

Replacing Merkel

Scholz seems best placed to appeal to floating voters — GLOBAL INSIGHT, PAGE 8

App attack

Apple and Google's money machines under threat — BROOKE MASTERS, PAGE 23



Make do and mend

Movement to repair broken things is growing in the west — NOTEBOOK, PAGE 22

Judgment day Bataclan trial opens in Paris

A lawyer arrives yesterday for the opening of a trial in Paris of 20 men accused of planning and carrying out terror attacks in the French capital in November 2015.

Some 130 people were killed and hundreds more wounded — many at the Bataclan theatre where gunmen opened fire at a crowded rock concert.

Only one of the men on trial, Salah Abdeslam, is accused of being directly involved in the attacks.

The trial is being held in a temporary structure built inside the ceremonial hall at the Palais de Justice. It could last for around nine months. Former president François Hollande is expected to be called as a witness.

Families to relive trauma page 6



Gonzalo Fuentes/Reuters

Johnson secures £12bn in tax rises to battle NHS and social care crisis

◆ Labour votes against plan ◆ Working graduates hit hardest ◆ FSB warns 50,000 jobs at risk

GEORGE PARKER, JIM PICKARD, CHRIS GILES AND DANIEL THOMAS

Boris Johnson last night shrugged off a Conservative rebellion as he won a comfortable majority for his plan to raise taxes by £12bn a year to tackle a crisis in the NHS and social care.

Johnson won a Commons vote by 319 to 248, in spite of a number of Tory MPs abstaining and five voting against, with one rebel warning that the cash could be poured into a "bottomless pit".

Labour voted against the plan, to Johnson's delight. "They have actually voted against a tax rise to fund the NHS," rejoiced an ally of the premier.

Keir Starmer, Labour leader, said higher taxes should fall on "those with the broadest shoulders" but declined to elaborate. The party said that it would

tax "all forms of income", not just work. The government has proposed a 1.25 percentage point rise in national insurance contributions for employers, employees and the self-employed from next April. Financial Times calculations showed that graduates would be hit by an effective 50 per cent tax rate on any additional income paid by their employers when the increase comes into effect.

People with student loans and incomes above the threshold to repay them will have 49.8 per cent of any increase in pay from their employers taken away in income tax, national insurance and student loan repayments.

From next April, graduates such as teachers or marketing executives earning £30,000 will get only half of any pay rise granted by their employers despite

paying an income tax rate of 20 per cent. If their salary goes up £1,000, they will pay £200 in additional income tax, £132.50 more employee national insurance, and £90 in extra student loan repayments. Their employer will pay another £150.50 in employer national insurance. The total tax payments on £1,150.50 in additional employment costs will therefore be £573, a tax rate of 49.8 per cent of the additional pay bill.

Tom Waters, a senior research economist at the Institute for Fiscal Studies, a think-tank, said Johnson's national insurance increases were "the latest in a long line of reforms which have tilted the burden of taxation towards the earnings of working-age people and away from the incomes of pensioners".

As companies digested the impact of



Boris Johnson's plan for a 1.25 percentage point rise in national insurance contributions was voted against by five Tory rebels

the increase in national insurance, the Federation of Small Businesses warned that more than 50,000 jobs were at risk.

It said the annual cost of the rise in national insurance to the sector would be about £5.7bn and disproportionately hit small-company owners struggling to recover from the Covid-19 crisis.

The Treasury said it did "not recognise these figures", adding: "It's right that employers, who benefit from a healthy workforce, contribute to the levy so costs are more widely shared."

Jake Berry, a former minister who abstained from the vote, said: "Throwing other people's money down a bottomless pit doesn't become a good idea if you put the NHS logo next to it."

Reports & analysis page 2
Robert Shrimley page 23

Briefing

► **Pfizer defends Covid booster drive**
Pfizer's top scientist has dismissed criticism that it is pushing the use of Covid-19 boosters too aggressively and denied it should have developed a more potent jab to stave off "breakthrough infections". — PAGE 9

► **Williamson confuses black sports stars**
The education secretary has been called "ignorant" and "clueless" after he mixed up two prominent English sportsmen. The gaffe comes as Whitehall is braced for the prospect of a cabinet rejig. — PAGE 2

► **US cites 'concern' at Afghan government**
The secretary of state said that the international community was "concerned" by the Taliban's interim government and urged it to allow foreign nationals to exit. — PAGE 4; KEVIN WATKINS, PAGE 23

► **Morrisons deal to be decided by auction**
The battle for Morrisons will be decided by an auction process after neither of the UK grocer's suitors — Clayton, Dubilier & Rice and Fortress — declared their offer final. — PAGE 12



► **Gates tightens grip on Four Seasons**
Bill Gates has cemented control of the Four Seasons hotel group in a \$2.2bn deal with a Saudi prince that marks the billionaire's first big deal since he split his fortune with Melinda French Gates this year. — PAGE 9

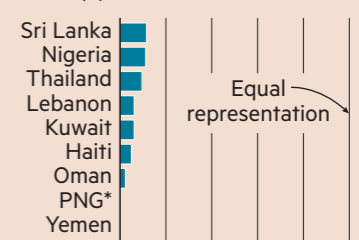
► **PayPal to purchase Paidy for \$2.7bn**
The US online payments group is to acquire Tokyo-based 'buy now, pay later' group Paidy in a further rejig of the industry that deepens PayPal's push into a crowded BNPL sector. — PAGE 10; LEX, PAGE 24

► **BHP to use AI for battery metals search**
The world's biggest miner is to use artificial-intelligence tools developed by KoBold, a Bill Gates-backed start-up, to find new deposits of metals needed for batteries and clean energy. — PAGE 13

Datawatch

Gender politics

Share of female parliamentarians, 2019 (%)



Afghanistan has joined countries with no women representatives in politics, after the Taliban excluded them from its government. Women made up more than 50 per cent of parliamentarians in two countries in 2019.

Sources: OECD



Refiners shake up US food industry in edible oils fight

Tightening supplies of vegetable oil have pitted food groups against the energy sector amid a search for lower-carbon motor fuel. Refiners Marathon and ExxonMobil are adding 'renewable diesel' to their product mix in response to government incentives for cleaner fuels. The raw materials are typically edible oils extracted from plants or animal fat. The global push has alarmed food companies that are coping with record prices for many edible oils.

Fuel and food compete ► PAGE 11

US Treasury risks running out of cash as early as next month, Yellen warns

JAMES POLITI AND COLBY SMITH
WASHINGTON

Janet Yellen has warned that the US Treasury risks running out of cash next month unless Congress increases its borrowing limit, as Joe Biden's administration grows increasingly worried about a possible debt default.

In a letter to congressional leaders yesterday, the Treasury secretary said she could not offer "a specific estimate" of when it would run out of cash, but the "most likely outcome" was that its coffers would be "exhausted" in October.

"A delay that calls into question the federal government's ability to meet all its obligations would likely cause irreparable damage to the US economy and global financial markets", she added.

The mounting risk of a US sovereign debt crisis as early as next month com-

plicates Biden's efforts to pass his multi-trillion dollar economic agenda through Congress. It also comes as Biden grapples with the impact of the spread of the Covid-19 Delta variant across the country, and the fallout from the chaotic and deadly pullout from Afghanistan last month — both of which have dented his popularity.

Increasing the US debt limit used to be a routine affair for Congress, allowing the Treasury to pay the bills for spending already approved by lawmakers.

But Republican lawmakers have recently resisted increasing the debt limit when the White House is controlled by Democrats, often demanding conditions that triggered impasses on Capitol Hill and occasionally bringing the US to the brink of default. Stand-offs over the debt limit are sometimes dismissed as political theatre that is ulti-

mately resolved, but top Biden administration officials view the stand-off with increasing seriousness.

