering seamless online multiplayer modes, visual pyrotechnics and an eternally expanding set of possible cards from which to choose.

Sometimes custom card games are added as side-quests within larger fantasy adventures – the game-within-a-game of *Gwent* in *The Witcher 3* and *Final Fantasy's Triple Triad* and *Tetra Master* were so popular that they have spawned spin-off releases with their own dedicated communities. In the sprawling freedom of an open-world game, there is something soothing about the strict rules and predictable patterns of these card games, where you can while away a few quiet minutes between quests.

The enduring presence of cards is credit to their adaptability. Cards are not a game in themselves but a highly flexible medium which can be used as metaphors for combat, vehicles for strategy or links to a long lineage of play



at a very young age.

Rosie Levine grew up in Beijing between the ages of four and nine in the late 1990s because her mother worked in China at the time. She returned to the country as a student in 2012, and then worked in Beijing from 2014 to 2018 – a period when many western foreigners with a long history in China soured on the country as Xi tightened the political screws and the country grew more nationalistic. “I had the early experience in China and then deepened that when I was in college. I was able to see a lot and travel a lot,” Levine says.

But China's turn to a more authoritarian attitude is eroding the emotional bonds for many westerners. Levine, who now works at the United States

very different China that treated itself differently, treated America differently’  
**Rosie Levine**

exchanges went into deep freeze for a while. Some foreign scholars who touched upon Tiananmen or other topics the party considers taboo were banned from ever visiting China again, such as Andrew Nathan, an expert in Chinese politics at Columbia University and co-editor of *The Tiananmen Papers*, a book based on a collection of secret documents about the massacre.

However, when the reform and opening policy picked up steam in the 1990s, researchers from abroad were able to do a wide range of fieldwork including opinion polls and focus groups in different regions of China and access archives and other sources for their work.

But gradually, the Communist party started limiting their access. First it pro-

economists tend to pick dissertation topics they considered “safe” to ensure they can complete the necessary research in China and get their degree.

The tougher political environment and the travel restrictions are undermining some of the west's strongest China expertise. “Some senior scholars who started studying China many years ago, some of the people they got to know and interviewed early on later became high-ranking politicians, opening doors and providing insights,” Li says. But, he adds, the understanding gained through those connections is getting rare now.

“Engagement is now a dirty word”  
The movement has not all been in one direction. Although political restric-

China's maritime militia, a force made up mostly of commercial fishing vessels

Reuters/Bettmann Archive/Getty Images



increase in the flow of Chinese students to the US has slowed to a trickle since 2018, with an only 0.8 per cent increase in 2019-20, the last pre-Covid year. In 2020-21, the first full Covid year and newest data available, the number of Chinese students in the US dropped almost 15 per cent.

Such rapid changes force the question of how the west can preserve some of the China expertise it has built in the past half century. For Berris, this is a new mission. Having in the past briefed officials at the US military's Indo-Pacific Command, her team has for the first time approached other parts of the security services. “They are open to learning more about China and why [it] may be acting the way it is,” she says.

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FINANCIAL TIMES

Wednesday 28 September 2022

## The FT View



**FINANCIAL TIMES**

“Without fear and without favour”

ft.com/opinion

## Meloni's election victory merits concern but not panic

*Italy's economy and politics will constrain its probable new prime minister*

A despondent Italian electorate, on a record-low turnout, has once more chosen change. Voters hope that a rightwing coalition led by Giorgia Meloni and her hard-right Brothers of Italy party will be the ones to deliver it. But the very reasons that propelled a party with roots in the Neo-Fascist movement to the mainstream – a stagnant economy and a political system where little has changed in 20 years, no matter who is in power – should also constrain Meloni.

There are certainly reasons to worry about Meloni, whose coalition includes the League, led by Matteo Salvini, Italy's former hard-right frontman and Forza Italia, whose Silvio Berlusconi has shrugged off years' worth of legal woes to emerge as kingmaker. Their coalition captured 44 per cent of the vote in Sun-

day's general election, with Meloni poised to be come Italy's first female prime minister. Her strident rhetoric chimes with a worrying rightwing lurch across the EU, which Brussels will have to contend with as it tries to promote – and even enforce – the rule of law across the bloc. Both the Brothers of Italy and the League voted against a recent European Parliament resolution condemning Hungary's erosion of democratic standards under Viktor Orbán, for instance.

The sheer size of the economic challenge that the new government must meet is another reason to fret. Italy's growth forecasts for next year have been slashed to below 1 per cent, making it harder to manage debt that tops 150 per cent of GDP, despite efforts of the outgoing prime minister, Mario Draghi. Yet Meloni – far less credible than her predecessor – must also manage soaring inflation and rising interest rates that spell out a cost of living crisis.

The European Commission on Tues-

day approved the next €21bn of a €200bn EU pandemic recovery fund earmarked for Italy. Future tranches are contingent on continuing structural reforms, which the country needs to grow. The European Central Bank's new bond-buying programme would equally come with strings attached. Meloni has so far struck a moderate tone but will an instinctively nationalist and statist government really have the appetite for such reforms? Her choice of finance minister will be pivotal. The hope must be she chooses a competent technocrat who can work with Brussels.

There are reasons not to panic. Indeed, the financial markets' reaction has largely been a shrug. The coalition's win, though decisive, was far below the two-thirds majority required to change the constitution without a referendum. Italy's checks and balances in the shape of the presidency and the constitutional court seem safe, for now.