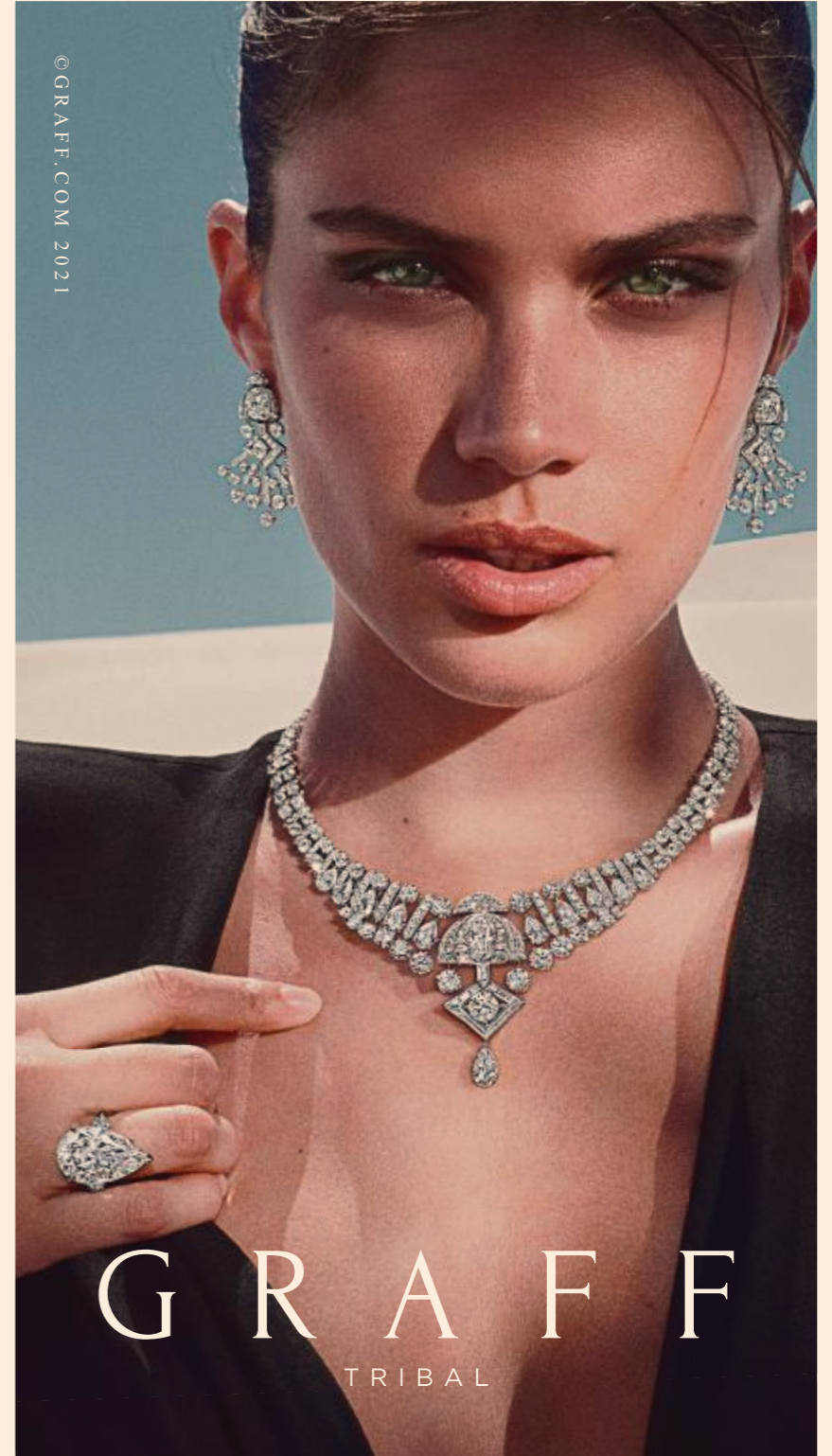
Yellen wrote in her letter that even "waiting until the last minute" to avert a debt limit crisis could cause "serious harm to business and consumer confidence, raise short-term borrowing costs for taxpayers, and negatively impact the credit rating of the United States".

An increase in the US debt limit could be passed as a standalone bill, although it is more likely to be attached to other legislation. This includes the \$3.5tn social safety net expansion set to garner only Democratic votes, and a government funding bill to avoid a shutdown.

The debt deadline is being closely watched by investors and strategists. Lou Crandall, economist at Wrightson ICAP, said the Treasury was on course to run out of money by October 22.

World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				INTEREST RATES					
	Sep 8	prev	%chg		Sep 8	prev			Sep 8	prev	chg		
S&P 500	4499.02	4520.03	-0.46	\$ per €	1.181	1.185	€ per \$	0.728	0.725	US Gov 10 yr	148.31	1.35	-0.02
Nasdaq Composite	15219.54	15374.33	-1.01	\$ per £	1.374	1.379	£ per €	1.163	1.164	UK Gov 10 yr		0.65	0.01
Dow Jones Ind	34947.74	35100.00	-0.43	¥ per €	0.860	0.859	¥ per £	130.327	130.562	Ger Gov 10 yr		-0.33	0.00
FTSEurofirst 300	1802.86	1821.56	-1.03	¥ per \$	110.335	110.220	£ index	81.553	81.686	Jpn Gov 10 yr	115.80	0.04	0.01
Euro Stoxx 50	4182.06	4225.01	-1.02	¥ per £	151.567	151.944	Sfr per £	1.267	1.266	US Gov 30 yr	114.50	1.96	-0.01
FTSE 100	7095.53	7149.37	-0.75	Sfr per €	1.089	1.088	€ per \$	0.847	0.844	Ger Gov 2 yr	105.36	-0.70	0.01
FTSE All-Share	4089.76	4122.43	-0.79										
CAC 40	6668.89	6726.07	-0.85										
Xetra Dax	15610.28	15843.09	-1.47										
Nikkei	30181.21	29916.14	0.89										
Hang Seng	26320.93	26353.63	-0.12										
MSCI World \$	3158.94	3169.64	-0.34										
MSCI EM \$	1325.65	1324.37	0.10										
MSCI ACWI \$	746.07	748.21	-0.29										



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NATIONAL

Tax increase

FSB warns thousands of jobs in danger

Small businesses fear social care plan will hit post-pandemic rebound

DANIEL THOMAS

More than 50,000 jobs in small businesses are at risk from the government's proposed increase in national insurance to cover health and social care provision, a leading trade group has warned.

The Federation of Small Businesses said the total annual cost of the rise in national insurance to the sector would be about £5.7bn. It warned that the increase would disproportionately hit small company owners, who were struggling to recover from the Covid-19 crisis.

Bosses and UK business groups have told ministers that the policy will undermine the economic recovery and cause companies to rethink plans to hire and train more people.

The government has proposed a 1.25 percentage point rise in national insurance contributions for employers, employees and the self-employed from next April.

Mike Cherry, FSB national chair, said the policy was a "regressive jobs tax hike that will put jobs at risk, stifle start-ups and prevent new jobs from being created".

He warned that, combined with other rising employment costs, "that 50,000

figure could easily end up being a good deal greater". The FSB is angry that the government has not published an economic impact assessment of the scheme

'[The increase] will put jobs at risk, stifle start-ups and prevent new jobs from being created'

before the parliamentary vote, which the government won last night, to agree the increase.

The FSB estimate that 50,000 jobs are at risk, which has been sent to the Treasury, is drawn from the Institute for Fis-

cal Studies' calculations of NICs rates, an international assessment of comparable employment cost increases and the Office for National Statistics' latest labour market study.

The Treasury, referring to the FSB estimate that 50,000 jobs could be lost, said it did "not recognise these figures", adding: "It's right that employers, who benefit from a healthy workforce, contribute to the levy so the costs are more widely shared."

Other business groups have also criticised the plans. Suren Thiru, head of economics at the British Chambers of Commerce, said the policy "will be a drag anchor on jobs growth at an absolutely crucial time" after firms had built

up "huge debt burdens" during the pandemic. The Institute of Directors said the rise came as costs were spiralling higher for many businesses given Brexit-related squeezes on supplies and labour.

Roger Barker, head of policy at the IoD, described the extra tax on dividends as a "kick in the teeth" for company owner-directors who often paid themselves through dividends but who had also missed out on Covid-related support during the pandemic.

Stephen Phipson, chief executive of Make UK, which represents the manufacturing industry, described the tax increase as "ill-timed as well as illogical", given the threat to jobs.

Universal credit

Ministers prepare for 'catastrophic' cut to benefit

SEBASTIAN PAYNE, JIM PICKARD AND LAURA HUGHES

The government is braced for the "catastrophic" impact of the end of the temporary uplift to the main welfare benefit next month, according to an internal Whitehall analysis.

The £20-a-week increase to universal credit was introduced at the start of the pandemic. The additional funding, which costs £6bn a year, will end on October 6.