The EU can take some comfort, scant as it is, that things could be worse. Mel-

*The country's checks and balances in the shape of the presidency and constitutional court seem safe, for now*

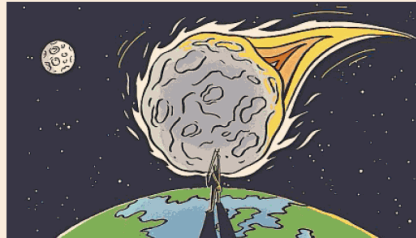
oni's Atlanticism and strong support for Ukraine makes her premiership easier for Brussels to swallow. But Salvini and Berlusconi remain Kremlin apologists. This could well be troublesome for Meloni. A spat over Russia's war in Ukraine was one reason Draghi's unity government stalled. Moreover, the dire economic situation gives Meloni little room for radical change, which she seems to sense: her political fate is tied to that of the economy. She need only look to the UK to see the repercussions of reckless tax cuts in this climate.

Italy's new government may be the first since Benito Mussolini to be led by the hard-right, but firebrands have served as junior coalition partners without much consequence. For all of Salvini's repugnant invective against migrants, he was unable to change much as interior minister. A Meloni-led government may seem objectionable to many. But she has proved she is electable. She must now show that she can govern.

### Opinion Science

## Take deflecting asteroids off humanity's worry list

Dan McKenzie



**Anjana Ahuja**



It was, literally, a striking achievement. In the early hours of Tuesday, a Nasa spacecraft slammed into a small asteroid 11mm from Earth, its second-by-second odyssey into oblivion captured on camera and livestreamed to a world audience.

The impact was meant to shunt the rock, Dimorphos – one half of a two-asteroid binary system – into a slightly tighter orbit around its bigger partner, Didymos. The orbital tweaks yet to be confirmed but, if successful, it will demonstrate that, in principle at least, humans have the knowhow to deflect asteroids heading our way.

“What amazed and delighted me was that everything worked so well,” said Professor Alan Fitzsimmons, an astrophysicist at Queen's University Belfast, who will now analyse images of the impact gathered from tele-

demonstration of technical chutzpah. While most space jaunts are geared towards avoiding calamitous encounters with asteroids, planets or space debris, engineering a deliberately destructive pas-de-deux between two speeding objects in the vast emptiness of space requires exquisite precision. The 570kg Dart spacecraft, launched last year and guided by autonomous navigation, was travelling at about 6km/s, equivalent to 14,000mph, and designed to lock on to its target less than an hour before impact. The asteroid bullseye, meanwhile, flies through space at more than twice that speed. To see the boulder-strewn surface of Dimorphos in razor-sharp detail as Dart descended to its fate, was awe-inspiring.

More profoundly, though, the mission compels us to confront the agency we have over our destiny. Dart was humanity's first attempt at intentionally moving a celestial object, affording us a smidgen of influence over cosmic forces hitherto outside our control. Its success does not mean we can now play billiards with space rocks but it does suggest a viable line of planetary defence should heavenly forces conspire against us, as they did against the dinosaurs.

Relief at being able to avert asteroid-induced catastrophe contrasts, though, with our relatively sanguine approach to other threats. A planetary disaster caused by an asteroid impact might happen once in a million years, suggests Lord Rees, Britain's Astronomer Royal, co-founder of the Centre for the Study of Existential Risk at Cambridge university and author of *If Science is to Save Us*. But, “there are other substantial threats that could human this century”

### Letters

## Budgetary aid is what Ukraine needs, not an IMF programme

The killing of thousands of Ukrainian soldiers and citizens and the destruction of the country's infrastructure by Russia is causing a dramatic loss of revenues and increase of military and other public expenditures.

But it would be wrong to expect the IMF to step in now with a fully fledged reform programme, as Gillian Tett argues for in her column “The IMF must step up to help Ukraine” (Opinion, September 16).

In normal times the IMF would assist

the Ukraine government with a programme aimed at reducing its budgetary deficit with appropriate policy steps, and institutional and governance reforms. Monetary support would be released to the country in accordance with an agreed upon programme and time schedule, subject to conditionality.

Helping to rebuild Ukraine's infrastructure, clearly a multiyear endeavour, would be the responsibility of the World Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development,

as well as other development banks.

Such IMF “standby” programmes are typically worked out and negotiated over weeks, often months. It would be naive to expect Ukrainian government officials to focus their work on detailed reforms required under such programmes at a time of war and emergencies. And to design instead a programme with somehow watered down conditionality, supported by the IMF, would create the illusion of an implementation capability that Ukraine currently does not have, due

to being forced to fight a war.

As long as the war continues, Ukraine needs – and deserves – budgetary support in the form of grants and long-term and low interest loans from the EU, the US and the rest of the international community. Once the war is over, a multiyear IMF standby programme will need to be agreed upon, which will help Ukraine build a modern market economy worthy of membership in the EU. Ulrich Hoyer  
Washington, DC, US

### A currency board could cure Sri Lanka's problems

While it's laudable to provide financial aid to lessen the blow of rising food and energy costs in emerging countries, in citing the example of Sri Lanka, Soofian Zuberi seems to overlook the fact it was the Sri Lankan government's own misguided agricultural policies with respect to fertiliser imports that was the proximate cause for the country's current lamentable state (Opinion, September 23).

Short-term debt moratoria (as Zuberi suggests) are one thing, but debt forgiveness would surely be the really constructive next step. As for IMF programmes, Sri Lanka has had 16 interventions since 1950. What are the odds on the next one doing the trick?