Chancellor Rishi Sunak is said by colleagues to be opposed to a permanent rise in the welfare bill. Some senior Conservative MPs have voiced their opposition to ending the uplift, including six of the party's former work and pensions secretaries.

A Whitehall official said the government's analysis highlighted the deep impact of reversing the change. "The internal modelling of ending the UC uplift is catastrophic. Homelessness and poverty are likely to rise, and food banks usage will soar. It could be the real disaster of the autumn."

One minister warned that the backlash over UC, which is claimed by 6m, was likely to be more serious for premier Boris Johnson than the current debate on social care.

"There's no doubt that this is going to have a serious impact on thousands of people and colleagues are really worried. I think it will definitely eclipse social care as a political problem. It's not just red wall MPs who are fearing a major backlash from the public."

Iain Duncan Smith, a former Tory leader and work and pensions secretary, called for an extension: "They should keep it, particularly over the next year-and-a-half. They don't know where things are going when they end the furlough scheme. There is a lot of unease."

The government's furlough scheme ends on September 30.

Another senior Tory official said: "We need to be ahead of this. Labour will make hay with the fact we're harming the poorest in society."

The Department for Work and Pensions indicated the uplift would not be extended. "The uplift to universal credit was always temporary. It was designed to help claimants through the economic shock and financial disruption of the toughest stages of the pandemic, and it has done so," it said.

A Treasury insider suggested that a tight spending envelope, plus a probable uplift in the public finances, could give the chancellor "some space to do something". Officials are said to be looking at easing the rate at which the benefit tapers for those in work.

Labour is expected to force a parliamentary debate on universal credit next Wednesday, with many Tory MPs likely to voice concerns.

Jonathan Reynolds, shadow work and pensions secretary, said many people were still unaware that the increase was about to be withdrawn: it came after a wider four-year benefits freeze.

Some constituencies have large numbers on the benefit: Reynolds cited the example of Peterborough as one Conservative seat with 18,000 dependent on universal credit. "It means that half a million people are set to be pushed into poverty and the country will be less resilient and able to respond to difficult times in future," he said.

England. Healthcare

NHS waiting lists risk spiralling higher

Funds allocated by Johnson will fall far short of what is required, warns think-tank

SARAH NEVILLE, CHRIS GILES AND GILL PLIMMER

Queues for NHS treatment in England risk lengthening by the next election, despite Boris Johnson's move to raise taxes in an effort to solve a waiting lists crisis, a leading think-tank warned yesterday.

The Health Foundation's calculation that the sum allocated by the prime minister will fall far short of what is required to clear the treatment backlog – which stands at 5.5m patients – will fuel concerns that the NHS will consume most of the funding secured through higher taxes, with little left over to bolster the creaking social care sector in England.

That in turn raises the prospect of more tax rises being required to give Johnson's promised uplift to adult social care. The Institute for Fiscal Studies, another think-tank, said the NHS could swallow most of the funding obtained through Johnson's tax increases.

The prime minister has proposed raising national insurance by 1.25 percentage points of salary for both employers and employees from April 2022 to secure £36bn over three years for the NHS and social care.

On Tuesday he announced £25bn for NHS England, £5bn for healthcare elsewhere in the UK, and £5.4bn for social care. He said more money would be released for social care in subsequent years.

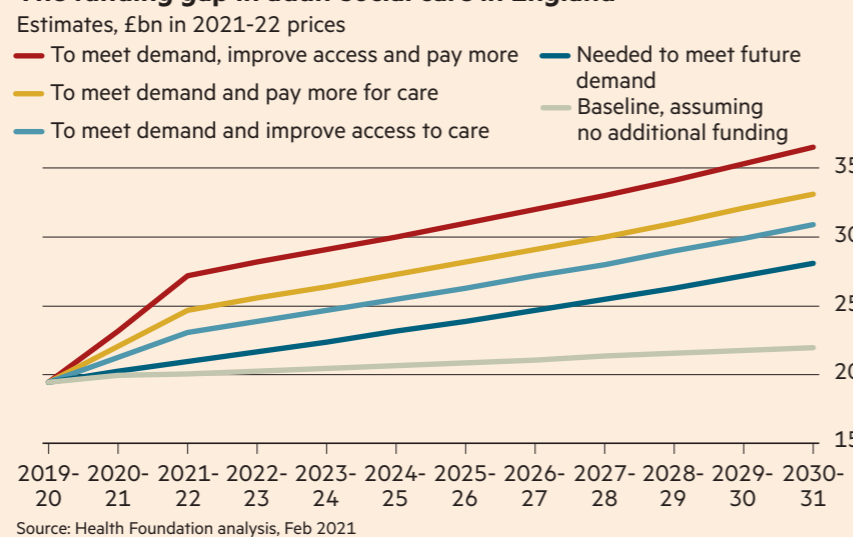
Anita Charlesworth, director of research at the Health Foundation, said former prime minister Tony Blair's successful push to cut waiting lists in the early 2000s had been on the back of an average 6 per cent annual increase in health funding over five years.

The document that accompanied the government's announcement on Tuesday lacked specifics about the timetable for reducing the treatment backlog accumulated during the Covid-19 crisis and restoring the NHS's pre-pandemic target that the vast majority of people should wait no more than 18 weeks.

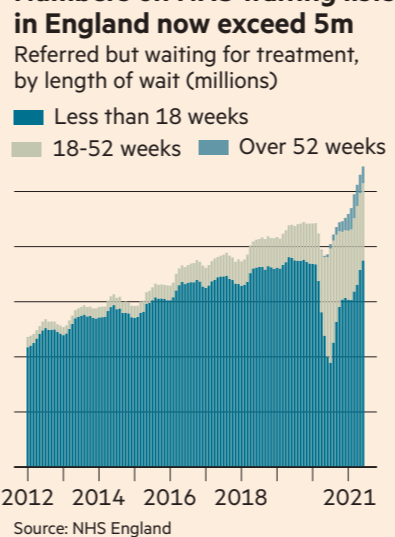
Charlesworth pointed to huge uncertainty about how many of the estimated 8m patients who have stayed away from



The funding gap in adult social care in England



Numbers on NHS waiting lists in England now exceed 5m



Critical care: the treatment backlog in England stands at 5.5m patients

Rui Vieira/PA

the NHS during the pandemic would ultimately seek healthcare.

She said the government had "committed to an increase in the amount of activity the NHS is doing but they've resisted making any commitment, or even saying what they think the extra money will achieve, in terms of waiting lists and waiting times".

If 75 per cent of the "missing" patients sought treatment, it could cost £17bn to restore 18-week waiting times, said

Charlesworth, noting the government had instead provided £10bn between 2021-22 and 2024-25 to tackle the backlog.

If the £17bn was found, a severe NHS workforce squeeze would push up the "unit cost" of each procedure through staff overtime costs and the need to buy capacity at premium rates in the independent sector, she added.

Even holding waiting lists at the current level of 5.5m patients would cost

'The history is very, very poor of the NHS giving money to social care'

Ministerial gaffe

Williamson mixes up black sports stars Rashford and Itoje

LAURA HUGHES AND SEBASTIAN PAYNE

The UK education secretary has been branded "ignorant" and "clueless" after he confused two prominent black English sportsmen.

Gavin Williamson's gaffe comes as Whitehall is braced for the prospect of a cabinet reshuffle in which he is widely expected to be removed from the Department for Education and potentially leave the government.

In an interview with the Evening Standard yesterday, Williamson claimed to have met footballer Marcus Rashford, when in fact he had met England rugby player Maro Itoje.

Rashford, the 23-year-old Manchester United player, successfully led a campaign for the UK government to fund meals for disadvantaged children during school holidays.

Williamson said he had met Rashford over Zoom. "He seemed incredibly engaged, compassionate and charming but then he had to shoot off," he said.

"I didn't want to be the one that was holding him back from his training."

His staff later confirmed to the paper that it had been Itoje on the call.

David Lammy, Labour's shadow justice secretary, said: "It's depressing that in 2021 a black man who has reached the pinnacle of his sport and given so much back to society is confused so easily with another by the education secretary."

"Gavin Williamson must be the most ignorant, clueless and incapable education secretary in the UK's history."

Williamson said it had been a "genuine mistake" and that he had huge respect for both sportsmen.