An alternative conclusion is that Sri Lanka has a governance problem. Sri Lanka's currency-board peg to the Indian rupee was suspended in 1950, and this exercise in swapping an exchange-rate policy for a monetary policy (which hands the powers of the printing press to the government) might be the real cause of the country's malaise. The success of currency boards in countries such as Estonia and Bulgaria in the 1990s with respect to stabilising the currency and halting inflation might suggest this could in fact be Sri Lanka's best bet for long-term prosperity and stability. Charles Croswon  
London W9, UK

### Tycoon predictions about Italy poll may be overdone

In an article on Italian politics (“Italy at risk of turning back on Brussels in favour of east Europe, Tycoon warns”, Interview, September 22) you quote Carlo De Benedetti's view that Giorgia



For one thing Italy, unlike Hungary, is in the euro area and relies on ECB support for a sizeable part of its sovereign debt. Marek J. Svoboda  
Frankfurt, Germany

### Why it's an exciting time for gamers and creators

I'm a huge fan of *Age of Empires II* and have even competed in and attended LAN tournaments – so Chris Allnutt's article “Gaming nostalgia proves lucrative”, Report, September 21) resonated with me.

That said, *Age of Empires II*'s popularity is only partly due to nostalgia and mostly down to the fact good games always prevail. Improvements in the graphics are minimal these days, as they simply don't need all the bells and whistles.

More people than ever are playing historic titles but it doesn't mean

### Tackling climate change is a case of all hands on deck

John Burn-Murdoch's Data Points column makes the point that economic forces are decoupling growth from emissions, but he underestimates the role played by states and major power co-operation in making this happen (“Economic forces may take us to net zero all on its own”, Data Points, September 23).

The revolution in clean electricity did not take place with the market “acting on its own”. Major state intervention was a critical factor in California's early boost for wind using the Public Utility Regulatory Policies Act of 1978, coupled with supply of Danish-made turbines and Germany's early demand for solar, which, in due course, turbocharged Chinese manufacturing at scale. This created a virtuous cycle of lower costs.

In the “flatter” world of the past, open trade and co-operation between major powers – even if unintended – were key factors in the green dividends we are now seeing. Such co-operation will be critical today for the scale-up of sectors beyond electricity such as industry and aviation, where we must move quickly to decarbonise to get to net zero by mid-century.

As L5C appears to be locked in and a 2C future likely, latest research indicates that extremely dangerous climate “tipping points” that were foreseen in a 3C world, are likely at even 2C of warming. The recent floods in Pakistan and the continuing massive drought in the American Southwest are indicators that, while aspects of green growth are here, climate devastation will probably prove more nimble.

There is no alternative to “all hands on deck” – including a pushback against barriers to climate co-

### A slice of French history in 28 Place Vendôme, Paris

If I remember correctly, Charvet, the French shirtmaker, already had a store in the Place Vendôme, and only moved to Number 28 in the early 1980s, not in 1877 as you say in the HTSI article “Cuff love: inside Charvet, the original Parisian shirtmaker” (September 17).

Prior to that, Number 28 was the Paris headquarters of Bank of America. I worked there briefly myself in the early 1980s before the building was sold, and we moved to new offices on Avenue de la Grande Armée.

Place Vendôme has a venerable history. Built on the grounds of the Hotel de Vendôme, it was the idea of the Marquis de Louvois, Louis XIV's war minister, who wished to honour the King.

Following the death of Louis XIV in 1715, with France's finances stretched, his successor Louis XV turned for help to Scottish financier John Law who convinced the king to replace coins with paper money issued by a purpose-created bank – which some consider the world's first central bank. Law also created a commercial company, Compagnie des Indes, responsible for commerce with Canada and La Louisiane, that would guarantee the bills.

Law became very rich, and acquired Number 28. The “system” however was ill-conceived, and speculation and mismanagement led to its eventual bankruptcy. Carlos Gutierrez Valdivieso  
Lima, Peru

Kwarteng's mini-budget echoes '1066 and All That'

May I thank your columnist in FT Weekend for their analysis of the Brexit



THE GOOD NEWS, THEN, IS THAT WE CAN NOW APPARENTLY GUARD AGAINST THE MENACE THAT KILLED OFF THE DINOSAURS 66mn years ago. The not-so-good news is that bigger existential risks to humanity lie closer to home.

Asteroids are rocky objects, smaller than planets, that orbit the Sun (comets, in contrast, are made of ice, rock and gas). Most of the million-plus known specimens lie in the main asteroid belt between Mars and Jupiter. Of biggest concern are potentially hazardous ones, which are at least 140m across and have orbits that come within 7.5mn km of Earth – big and close enough to strike Terra Firma but small enough to evade early detection. That made Dimorphos the perfect target: about the right size (160m), and too distant to pose a risk.

One reason why the Double Asteroid Redirection Test, or Dart, mission captivated the public was its dazzling

While he regards asteroid deflection technology as prudent, Rees worries more about the misuse of biotechnology (particularly experiments that create toxic viruses), artificial intelligence, pandemics and, of late, nuclear aggression. His worst nightmare, he confesses, is a lone fanatic who slips through the governance net: "Technology gives even small groups of people the power to cause a global catastrophe, such as the release of a virus, cyber attacks on power grids or a breakdown in AI. Village idiots now have global range."

When HG Wells summed up the risks to civilisation, he, too, toyed with the prospect of "some great unexpected mass" rushing "upon us out of space". But also that "some pestilence may presently appear... there may come some drug or a wrecking madness into the minds of men". Our ability to calculate our way out of an asteroid strike will count for little if we cannot restrain our own wrecking madhness first.

The writer is a science commentator

Meloni of the Brothers of Italy party "is too close to Hungary and Poland" and that were a government under Meloni to be elected in Italy, it "will shift Italy's alliance toward the Visegrad bloc" of certain eastern European countries.

If De Benedetti is implying that the Visegrad group is made up only of nationalist rightwing governments bent on undermining Brussels, then he is wrong. It might be the case for Viktor Orbán's Hungary but the other member countries, even Poland with its rule of law differences with Brussels, have proved themselves to be solidly pro-EU.

Meloni has some similarity with Orbán in that like him she is capable – at least judging by her campaign rhetoric – of playing a double game of being against much that the EU stands for, while supporting her country remaining in the EU (and the euro) for its huge economic and financial benefits. Even accepting that comparison, however, she may take an occasional dig at Brussels now, but it is premature to speculate what she will do in government.

operation between the US and EU on one hand, and China on the other. Unfortunately, such barriers are only growing thanks to a new cold war environment among the great powers.

**Sarang Shidore**  
Director of Studies and Senior Research Fellow, Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft, Washington, DC, US

**Galbraith's trickle-down economics is not so polite**

The castigation of trickle-down economics by the British Labour party's shadow chancellor Rachel Reeves is much too polite ("Trickle-down economics is no substitute for a growth plan", Opinion, September 25). She might have recalled the economist John Kenneth Galbraith's summary of it as "the less than elegant metaphor that if one feeds the horse enough oats, some will pass through to the road for the sparrows". For oats read "tax cuts" for horses read "the rich" and sparrows "the rest of us".

**Khalid Ikram**  
Potomac, MD, US

Wentworth fiscal event (September 24).

I now think that if history does pass a verdict on it, it will be similar to what R.J. Yeatman and W.C. Sellar wrote of the Magna Carta in 1066 and All That: "a Good Thing for All (except the Common People)".

It is sad to see another government turning from targeting the greatest good of the greatest number to promoting the greatest good of the greatest.

**Leonard Bazar**  
London NW11, UK

Tony Thirlwall says the Truss government should adopt an export-led growth strategy (Letters, September 25). I have a brilliant idea – join a large free-trade area covering goods and services right next door. Every applied economics book I've ever read has said lower sales costs mean better price competitiveness and more sales.


**Abigail Perez**  
Edinburgh, UK

Opinion

Truss has learnt the hard way that Britain isn't America

WORLD AFFAIRS

Janan Ganesh



nto *Brideshead Revisited*, near the middle, Evelyn Waugh crowsbars a scene on a cruise ship for the express purpose of mocking Americans. There is a character named "Senator Stuyvesant-Oglander". Each and every drink has ice in it. No one is able to tell friendship from desperate bonhomie. The crustiest of England's great novelists wrote better stuff, no doubt, but the passage is an illuminating fragment of a time when anti-Americanism was a Tory thing.

And one that had its uses. If nothing else, Britain's establishment was clear

back then that America was a different country. A midsize archipelago couldn't look to a resource-rich market of continental magnitude for governmental ideas.

If anti-Americanism was bad, look what its opposite has done. Britain is in trouble because its elite is so engrossed with the US as to confuse it for their own nation. The UK does not issue the world's reserve currency. It does not have near-limitless demand for its sovereign debt. It can't, as US Republicans sometimes do, cut taxes on the hunch that lawmakers of the future will trim public spending. Reaganism was a good idea. Reaganism without the dollar, isn't. If UK premier Liz Truss has a programme, though, that is its four-word expression.

So much of what Britain has done and thought in recent years makes sense if you assume that it is a country of \$30tn people with \$20tn annual output. The

idea that it could ever look the EU in the eye as an adversarial negotiator, for instance. Or the decision to go picky about Chinese inward investment at the same time as forfeiting the European market. Or the bet that Washington was going to entertain a meaningful bilateral trade deal. Superpowers get to behave with such superego.

So many recent UK actions make sense if you assume it has 300mn people and \$20tn annual output

Why does Britain think that it can, too? Don't blame imperial nostalgia. (If it were that, France, Spain, the Netherlands, Belgium and Portugal would show the same hubris.) Blame the distorting effect of language. Because the

UK's governing class can follow US politics as easily as their own, they get lost in it. They elide the two countries. What doesn't help is the freakish fact that Britain's capital, where its elite live, is as big as any US city, despite the national population being a fifth of America's. You can see why, from a London angle, the two nations seem comparable.

Reaganism without the dollar: this isn't one woman's arbitrary whim. It is the culmination of decades of (unreciprocated) US focus in a Robert Caro-hooked Westminster. You would think from British public discourse that Earth has two sovereign nations. If the NHS is fairer than the US healthcare model, it is the world's best. If Elizabeth II was better than Donald Trump, monarchy beats republicanism *tout court*. People who can't name a cabinet member in Paris or Berlin (where so much that affects Britain, from migrant flows to energy, is settled) will follow the US

midterms in November. The EU is a, perhaps the, regulatory superpower in the world. UK politicians find Iowa more diverting.

The left is as culpable as Truss. From 2010 to 2015, critics of "austerity" urged the Tories to take the softer US approach. The cross-Atlantic comparison implied that then prime minister David Cameron had King Dollar behind him. Soon after came the importation of identity politics from a republic with a wholly different racial history.

The anti-Americanism of the Waugh generation was petulant. It was sourness at the imperial usurper dressed up as high taste. The snobs understood that America was alien, and inimitable. Tories who patronised the US – Harold Macmillan, Ted Heath – were quicker than much of the Labour party to see that Britain belonged with Europe.