"Towards the end of a wide-ranging interview in which I talked about both the laptops and school meals campaigns, I conflated the issues and made a genuine mistake. We corrected this with

the journalist before publication of the story," he said.

Rashford's spokesman confirmed he had not participated in a call with the cabinet minister.

"Marcus's consistent ask to those in power has been collaboration," he said.

"More often than not this ask is rebuffed. Maro and Marcus are two incredibly successful young black men, but there's little more they have in common."

Responding to the story, Rashford joked on Twitter that the "accident could have been a giveaway", with a smiling face emoji. Itoje also joked: "Due to recent speculation I thought it was nec-

essary to confirm that I am not Marcus Rashford . . . And whilst we are here my name is not Mario either!! Just a simple Maro Itoje will do . . . Much love, Marcu . . . I mean Maro Itoje."

Williamson is among those regarded by Tory MPs as likely to lose his job in a reshuffle after last year's exam fiasco. But before the story of the confusion emerged, the prime minister passionately defended Williamson during yesterday's parliamentary questions.

Whitehall has been braced for a cabinet reshuffle, with some allies of the premier believing he will shake up his government this week, ahead of the Conservative party conference in October.

But others said Johnson had yet to decide when the reshuffle would take place.

Ministers tipped for new positions include Michael Gove, Cabinet Office minister, Liz Truss, international trade secretary, Steve Barclay, chief secretary to the Treasury, and Anne-Marie Trevelyan, energy minister. Dominic Raab, foreign secretary, is likely to be demoted following his handling of events surrounding the fall of Afghanistan following the Taliban takeover.



'Genuine mistake': footballer Marcus Rashford, left, and rugby star Maro Itoje

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NATIONAL

Retailers braced for shortage of stock in run-up to Christmas

Supply chain squeeze expected to reduce product range and cause less discounting

JONATHAN ELEY AND HARRY DEMPSEY

Retailers' Christmas cheer is set to be rationed this year as logistical challenges at home and in Asia result in narrower product ranges and less discounting during the festive season.

Supply issues in food distribution have dominated headlines in recent weeks, but non-food retailers are encountering similar setbacks in planning and stocking up for their busiest period of the year.

"I've never seen such conditions in over 40 years of selling toys," said Gary Grant, founder and executive chair of The Entertainer, which operates more than 170 toy shops in the UK.

He cited commodity inflation, high shipping costs, problems sourcing containers and constrained factory capacity among the issues being faced.

Problems over the summer at some big Chinese container ports and the blockage of the Suez Canal earlier in the year have led to bottlenecks.

"Factories in China are clogged up so they are only making stuff they have orders for," Grant said.

One senior executive at a big retailer said his company was "working with suppliers to get the best things they have got, even if they are not always what we'd ideally want".

"The period immediately after the pandemic is ironically proving more challenging than the full-blown pandemic," he said.

"We are about eight weeks behind [in

terms of Christmas stock build] at the moment. There is, of course, a safety margin built into that, but if there are further disruptions, there is not much slack."

Grant said his company was about 10 per cent behind where it would normally be, in terms of the number of containers received.

Even air freight is far from smooth because of reduced capacity on board passenger flights and additional Covid-related precautions introduced recently at many Chinese airports, which have cut productivity and increased costs.

Toys are one of the hardest hit categories, along with bicycles and large home-wear items. Consumer electronics, where shipping is a smaller proportion of the overall cost, are less affected by freight problems but have been hit by a shortage of semiconductor chips.

The big retailer executive said it had chartered air freighters to move some products to the UK. "Obviously, we don't want to have to do that too often."

Ikea said this week it was diverting some furniture being delivered to Europe on to trains to ease shipping constraints.

Although there is no overall shortage of shipping containers, freight rates remain elevated and containers are often stranded in the wrong places. Once they arrive in the UK, there is the additional problem of too few truck drivers to move them around.

Dan Myers, managing



Yuletide blues: conditions are tough for toy shops. Below, Gary Grant
Peter Jordan/Alamy



director of transport in the UK and Ireland at XPO Logistics, warned of a "tough" Christmas build-up for retailers unless the government readmitted more EU-based drivers to alleviate a shortfall that has grown to between 90,000 and 100,000.

"Already retailers are rationalising some of the ranges and reducing the delivery frequency," Myers said.

"Some are changing what would have been their historic peak plans to smooth it down and elongate it. It is going to make it a tough Christmas build. It will impact on availability."

Andrew Opie, head of food and sustainability at the British Retail Consortium, said retailers were "taking all necessary measures to mitigate possible disruption", including increasing pay for drivers and "bringing non-perishable goods in early or via alternative routes to avoid

'The period after the pandemic is ironically proving more challenging than the full-blown pandemic'

a last-minute rush on shipping".

Some retailers said ranges could be smaller and discounts less aggressive. "Black Friday will look pretty similar to previous years but there might be narrower choice of individual brands or products," said the executive at the big retailer.

"We'll also take a look at our promotional activity and think twice about anything we were going to do that could create a stock supply issue."

Even retailers that are less dependent on Christmas trading, such as DIY group Kingfisher, are looking into next year with some trepidation given that shipping issues are likely to persist until at least the Chinese new year in early February. "We have managed supply and demand during the summer season, which is now past its peak. Our priority is now to prepare ourselves for next year and our next peak seasonal period," said the group.

Logistics

No quick fix for lack of truckers, warn hauliers

JIM PICKARD AND PETER FOSTER

The haulage industry has warned that government plans to shake up the HGV driving testing process would not provide a "quick fix" to the growing shortage of truckers that has hit UK supply chains.

Grant Shapps, transport secretary, is hoping to set out details of a faster testing system as early as today aimed at increasing the number of lorry drivers to solve the crisis.

Trade bodies have estimated that a combination of the pandemic and Brexit has left the UK with a shortfall of 90,000 to 100,000 HGV drivers, leading to shortages of some products. As a result retailers and hauliers have had to push up wages, leading to inflationary pressures in the sector.

Prime minister Boris Johnson has ordered ministers to prioritise the issue amid warnings that shortages will worsen in the run-up to Christmas.

But the government has resisted calls from hauliers to give foreign truckers an exemption from post-Brexit immigration rules that bar them from being hired to help fill the gap.

Instead ministers have urged the industry to recruit and train more British-based workers. "If we gave visas to one industry we'd immediately have a dozen other industries knocking down the door," said one official.

The shortage is due to both UK-based drivers quitting the profession during the pandemic and immigrant truckers going home.

Ministers are expected to streamline the qualifications required to drive class C large rigid lorries and class C & E heavy goods vehicles into a single test.

Duncan Buchanan, head of policy at the Road Haulage Industry, welcomed the plans but warned that the changes to the testing would not be sufficient to solve the current crisis. "It's helpful but it's not a quick fix."



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INTERNATIONAL

Afghanistan

US criticises Taliban's government line-up

Caretaker regime causes dismay in west but China offers guarded embrace

ERIKA SOLOMON — BERLIN
HENRY FOY — BRUSSELS
ELEANOR OLCOTT — LONDON

Antony Blinken, US secretary of state, said the international community was “concerned” by the Taliban’s caretaker government and called on them to prove their commitments to engagement by allowing foreign nationals and vulnerable Afghans to exit the country.

In a conference with Heiko Maas, German foreign minister, at the US Ram-

stein military base in Germany, Blinken said charter flights arranged by private groups and individuals had been blocked by the Taliban, which argued that some of those booked on the flights did not have proper paperwork.

“We’ve made clear to the Taliban that these charters need to be able to depart,” he said after an online meeting with more than 20 countries about how to approach the Taliban government.

The talks cover how to ensure their demands are met in exchange for offering humanitarian aid. Their main points were the free movement for Afghan and foreign nationals seeking to leave, guarantees from the Taliban that it would fight jihadist groups in its territory,

human rights protection and broader representation in government.

Blinken said some members of the cabinet had “challenging track records”, an indirect reference to the fact that 17 of the 33 members are either on UN sanctions lists or wanted by the FBI.

The Taliban has said the government is temporary and will be replaced with one that includes political opponents and more representatives from ethnic groups outside the dominant Pashtuns.

“We understand the Taliban has presented this as a caretaker cabinet,” Blinken said. “The international community has made clear its expectation that the Afghan people deserve an inclusive government.”