Truss and her cohort of Tories have none of that snide but ultimately

healthy distance from the US. Take her vaunted supply-side revolution. Like all armchair free-marketisers (she has never set up a business) she believes her nation is a blast of deregulation away from American levels of entrepreneurial vim. It isn't. The creator of a successful product in Dallas can expand to LA and Boston with little friction. The UK doesn't have a market of hundreds of millions of people. (It did, once, but the present chancellor of the exchequer voted to leave it.) Someone who glides over that point is also liable to miss the contrasting appeal to investors of gilts and Treasuries.


Some readers balked last month when I wrote that Truss might not last until the next election. Even I didn't think she would trip so soon. It is a kind of patriotism, I suppose, to mistake your nation for a superpower.

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# Why the strength of the dollar matters

Martin Wolf Economics

The financial tide is going out as a rising US currency has recessionary effects elsewhere



n times of trouble, the dollar is the world's refuge and strength. This is true even when the US is the source of the trouble, as happened in the financial crisis of 2007-09. It is true again now. A series of shocks, including high inflation in the US, has triggered a familiar upward movement in the dollar. Moreover, this has not been just against the currencies of emerging economies, but also against those of high-income countries. Meanwhile, the general story of the dollar cycle underlies some specific ones. Messing up one's macroeconomic policies, especially fiscal management, proves particularly dangerous when the dollar is strong, interest rates are rising and investors seek safety. Kwad Kwarteng, please note.

JP Morgan's estimate of the nominal effective exchange rate of the US dollar appreciated by 12 per cent between the end of last year and Monday. Over the same period, the yen's effective rate depreciated by 12 per cent, the pound's by 9 per cent and the euro's by 3 per cent. Against the dollar alone, movements are larger: sterling has depreciated by 21 per cent, the yen by 20 per cent and the euro by 16 per cent. The dollar is king of the castle. (See charts.)

So why has this happened? Does it

ply constraints in industrial inputs and commodities; and, finally, Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which hit energy, particularly for Europe.

The results have included enhanced uncertainty, strong inflationary pressure in the US, a need for monetary policy, particularly that of the Federal Reserve, to catch up, and powerful recessionary forces, especially in Europe. With the Fed's tightening ahead of that of its peers in the high-income countries, the dollar has strengthened. Meanwhile, the divergent outcomes of emerging economies are determined by how well their economies are managed, whether they export commodities and their indebtedness.

The results have included enhanced uncertainty, strong inflationary pressure in the US, a need for monetary policy, particularly that of the Federal Reserve, to catch up, and powerful recessionary forces, especially in Europe. With the Fed's tightening ahead of that of its peers in the high-income countries, the dollar has strengthened. Meanwhile, the divergent outcomes of emerging economies are determined by how well their economies are managed, whether they export commodities and their indebtedness.

ties care about their exchange rates, particularly when inflation is a worry: only the Bank of Japan can be happy about its weak currency. The danger is greater for those with heavy liabilities to foreigners, even more so if denominated in dollars. Sensible countries avoid this vulnerability. But many developing countries will now need help.

These recessionary forces emanating from the US and the rising dollar come on top of those created by the big real shocks. In Europe, above all, there is the

way in which higher energy prices are simultaneously raising inflation and weakening real demand. Meanwhile, the determination of China's leader to eliminate a virus circulating freely in the rest of the world is hitting its economy. The Chinese Communist party may control the Chinese people. But it cannot hope to control the forces of nature in this way indefinitely.

What can be done? Not that much. There is some talk of co-ordinated currency intervention, as happened in the 1980s, with the Plaza and then Lou-

cannot be the case this time. Currency intervention aimed at weakening the dollar by just one or even several countries is unlikely to achieve that much.

A more important question is whether monetary tightening is going too far and, in particular, whether the principal central banks are ignoring the cumulative impact of their simultaneous shift towards tightening. An obvious vulnerability is in the eurozone, where domestic inflationary pressure is weak and a significant recession is probable next year. Nevertheless, as Christine

overkill. But central banks have little option: they have to do "whatever it takes" to curb inflation expectations.

No one knows how much tightening that might need. No one knows either how far the debt overhang will help, by acting as a powerful transmission belt, or harm, by causing a financial meltdown. What is known is that the central banks' ability to support the markets and economy are for a while gone. In such a time the perceived sobriety of borrowers matters once again. This is true for households, businesses and, not

**Nearly all G20 currencies have fallen against the US dollar**  
Currency change vs US\$ since Dec 31 2021 (G20 economies, %)

Country	Change (%)
Russia	-15
Brazil	-12
Mexico	-10
Saudi Arabia	-8
Indonesia	-7
Canada	-6
India	-5
China	-4
Australia	-3
South Africa	-2
Eurozone	-1
S. Korea	0
Japan	1
UK	2
Turkey	3
Argentina	4

Source: Refinitiv

**The intervention rates of central banks have risen almost everywhere**  
Change in central bank policy rates since Dec 31 2021 (G20\*, % points)

Country	Change (%)
Brazil	3.5
Canada	3.0
Mexico	2.5
US	2.0
Saudi Arabia	1.5
South Africa	1.0
Australia	0.5
UK	0.25
S. Korea	0.25
India	0.25
Eurozone	0.25
Indonesia	0.25
Russia	0.25
Japan	0.25
China	0.25
Turkey	0.25

\*except Argentina (-37.5pts) Source: Refinitiv

**The dollar and US capital markets are more globally important than the US economy**  
The US dollar's share in global assets and transactions

Category	Share (%)
World FX transactions	80
Official FX reserves	60
Cross-border loans	50
Trade invoicing	40
International debt securities	30
Swift payments	20
US share of world GDP at market exchange rates	10
US share of world trade	10

Source: The Global Dollar Cycle, Obstfeld and Zhou, Aug 2022



matter? What can be done about it?