Western leaders are trying to avoid isolating the Taliban, as they had done before the 20-year US-led occupation. But they were disappointed that Abdul Ghani Baradar, who led talks with the US, was not named premier. Instead he was appointed deputy to Mohammad Hassan Akhund, an adviser to the late Taliban founder Mohammed Omar.

Both Maas and Blinken said they were in contact with some 100 countries to ensure consensus on how to approach the Taliban.

“We don’t want them to play us against each other,” Maas added.

But China appeared to offer a tentative embrace to the caretaker government, saying it would donate \$51m in

food, supplies and vaccines to it. “Afghanistan stands at a crossroads,” Wang Yi, foreign minister, said in a video conference with Taliban leaders and representatives from Pakistan, Iran, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. “The US and its allies withdrew hastily and the so-called ‘democratic transformation’ has ended in failure.”

Wang added, however, that Kabul needed to control security and end drug trafficking before announcing any Belt and Road projects there.

Brussels said the appointments did not appear to meet its calls for an inclusive government.

Additional reporting by Andrew England in London and Najmeh Bozorgmehr in Tehran

Supreme Court

Mexico president urges respect for abortion ruling

CHRISTINE MURRAY
MONTERREY, MEXICO

Mexico’s president yesterday said a Supreme Court ruling to decriminalise abortion in the country should be respected, a victory for women’s rights activists in stark contrast to increasing restrictions on the practice across the border in the US.

President Andrés Manuel López Obrador said he would not take sides on the polemic issue but that the ruling should be respected. “I shouldn’t, in this case, give my opinion except to support what the judges already decided,” he said. “We have to be respectful of legality.”

In its first in-depth ruling on the topic, the court’s 11 judges said parts of a law in Coahuila state that established prison terms of up to three years for abortion were unconstitutional. The decision applies to the northern Mexican state bordering the US but also sets a precedent that all judges in the country must follow.

“Today is a watershed in the history of the rights of all women, especially the most vulnerable,” Supreme Court president Arturo Zaldívar said at the end of Tuesday’s session.

In Mexico City, Veracruz, Hidalgo and Oaxaca states, abortion is already decriminalised for pregnancies up to 12 weeks. It is only permitted in limited circumstances in the predominantly Catholic country’s remaining 28 states.

“It’s a historic precedent,” said Veronica Cruz, who has been an abortion rights activist in Mexico for 20 years. “Never again should there be the temptation to put a woman in prison for an abortion.”

“Today is a watershed in the history of the rights of all women, especially the most vulnerable”

Cruz said the Supreme Court’s decision would put pressure on lawmakers and bolster legal challenges in states where local penal codes still ban abortions.

The decision comes as Texas, which borders Mexico to the north, implements the most restrictive abortion law in the US. The US Supreme Court last week refused to intervene to stop the law, which allows private citizens to sue people for providing or facilitating abortions after six weeks.

In Mexico, several attempts by abortion rights activists to get a ruling from its Supreme Court on the issue failed for technical reasons in recent years. The court is yet to rule on a separate case over whether medical staff can refuse to carry out abortions as conscientious objectors.

Local media have reported small protests outside the court from anti-abortion groups in recent days.

Even in exceptions allowed under current law, such as for victims of rape and expectant mothers whose health is at risk, access to abortion in Mexico can be difficult, activists say.

In Latin America, abortion is legal in Cuba and Uruguay. Last year, Argentina’s Senate legalised abortion up to 14 weeks.

Ministry roles. New administration

Kabul cabinet picks expose west's lack of clout

Islamists have selected an all-male team dominated by ethnic Pashtuns and US foes

STEPHANIE FINDLAY AND AMY KAZMIN
NEW DELHI

After the fall of Kabul to the Taliban last month, western governments urged Afghanistan’s new rulers to form an “inclusive” administration, dangling the prospect of co-operation if they showed signs of newfound moderation since their ousting from power by the US-led invasion in 2001. On Tuesday, the Islamist militants revealed a government pointing to the opposite.

The all-male 33-strong cabinet is dominated by Taliban heavyweights, all but three ethnic Pashtuns who have for years exercised political control over Kabul despite accounting for 40 per cent of the population.

Among the ministers, many have close ties to Pakistan, including the new interior minister Sirajuddin Haqqani, who the FBI has placed on its most wanted list with a \$10m bounty. Five ministers are former Guantánamo detainees who were freed by then US President Barack Obama in exchange for the release of a US soldier.

Analysts say the appointments make it clear that the regime in Kabul cares little about diplomatic recognition from western governments or winning the much-touted “international legitimacy” — a prospect advocates of the US withdrawal had insisted would give Washington leverage over the Islamists following their return to power.

Among the reasons to seek normalised relations with the west is that most of Afghanistan’s \$9bn in foreign reserves are held in international accounts that have been frozen. The Biden administration has blocked Taliban access to Afghan central bank reserves held in US banks, a US official said. Some Taliban members are also on the US sanctions list.

“They don’t give two hoots about the west, that’s the message,” said Avinash Paliwal, deputy director of Soas University of London’s South Asia Institute.

Analysts also say that the absence of non-Pashtun ethnic groups could fuel ethnic conflict, driving Uzbeks and Tajiks — who enjoy strong public sympathy and support in neighbouring countries — to resist the new power.

Top jobs Main figures in leadership team



Abdul Ghani Baradar
Deputy prime minister

Signed the February 2020 Doha deal that paved the way for the US military withdrawal from Afghanistan. A co-founder of the movement, Baradar held a senior military role in the first Taliban regime.

Haibatullah Akhundzada
Emir

Akhundzada took over as the Taliban’s supreme leader after Akhtar Mansour was killed in a US drone strike in 2016. The son of a preacher, Akhundzada rose through the Taliban as a religious scholar, rather than a fighter. He has not been seen in public for many years.

Mohammad Hassan Akhund
Prime minister

One of the four original co-founders of the Taliban and a close associate and adviser to late leader Mullah Omar. Held senior positions in the previous Taliban regime and has since remained at the highest level of the movement. Has been on a UN sanctions list since 2001.

Sirajuddin Haqqani
Interior minister

Son of a famous anti-Soviet warlord who became close to both the Taliban and Osama bin Laden, Haqqani is head of the militant Haqqani network and one of the US FBI’s most wanted men, with a \$10m bounty for information that can lead directly to his arrest.

New faces: a vendor sells posters of Taliban leaders including Abdul Ghani Baradar, right, in Kabul

Aamir Qureshi/AFP/Getty

Iran has already denounced the Taliban for its offensive against the Panjshir Valley, the last opposition stronghold. Russia has said they would not recognise the Taliban government unless it was inclusive.

“It will not only deepen the old fault-lines but create new ones,” Afrasiab Khattak, a former Pakistan senator, said. “All these ethnic groups, they are on the borders with other countries, so these differences will get regionalised and internationalised, leading to proxy wars.”

After the cabinet was announced, a statement from Haibatullah Akhundzada, the Taliban’s elusive Supreme leader, declared that “all matters of governance and life will be regulated by the Holy sharia law”.

Western governments and some of Afghanistan’s neighbours have reacted with dismay at the line-up, which the Taliban described as a “caretaker administration”.

“There is room for improvement in diversity, to put it mildly. No woman and no Hazara”, Andreas von Brandt, EU Ambassador to Afghanistan, tweeted yesterday, referring to the Shia minority.

The US state department also expressed chagrin that the new government consisted exclusively of Taliban members and featured no women.

The two Taliban leaders best known to foreign governments, Abdul Ghani Baradar and Sher Mohammad Stanikzai, have been effectively sidelined. Portrayed as moderate faces of a changed, reformed Taliban, they have been given positions as deputies to men seen as more hardline.

“Any of those guys who until now demonstrated independence have been shunted out,” said Paliwal.

The cabinet bears the stamp of the Taliban’s oldest patron, Pakistan, he added. “Right now there is no leverage for most western countries in the situa-

“They don’t give two hoots about the west, that’s the message”

tion, they can only respond through Pakistan and try to make sure that Rawalpindi — the Pakistan army headquarters — keeps these guys somewhat under control.”

Ibraheem Bahiss, an Afghanistan consultant at International Crisis Group, said Islamabad, Doha and Beijing were now the only countries that might be willing to recognise the Taliban government in its current form.

“Everyone wanted an inclusive government, but the Taliban’s internal politics won at the end of the day,” said Bahiss. “Regional countries were a bit more open to the idea of engagement with the Taliban . . . but increasingly we are seeing countries back away.”

Yet while the Taliban may not win formal diplomatic recognition, the international community is already providing emergency relief in a bid to prevent a humanitarian crisis that would trigger an exodus out of Afghanistan to Europe. **See Opinion**

Pandemic

Covax cuts forecast for vaccine delivery to developing world

HANNAH KUCHLER — LONDON

Covax has slashed its forecasts for Covid-19 vaccine deliveries to the developing world by about 25 per cent this year after India’s export ban, manufacturing problems and delays in approvals of new shots knocked the programme off track.

Deliveries under the scheme to provide vaccines to low- and middle-income countries are ramping up, with 1.1bn doses set to be available for the rest of the year.

But the World Health Organization-backed programme will fall short of its target of delivering 2bn vaccines this year, with a total of 1.4bn shots. Some 200m of the doses are reserved for so-called “self-financing” countries with higher-income populations.

Soumya Swaminathan, chief scientist of the WHO, said there were still about 10,000 deaths a day from Covid-19, which she called “entirely preventable” if vaccines were shared more equally.

She said there would be enough supplies to vaccinate the world’s healthcare workers and elderly by the end of Sep-

tember and bring down mortality significantly.

“I am very concerned that some countries are talking about boosters when there isn’t a lot of evidence that vaccines are failing to protect people from severe disease,” she said.

Covax is set to hit 2bn doses by the end of the first quarter of next year.

The forecast has been cut for three main reasons. In March, India stopped the Serum Institute, the world’s largest vaccine maker, from exporting the doses of Oxford/AstraZeneca and Novavax vaccines that were due to be sent to developing countries. Covax is in talks with the Indian government about lifting the ban.

The second setback has been disruption in manufacturing, primarily for Johnson & Johnson and the AstraZeneca vaccines, including problems at the Emergent BioSolutions plant in the US. The third cause of delay is that Novavax and Clover vaccines have not yet received approval.

Vaccine makers have argued there is enough supply for western countries to both give boosters and share shots with the rest of the world. But boosters would

still have a significant impact on supply: life sciences analytics firm Airfinity forecasts that if developed countries gave boosters to everyone who has been vaccinated, there would be 1.1bn doses available. This could rise to 2.5bn if they only gave third doses to people aged over 50.

Seth Berkley, chief executive of Gavi, the vaccine alliance that is one of the partners behind Covax, called on countries to give up their place in the queue at manufacturers if they have enough jabs for their domestic needs.

The measure, called “queue swap-

ping”, would allow an acceleration of vaccination in the developing world while allowing western countries to receive the doses they had ordered later if they need them for boosters.

“This is of course bad for the whole world, as we have seen the dreadful consequences that take hold when the virus is left unchecked.

“We cannot afford not to vaccinate healthcare workers and elderly around the world,” he said.

He added that it was important for countries to “follow the science” on third doses of vaccines, arguing that there are not enough vaccines to experiment and it is necessary to “stick to where they are needed”.

Richard Hatchett, chief executive of the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations, another Covax backer, said even if it became apparent that boosters provided value, it would be an “incremental protection” that would not compare to how useful these shots would be as primary doses to the unvaccinated.

“Doses that are shared now save more lives than doses that become available in six months,” he said.



Supply targets for shots have been hit by manufacturing problems



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INTERNATIONAL

Paris terror victims' families to relive trauma at French trial

Relatives will be given a voice during prosecution of Bataclan defendants

LEILA ABOUD — PARIS

The Palais de Justice in Paris has been at the heart of French legal affairs for centuries but the case starting there yesterday was like no other: the landmark trial of 20 men accused of carrying out terrorist attacks in Paris that killed 130 and wounded hundreds more.

Those deadly hours on November 13 2015 have been labelled by some as France's version of what the US lived through on September 11 2001. They formed part of a traumatic period in France when Isis fighters returning from Syria and Iraq, and French citizens who adhered to their cause, carried out a series of deadly acts, from killing journalists at Charlie Hebdo magazine in January 2015 to the truck rampage in Nice in July 2016.

Only one of the men on trial, which will take place with five judges in a specially prepared courtroom over an estimated nine months, is accused of being directly involved in the attacks. In the opening hours of the trial yesterday, the man, Salah Abdeslam, provoked a ripple of shock in the courtroom when he was asked to confirm personal details such as his address and profession.

Wearing a black polo shirt, and speaking from a glassed-in box with a phalanx of armed police officers close by, Abdeslam stood and removed his face mask, which those present in the courtroom were required to wear because of Covid-19.

"First I want to testify that there is no god except Allah and that Mohammed is

his servant," he said, using the Shahada Islamic oath. Then he told the court: "I gave up my job to become an Islamic State soldier."

Abdeslam has said little during years of investigations by French magistrates and it remains to be seen what else he will say throughout the trial. Most of the perpetrators died that night. But speaking before the trial, François Molins, the then Paris prosecutor who rushed to the scene of the attacks, said the trial would have stakes beyond judging the accused.

"The trial must fulfil several objectives, the first of which is revealing the truth of what happened," he added. "It should help the victims in their healing process by having a cathartic effect. It will also be an occasion to remind us of our values of humanity and dignity, which stands in contrast to those espoused by the Islamist terrorists."

An aspect of the French legal system that differs from common law in the UK or the US will lend a particular intensity to the trial: about 1,800 victims, often the families of those killed, have joined the case as civil parties.

That gives them the right to be represented by lawyers who can ask questions and call witnesses, just like the defence and prosecution. Victims who want to speak about how they were affected can do so during five weeks set aside for such testimony.

Philippe Duperron, whose 30-year-old son, Thomas, was killed and who heads the victims' association, 13onze15 Fraternité et Vérité, will be among them. "We must embody the victims so



Horror scene: a memorial to the dead in Paris in 2015. Below, the temporary court built for the trial — Lionel Bonaventura/AFP/Getty

they are not relegated to anonymity," he said. "I will carry the voice of Thomas. I owe him that as his father."

Sharon Weill, a law professor specialising in terrorism trials at the American University of Paris, said the victims' prominent role would set this trial apart. It will also allow for scrutiny of intelligence failures before the attacks,

such as lack of co-ordination with other European countries.

The attackers struck Parisians enjoying a Friday night. Supervised by Isis, three teams fanned out across the capital in rented cars. In just under four hours, they set off suicide bombs near a football match at Stade de France, fired guns at drinkers at café terraces in the trendy 10th arrondissement and killed 90 at the Bataclan theatre, where a US metal band was playing.

Eleven attackers died, either by bombs or killed by police. French and Belgian investigators tracked the surviving attackers through recovered mobile phones to a cell in the Molenbeek neighbourhood of Brussels.

Soon after, police killed two alleged attackers in a Paris suburb, including Abdelhamid Abaaoud, the Belgian-Moroccan mastermind of the hits. But it took a while to catch Abdeslam.

Abdeslam told Belgian investigators in 2016 that he had rented cars and dropped the men off at the Stade de France, but did not follow through

'We must embody the victims so they are not relegated to anonymity. I will carry the voice of Thomas. I owe him that as his father'

on the plan to blow himself up there. Thirteen other defendants have been charged with providing logistical support, such as renting cars or apartments, providing fake passports or obtaining weapons. Six defendants, including Isis leaders who allegedly planned operations in Europe, are being tried in absentia, but some are thought to be dead in Syria.

Among the witnesses will be ex-president François Hollande, as well as the then interior minister and intelligence services chiefs. They are likely to face questions about how attackers pulled off the operation even though many were on the radar of security services.

Arthur Dénouveau, a survivor of the Bataclan attack who leads Life for Paris, a victims' group, said of the powerful emotions revived by the trial: "I do not have the control over them . . . but the message I will carry at the trial is that terrorism does not destroy us. We are still here and we are alive."

Additional reporting by Domitille Alain in Paris



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INTERNATIONAL

US stimulus

Fed official backs taper despite jobs data

Weak employment growth fails to change support for bond-buying wind-down

COLBY SMITH — NEW YORK

The Federal Reserve should press ahead with a plan to dial down its pandemic stimulus programme despite an abrupt slowdown in US jobs growth last month, according to a top central bank official.