As to the why, the answer is that the world economy has suffered four linked shocks since 2020: the pandemic; a huge fiscal and monetary expansion; a post-pandemic supply side, in which pent-up (and lopsided) demand hit sup-

plars are far bigger than the relative size of its economy suggests. Its capital markets are those of the world and its currency is the world's safe haven. Thus, whenever financial flows change direction from or to the US, everybody is affected. One reason is that most coun-

**What is known is that the central banks' ability to support the markets and economy are for now gone**

try accords, first to weaken the dollar and then to stabilise it. The difference is that the former, in particular, suited what the US then wanted. This made intervention credibly consistent with its domestic goals. Until the Fed is content with where inflation is going, that

Lagarde, ECB president, underlined last week: "We will not let this phase of high inflation feed into economic behaviour and create a lasting inflation problem. Our monetary policy will be set with one goal in mind: to deliver on our price stability mandate." This may turn out to be

least, governments. Even previously credible G7 governments, such as the UK's, are learning this truth. The financial tide is going out: only now do we notice who has been swimming naked.

*martin.wolf@ft.com*

## The scramble for rare earths carries big geopolitical risks

Misha  
Glenny

**T**he war in Ukraine has demonstrated just how inadvisable over-dependence on a single supplier can be. Russia's dominance in a geopolitical nightmare in the space of a few weeks.

Just imagine if a single country provided you with 90 per cent of your needs for essential commodities. Now imagine how you'd feel if that country was China. Actually, we don't need to use our imagination because that is exactly the reality for Europe's galloping consumption of rare earth metals.

About five years ago, the west started

to wake up to this awkward situation and decided to do something about it. But, as the EU, UK and US scramble to diversify the supply chains of rare earths and other critical raw materials, they are discovering that it's not so easy. Left to its own devices, the market will never wean itself off Chinese production. Governments must intervene.

It's hard to overestimate the importance of China's mastery of critical raw materials. There is no green transition, no internet, no nano medical research, no advanced weaponry, basically virtually no technical solutions to our planetary problems, without them. The father of China's economic revolution, Deng Xiaoping, understood their importance, noting: "The Middle East has oil. China has rare earth metals."

Rare earth metals are not, in fact, rare. Most countries in the world have significant, if not always accessible, reserves of them. But extracting them

involves overcoming two challenges. To mine just tiny quantities of the 17 rare earth metals requires removing tonnes of aggregate. Without stringent controls, this operation is highly polluting. Then comes the separation of the

**Arresting the climate emergency is not just a question of ditching fossil fuels**

metals followed by their preparation for use in high powered magnets, laser technology or the anti-counterfeiting device in euro banknotes. This is pricey and China can offer you the finished product for 30 per cent less than anyone else. Hence the market's lack of interest in factoring in geopolitical considerations. It wasn't always like this. China's dom-

inance was a product of successive US administrations' decision from the late 1980s onwards to turn China into the heartland of US manufacturing. One of the industries America shifted across the Pacific was rare earth mining and processing. Until this point, the US enjoyed a monopoly on both thanks to the rich seams in an area of the Mojave desert called Mountain Pass.

In 2017, the EU formed the European Raw Materials Alliance in order to start diversifying. At the time, China supplied it with a staggering 98 per cent of its rare earth requirements. Five years later, China still provides 90 per cent of rare earths globally – so progress of sorts, but at a snail's pace.

Nonetheless, the EU has struck up two strategic partnerships since forming the alliance. One is with Canada. The problem is that the second deal was with Ukraine, which has other issues to deal with right now. SecDev, a Canadian

company that provides strategic advice, has investigated Ukraine's mineral assets. Its co-founder, Rob Muggah, explains that "Ukraine has deposits of 117 of the 120 most widely used minerals and metals. At least 40 of them are needed for the green transition. It is a resource superpower."

SecDev discovered, Muggah adds, "that about 2,000 of those deposits were under Russian control. And what that meant in terms of a headline was that about 20 per cent of all of Ukraine's resource wealth was in Russian hands."

Russia, too, is part of the scramble for rare earths. Olivia Lazard from the Carnegie Endowment has found evidence that Ukraine was a target for the Russian military not solely as a symbol of imperial decline, but also because of the significant strategic economic interests involved.

There are British, European, North American and Australian companies

now investing systematically in mining and processing. But so far this is a drop in the ocean. Guillaume Pitron, author of *The Rare Metals War*, says that in the next three decades, "the world will consume more metals and minerals than all the metals and minerals we have consumed for the last 70,000 years".

Arresting the climate emergency is not just a question of ditching fossil fuels. It requires constructing an entirely new system of energy production and consumption, which itself contains huge risks to the environment if not done correctly. But the greatest risk is that the very resources which offer a faint promise for our survival will turn the world once more into a cauldron of geopolitical competition.

*The writer is rector of the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna and presenter of 'The Scramble for Rare Earths' on BBC Radio 4*

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FINANCIAL TIMES

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### US earnings/strong dollar: buck starts here

A surging dollar creates good headlines for Americans looking to travel or send money abroad. But for US companies that generate a big chunk of their earnings overseas, the greenback's gain has become a serious pain.

The US Dollar Index, which tracks the buck against six other important currencies, is at a near 20-year high. It is up 19 per cent since the start of the year and continues rising. The euro has slipped below parity against the dollar for the first time in 20 years. Against the British pound, the dollar has gained over a quarter to near record highs, and is at a level against the Japanese yen not seen since 1998.

US companies derive about 50 per cent of their sales outside the US. But for techs that number hits over 50 per cent. A strong buck not only makes their goods more expensive overseas, but revenues earned abroad also get dinged when converted back into dollars. Even with currency hedging, the earnings pressure will remain.