James Bullard, president of the St Louis Fed, dismissed concerns that the labour market recovery was faltering, even after just 235,000 jobs were created in August, and reiterated his call for the central bank to begin scaling back or “tapering” its \$120bn-a-month bond-buying programme soon.

“There is plenty of demand for workers and there are more job openings than there are unemployed workers,”

Bullard said in an interview with the Financial Times. Data yesterday revealed US job openings surged to a fresh record in July, signalling American employers continue to face labour shortages. The number of job openings rose by 749,000 to 10.9m, according to the labour department’s Job Openings and Labor Turnover Survey.

“If we can get the workers matched up and bring the pandemic under better control, it certainly looks like we’ll have a very strong labour market going into next year,” Bullard said.

He added: “The big picture is that the taper will get going this year and will end sometime by the first half of next year.”

Rather than taking his cue from a single strong or weak jobs report, Bullard said he was looking instead for job gains to average out around 500,000 a month this year. That is still roughly the current pace of hiring following August’s

report. “When you’re in a crisis, you have to be prepared for twists and turns,” he said. “These numbers are going to bounce up and down.”

Until August, the labour market had posted impressive gains, with roughly 1m new jobs in both June and July.

As unemployment has fallen, Fed officials have indicated that they are ready to begin reducing bond buys this year, which they pledged to keep in place until they saw “substantial further progress” towards maximum employment and inflation averaging 2 per cent.

But the surge in Covid-19 cases tied to the more contagious Delta variant and fresh evidence that hiring has slowed in many service-oriented sectors such as leisure and hospitality has rattled confidence in the taper timeline.

Bullard acknowledged that Delta-related concerns were having an impact, but stressed that other supply-side

‘When you’re in a crisis, you have to be prepared for twists and turns’

James Bullard

issues — including enhanced unemployment benefits that expired for more than 7.5m Americans this week — were also holding people back from returning to the workforce.

“The jobs are there, it’s that the workers may not want to take those jobs right now,” he said, adding that a jump in personal savings during the pandemic and \$1,400 of stimulus cheques meant that “households are flush with income”.

In an attempt to attract staff, employers have raised wages, a campaign that picked up last month and helped to push average hourly earnings 0.6 per cent higher from July.

Bullard said he expected the unemployment rate to fall below 5 per cent by the end of this year.

Another reason to taper quickly was the “incipient housing bubble” that might be fuelled in part by ultra-loose monetary policy, Bullard said.

GLOBAL INSIGHT

BERLIN

Ben Hall



Merkel’s presence looms over electoral race in Germany

As the evening progressed, Armin Laschet seemed to sink into his armchair. The leader of Germany’s Christian Democrats was on stage in Berlin last week not to expound on his experience or explain how he might change his country for the better after 16 years of conservative-led governments. The CDU chancellor-candidate was in conversation with the author of a biography of Angela Merkel.

With his party possibly heading for a defeat in federal elections on September 26, it seemed an odd use of his time. Laschet has struggled to convince CDU voters why he is the right man to lead the country. With the campaign in its final stages, he spent 90 minutes answering questions not about himself but about the woman leaving office.

Merkel is the first chancellor not to seek re-election for 75 years. Until recently, she has largely stayed out of the campaign. Yet she has still dominated it. The floating Merkel voter, loyal to her but not her party, will decide the outcome. The departing chancellor remains far more popular than those hoping to succeed her. Germans still appear to cherish her steady leadership, especially in times of crisis.

At the book discussion, Laschet said the lack of an anti-incumbent mood in the country was “what makes this campaign special”. “The feeling is different to the last months of Helmut Kohl,” he said. “Then the feeling was — 16 years are enough. That was the dominant slogan in 1998. No one would say that about Angela Merkel now.”

Laschet and his rivals, Olaf Scholz for the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and Annalena Baerbock for the Greens, are measured against the Merkel character standard. The first to stumble was Baerbock, when it emerged she had padded her CV and plagiarised passages for a book. They were, a party ally said, rookie errors that betrayed her inexperience. It seems like a fatal flaw when you are leading a party of radicalism.

When floods hit parts of western Germany in July, Laschet was filmed laughing in the background as the president, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, paid tribute to the victims. The clip crystallised suspicions that Laschet, a genial Rhinelander, lacked the gravitas for chancellor. It has been downhill since. As the continuity candidate, he could not rely on fresh policy ideas to give his campaign impetus.

Instead, it is Scholz, a prudent finance minister and centre-left moderate, who seems to offer the closest match with Merkel. Sober, even robotic, he seems designed to appeal to the Merkel floating voter. His policy platform of a higher minimum wage, more affordable housing and stable pensions is almost old-fashioned. But it is clear and comprehensible. And Scholz has championed a higher minimum wage for some time from within the coalition government. It also feels like continuity.

“There is no appetite for policy change or style change,” said Daniela Schwarzer, of the Open Society Foundations in Berlin. “But there is an appetite for a non-CDU chancellor at some point.” She added: “There is an increasing number of people who are fed up with Merkel’s habit of muffling politics, of not solving things, of leading from behind. But at the same time, they don’t want disruption.”

Scholz’s camp says their man has understood the mood. Germans may want to keep Merkel’s style and broad policy approach but they also want the next chancellor to fix problems Merkel has left: low-paid jobs, digital backwardness, timid climate policies. Merkel’s forceful intervention in the campaign on Tuesday, warning of the risks of a leftwing coalition and praising Laschet’s “moderation”, shows Scholz has the CDU on the run.

For much of the past decade, it was Merkel who claimed the credit for policies espoused by her centre-left coalition partners. It depressed support for the SPD to existential levels and displeased her conservative wing but made her popular to the benefit of her party. Now, the SPD is preparing to take back its Merkel voters.

“The party [CDU] always relied on Merkel’s power,” said a Scholz ally. “You can call it complacency.”

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Clean energy

US weighs huge rise in solar-power electricity

DEREK BROWER — NEW YORK

The Biden administration said that solar power could provide 40 per cent of the US’s electricity within 15 years — up from just 3 per cent — in a study that bolsters the case for new clean energy policies set to be debated in spending bills before Congress.

The scenario would be required as part of an aggressive push to cut carbon emissions from an electric grid that at present relies heavily on natural gas and coal.

The study, released yesterday by the US Department of Energy, found that solar power supply could be swiftly expanded without increasing electricity prices while creating as many as 1.5m jobs.

But it would depend on “aggressive cost reductions, supportive policies and large-scale electrification” in which energy uses such as building heat and transport no longer rely on directly burning fossil fuels.

The administration is pushing hard to win congressional support for a \$3.5tn budget plan that includes measures designed to meet the president’s targets of net zero emissions by 2050 and a fully carbon-free domestic electricity industry by 2035.

The package could feature new tax credits for investment in renewable energy generation, storage and transmission, as well as a clean electricity payment programme to prod utilities to shift to greener power.

“Achieving this bright future requires a massive and equitable deployment of renewable energy and strong decarbonisation policies,” said Jennifer Granholm, US secretary of energy.

Utilities, independent power producers and property owners have accelerated installations of solar photovoltaic systems around the US.

About 15 gigawatts of solar power capacity was installed last year, most of it at large “utility-scale” projects, according to the US Energy Information Administration, an independent analytical wing of the energy department.



Japan Hardliner aims to be first woman PM

Sanae Takaichi, a hardline nationalist with outspoken views on national security, has entered the contest to succeed Yoshihide Suga as she aims to become Japan’s first woman prime minister.

The former communications minister, 60, who has been endorsed by Suga’s predecessor, Shinzo Abe, is one of Japan’s few prominent female politicians. But she is a divisive figure who has frequently visited the contentious Yasukuni war shrine and pushed for constitutional reform to strengthen Japan’s military capabilities.

Launching her campaign, she said if she were chosen to succeed Suga as leader of the ruling Liberal Democratic party (LDP), she would stick to the Abenomics programme of her predecessors, which relies on aggressive monetary and fiscal stimulus. Dubbing her plans as “Sanaenomics”, Takaichi proposed greater investments in crisis management so Japan could better address risks such as the pandemic, food security and cyber attacks.

She would also put on hold Japan’s goal to return to a primary balance surplus by 2025 to prioritise hitting the inflation target of 2 per cent and refrain from raising the consumption tax to finance the stimulus measures.