Morgan Stanley reckons that every 1 per cent change in the Dollar Index knocks 0.5 per cent off company profits. Combined with the effects of higher inflation and a consumer demand dip, the appreciation should shave 10 per cent off of fourth-quarter S&P 500 earnings.

But why worry? Analysts see earnings per share from S&P 500 companies touching \$218 this year then climbing to \$259 in 2024, up nearly a quarter from 2021.

That seems optimistic given that companies already struggle with margin compression and the Federal Reserve remains committed to fighting inflation with more interest rate rises.

More domestically oriented US companies should have an easier go. The S&P 500 US Revenue Exposure index, which tracks the stocks in the benchmark with higher than average US revenue exposure, is down 14 per cent this year. That reflects jitters over a US recession and a sudden drop-off in consumer demand. Even so, it has performed better than the S&P 500 Foreign Revenue Exposure index, down nearly twice as much.

The strong dollar may serve as a handy excuse for disappointing earnings results. Just as some retailers will

blame the weather instead of boring clothing for weak turnover, currency fluctuations offer a useful distraction from a company's more fundamental problems. Investors would do well not to accept such a defence at face value.

### Sterling weakness/HK stocks: utility bills

The pound's plunge has rightly worried UK investors. But the impact is also big for those groups in Asia with exposure to the country. Hong Kong-listed stocks are among the most affected.

Consider Hong Kong-listed banks. The UK and Europe accounted for more than a fifth of HSBC's profits before tax last year. In June, UK credit exposure was a quarter of the group. HSBC earnings are sensitive to movements in the pound because they have high liquidity balances in sterling. Peer Standard Chartered's UK underlying pre-tax profit was about 9 per cent last year.

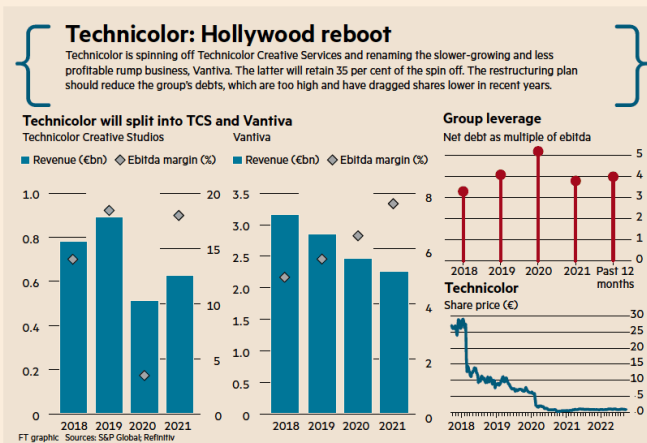
Local utility companies could feel the biggest impact. Power Assets, the majority shareholder of Hongkong Electric Company – one of Hong Kong's two main electricity-generation companies – has a significant amount of assets in the UK. It holds 41 per cent of Northern Gas Networks, which owns the North of England gas distribution network. It also has holdings of UK electricity-generating group Seabank.

Power Assets' parent group, Cheung Kong Infrastructure Holdings, is another one that is impacted. The UK accounts for about a third of CKIH's profit. Other groups with links to CKIH include conglomerate CK Hutchison and developer CK Asset, all connected to local billionaire Li Ka-shing. Both have heavy UK investment exposure.

That explains the weakness in all their stock prices. These have fallen more than 6 per cent in just the past two days. The weaker the pound, the less cash that flows to these groups. These companies report their earnings in Hong Kong dollars, pegged to the US dollar.

When the pound fell to \$1.30 in 2019, that sparked profit warnings by these Hong Kong groups.

They have little to look forward to at home too, with analysts expecting the economy to contract this year, down from expectations for 0.5 per cent



Many an actor from the golden age of Hollywood was brought to life in Technicolor.

Now the pioneer of colour film, Technicolor Creative Studios, will again stand alone as a spin-off. Glowing market reviews are unlikely.

This deal is part of a long-running restructuring plan to separate TCS from the larger Technicolor. Before the spin-off, Technicolor's share price had lost 93 per cent over the previous five years.

TCS produces special effects for television, film and games. This will split from the rump business, renamed Vantiva, a maker of set-top boxes and broadband routers.

Separately listed Vantiva will retain a chunk of TCS shares.

The logic for the split, which will hand 65 per cent of TCS to shareholders, is made clear from half-year results.

Revenues at TCS grew at 38 per cent and achieved Ebitda margins of 15 per cent.

Vantiva expanded at just 15 per cent, with half that profitability.

An eventual re-rating for the new shares would make a nice bonus but restructuring €1.3bn of group debts is at the core of the transaction.

The first step to reducing this pile was to raise equity from shareholders via the issuance of €300m in mandatory convertible notes. These converted last week.

After yesterday's moves TCS had an enterprise value of €1.4bn, 10 times

this year's expected Ebitda. TCS will carry more of the net debt at €623m – about five times expected Ebitda. This faster-growing business hopes to cut its liabilities as free cash flow rises higher than €100m annually by 2023.

Do not expect a box office smash soon. Even if TCS does deliver on its forecasts, a share overhang may be a problem.

Slower-growing Vantiva has plans to dispose of its 35 per cent holding in TCS to shrink its remaining debts of €375m.

For long-suffering shareholders and creditors of Technicolor, this restructuring brings a minor blessing.

Other investors should avoid buying tickets to this show.

growth. The former colony's ties to Britain are too close for comfort for Asian investors.

### Docusign: on the dotted line

In the bonfire of the cloud software-as-a-service companies, Docusign is suffering more than most. Sales growth at the electronic signature software group has collapsed.

Over the past 12 months, the share price is down 80 per cent. Even Zoom, the stock best known for Covid-19 gains and losses, has not fallen that far.

Allan Thygesen, former executive at Google parent Alphabet, arrives to save the day as new chief executive. His

appointment alone should steady the company following the former CEO's abrupt departure in June. Perhaps his prior experience can help Docusign to explore new revenue streams, too.

Docusign's core e-signature service is still convenient for online transactions. But Zoom has expanded its services more broadly. Its latest additions are new email and calendar applications.

Docusign has 1.28m customers, adding 44,000 in the last quarter. But the jump in users during lockdowns was a one-off. Last year billings, which included deferred revenue, rose 37 per cent. This year they are forecast to grow just 7 per cent.

More worrying, its services do not appear compelling enough to tempt customers to spend much more. The net dollar retention ratio, which

compares recurring revenue for subscriptions, has fallen from 124 per cent two years ago to 110 per cent.

Ex-CEO Dan Springer took the group public in 2018, saying he felt "pretty good" about future profitability. It remains unprofitable.

In the last earnings, Docusign posted \$622m in revenue, more than a fifth up on the previous year and beating expectations. But this still makes for a poor comparison to the previous year.

Rival Adobe's recent purchase of design software company Figma for \$20bn reduces the odds that it will make a similar bid for Docusign. Subscriptions are steady and Docusign has a reassuring \$1.1bn cash on hand.

But new CEO Thygesen needs to prioritise net retention rates before the share price has any hopes of recovery.

### UK insurance: motoring up

A steady hand on the wheel is a given for Saga's cruise ships. But its car-insurance unit shows signs of veering off course. The over-50s market specialist yesterday slashed its profit guidance by two-fifths as a result of the rising cost of motoring claims.

Shares lost up to a quarter in reply, leaving them at an all-time low that valued Saga at just £150m, from £2bn five years ago. Car-insurance peers Admiral and Direct Line slid too.

The rising cost of accident repairs is a reverse for the sector. The group did well when cars were kept off the road during the pandemic. Parts shortages, rising energy and labour costs and high prices for used cars have since hit earnings. Underlying profit before tax would now be £200m-£30m, two-fifths less than previously expected, Saga said. Share prices across the board have fallen 40-60 per cent since the start of the year.

But signs of policy price rises hint that an inflection point is near. Motor-claim inflation currently runs at 13 per cent, up from 9 per cent in July, Saga said. Admiral already says it expects inflation of 11 per cent during 2022.

The market leader has taken action. Admiral increased prices for new policies by 16 per cent in the first half. The wider market should expect something similar. Thomas Bateman at Berenberg says UK motor insurance should increase another 15 per cent to cover claim inflation.

Indeed, prices have risen on average by 3 per cent per month between June and August, ONS data say. That should halt any further losses from rising costs.

Valuations do not reflect any optimism. Direct Line and Admiral trade at eight and 15 times forward earnings, respectively, near their decade lows.

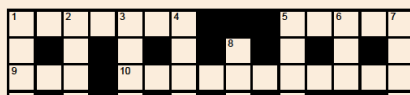
A tight correlation between valuations and UK motor prices exists, notes UBS. A sector knocked out of kilter by customer accidents might also then be a haven for investors during these choppy economic times.

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### CROSSWORD

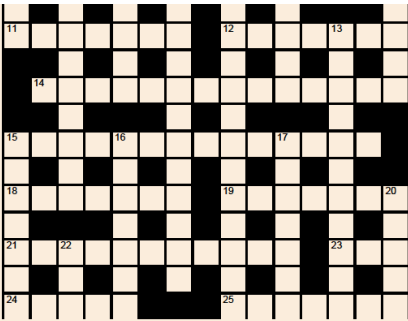
No 17,211 Set by MONK



**ACROSS**  
1 Greatest foreign character, in principle (7)  
5 Chance magistrate will crush resistance (5)  
9 It's been burnt when hot (3)  
10 Engineer sent unopened incoming

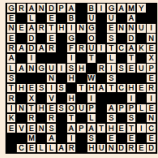






JOTTER PAD

Solution 17,210



- goods for dispatch (11)  
11 My southern accent, oddly meek (5,2)  
12 Anything but bloody American baroque cinema (7)  
14 US *Homeland* broadcast boring criminal drug tycoon (4,3,7)  
15 Recipient of charge after attack on drunken loerags (7,7)  
18 First day of month gripped by a cold – not if this (7)  
19 Fly back stuff – it's a puzzle (7)  
21 Scientist's mobile phone empire (11)  
23 Examine old soldier (3)  
24 Finished by noon, article mostly lacking (5)  
25 Strips spelling courses (7)  
**DOWN**  
1 Humble carers taking lowest income (5)  
2 This repeatedly makes a female kiss and smooch more animatedly (11-10)  
3 After changing top from small to medium, dupes mates (7)  
4 Right to stop girls chasing £500 – they'll turn nuts (6,8)  
5 Cake placed on earthenware in Japanese theatre (7)  
6 The last things you'd see in the cow pasture – would include me (3)  
7 Vulgar jerk ultimately restless about son (7)  
8 In came finalist, playing this rag (9,5)  
13 Machine-powered muscle finally yielded and split (5-6)  
15 Concede after quarrel in Bath, say (3,4)  
16 Not in favour of entertaining forward old merchant (7)  
17 Tense doctor in row over thread? Sort of (7)  
20 Dull, hard, second subject (5)  
22 Go with power base, suppressing pressure (3)

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