Stepping up: Sanae Takaichi arrives at a Tokyo venue yesterday to announce her running in the ruling LDP leadership race — Kim Kyung-Hoon/Reuters

“With this plan to make the Japanese economy resilient, I will rebuild the economy and put it on a path for growth,” she said in Tokyo.

To address the coronavirus crisis, Takaichi said she would consider a new legal framework to enable lockdowns. While countries in Europe and elsewhere enacted compulsory lockdowns, social distancing in Japan has always been voluntary in part because of a constitutional right to free movement.

Suga resigned abruptly last week after his popularity collapsed due to his handling of the pandemic. Yet his exit after just a year in charge also sparked concerns that Japan would return to a period of political instability that preceded Abe’s term of nearly eight years. Takaichi, who does not belong to a faction, does not rank high in popularity polls and few analysts believe she can win enough backing to beat other leading candidates such as vaccines minister Taro Kono and former foreign minister Fumio Kishida.

“We still don’t know how the contest will play out, but so far the majority view is that this will be a battle between Kishida and Kono,” said one LDP parliamentarian. Kana Inagaki in Tokyo

Middle East. Financial crisis

Lebanon fuel shortages test support for Hizbollah

Paramilitary group unable to carry out traditional role of provider and protector

CHLOE CORNISH — NABATIYEH, LEBANON

Lebanon’s crippling fuel shortages have already forced baker Ali Moazen to cut his production by a quarter and ration

bread sales. Now they are threatening to put his entire business on ice.

“Today’s the last day for me,” said Moazen, who needs diesel to bake and deliver goods in the southern city of Nabatiyeh, long a bastion of support for Hizbollah, the Shia Islamist paramilitary group and party. “If there’s no diesel, I’m not opening tomorrow.” Nor did he have petrol; his car has been parked for days. “I’m angry,” he added.

Nationwide fuel shortages, the latest incarnation of Lebanon’s long-running financial crisis, have not spared Hizbollah’s heartlands and are testing support for the Iranian-backed group, which with a militia and political wing is considered the dominant power.

Hassan Nasrallah, the group’s leader, has blamed western powers for what he calls “an economic war”. As public resentment swelled in late August and queues lengthened at petrol stations, Nasrallah announced Hizbollah had arranged for Iran to send oil to Lebanon.

“We are not taking the place of the state,” said Nasrallah in a televised

speech of the shipment, which opponents said could put Lebanon in breach of US sanctions. “The aim is to help all Lebanese, [not just] Hizbollah supporters or the Shia.” Pro-Hizbollah paper Al Akhbar reported last week that a tanker had arrived in Syria, and its contents would be trucked to Lebanon.

It is little surprise to analysts that the group felt the need to act. Districts that have traditionally supported Hizbollah are said to be among the areas worst hit. A UN economic agency study this week cited Bekaa and Baalbek-Hermel in the east, and Nabatiyeh in the south, as particularly badly affected.

There are no polling data to show whether the crises are denting Hizbollah’s support. Its charitable organisations still provide aid to many while the state has been slow to help. But as the crisis hurts its constituents, Hizbollah has been unable to fulfil its traditional role of provider and protector, threatening a key source of its legitimacy, said Hanin Ghaddar, a fellow at the Washington Institute, a think-tank that has

taken a hawkish line on Iran. With its heartlands reeling from the fuel crisis, the Iranian fuel was “part of their strategy to calm people”, added Ghaddar.

Chris Abi-Nassif, Lebanon programme director at the Middle East Institute, said: “Loyalty [for Hizbollah] is pronounced, [but] it might not be unconditional, which might be why Hizbollah is trying to solve this [fuel crisis].”

Randa Slim, senior fellow at the Middle East Institute, said Hizbollah was



Relief: motorcyclists celebrate their turn to fill up with fuel in Beirut

under pressure to take care of its community. “If they are able to provide a short term solution [of] tangible improvement . . . Hizbollah’s credibility, reputational capital will improve.”

In recent years, Hizbollah, designated a terrorist group by the US and most European nations, has increased its influence via alliances, becoming a dominant political player, “[but] the same power-sharing game has led the country nowhere”, said Mohamad Hage Ali, a Beirut-based fellow with the Carnegie Endowment. Now Hizbollah, deeply implicated in Lebanon’s failure by its participation in successive governments, faces “difficult challenges, starting with their own areas” where it increasingly faces questions about its role in a rotten status quo.

A year after the blast at the port in Beirut, Lebanon has yet to form a government and Hizbollah’s opponents blame the group for this paralysis.

Street protesters have chanted slogans against Hizbollah and Nasrallah as well as other political leaders and forces

they blame for Lebanon’s deterioration. Hizbollah is considered to in effect run a shadow state in southern Beirut’s suburbs, the eastern Bekaa Valley and much of southern Lebanon, providing social services from education to health. As elsewhere in Lebanon, the fuel shortages in Hizbollah-run territory have disrupted supplies of everything.

In Nabatiyeh, the petrol shortage is so acute that Najdeh Chaabia Hospital has sent ambulances to collect nurses. Lack of staff had forced the wards to merge two days earlier.

The hospital needs diesel for generators, as the state-produced electricity supply has all but collapsed.

The villages surrounding the hospital are festooned with black flags from recent annual Ashura rituals, observed by pious Shia. Streets feature posters of men who died fighting for Hizbollah.

Many in Nabatiyeh accept Hizbollah’s line. The Americans “are choking us”, said Hassan Raman, a water-bottling worker. “They don’t want the Iranians to be in Lebanon; it’s not in their favour.”

Legal Notices

In the matter of Tritone Limited and in the matter of the Cyprus Companies Law Cap 113 Notice is hereby given that the creditors of the above-named company which is being voluntarily wound up are required on or before the 9th day of October 2021 to send in their full names, their addresses and descriptions, full particulars of their debts or claims and the names and addresses of their solicitors (if any) to the undersigned Constantinos Constantinou, of PricewaterhouseCoopers Limited, Julia House, 3 Th. Dervis Street, CY-1066 Nicosia, P.O. Box 21612, CY-1591 Nicosia, Cyprus, the joint liquidator of the said company, and if so required by notice in writing from the said joint liquidator, to come in and prove their said debts or claims at such time and place as shall be specified in such notice, or in default thereof they will be excluded from the benefit of any distribution made before such debts are proved. Dated this 9th day of September 2021 Constantinos Constantinou PricewaterhouseCoopers Limited Joint Liquidator of Tritone Limited

Companies & Markets

Pfizer science chief defends Covid vaccine booster drive

- ◆ Dormitzer hails 'proactive' approach
- ◆ Remarks come as US readies rollout

NIKOU ASGARI — NEW YORK

Pfizer's top scientist has dismissed criticism that the company is pushing widespread use of Covid-19 booster shots too aggressively and denied it should have developed a more potent jab to stave off "breakthrough infections".

Philip Dormitzer, chief scientific officer at Pfizer, defended the company against suggestions it was pressing policymakers to roll out third doses of its vaccine, developed with BioNTech, before a scientific consensus had been reached on whether they are needed.

"Our job is to create the tool that's going to be needed for the problem that's coming," he said. "If we waited until there was just widespread break-

'Making sure the solution is in place ahead of a crisis is important. I think it's the right thing to do'

throughs of severe disease to advance a solution, we would be way too late. Being very proactive and making sure that the solution is in place ahead of a crisis is important. I think it's the right thing to do." He said "the decision to deploy the solutions" was one for policymakers, not Pfizer.

The company has faced criticism from some scientists and health officials for urging adoption of booster programmes. Last month the World Health Organization chief scientist said existing data did not indicate that boosters were needed. Pascal Soriot, AstraZeneca chief executive, warned yesterday that booster jabs might not be needed for everyone, and urged the UK to wait until new data showed a clearer picture.

Dormitzer's comments come as the US prepares to roll out booster jabs this

month. New US Covid cases and hospital admissions are at their highest since late January. More than 7,600 people died from the virus in the week to September 3, a 5 per cent rise from the previous seven days. Concerns are rising about the efficacy of the jabs against the Delta variant and reports of "breakthrough infections".

The Biden administration plans to begin offering booster shots this month to all Americans who originally received mRNA vaccines.

The UK's booster scheme is likely to begin this month, while France last week began its programme for people aged over 65 and those with underlying health conditions.

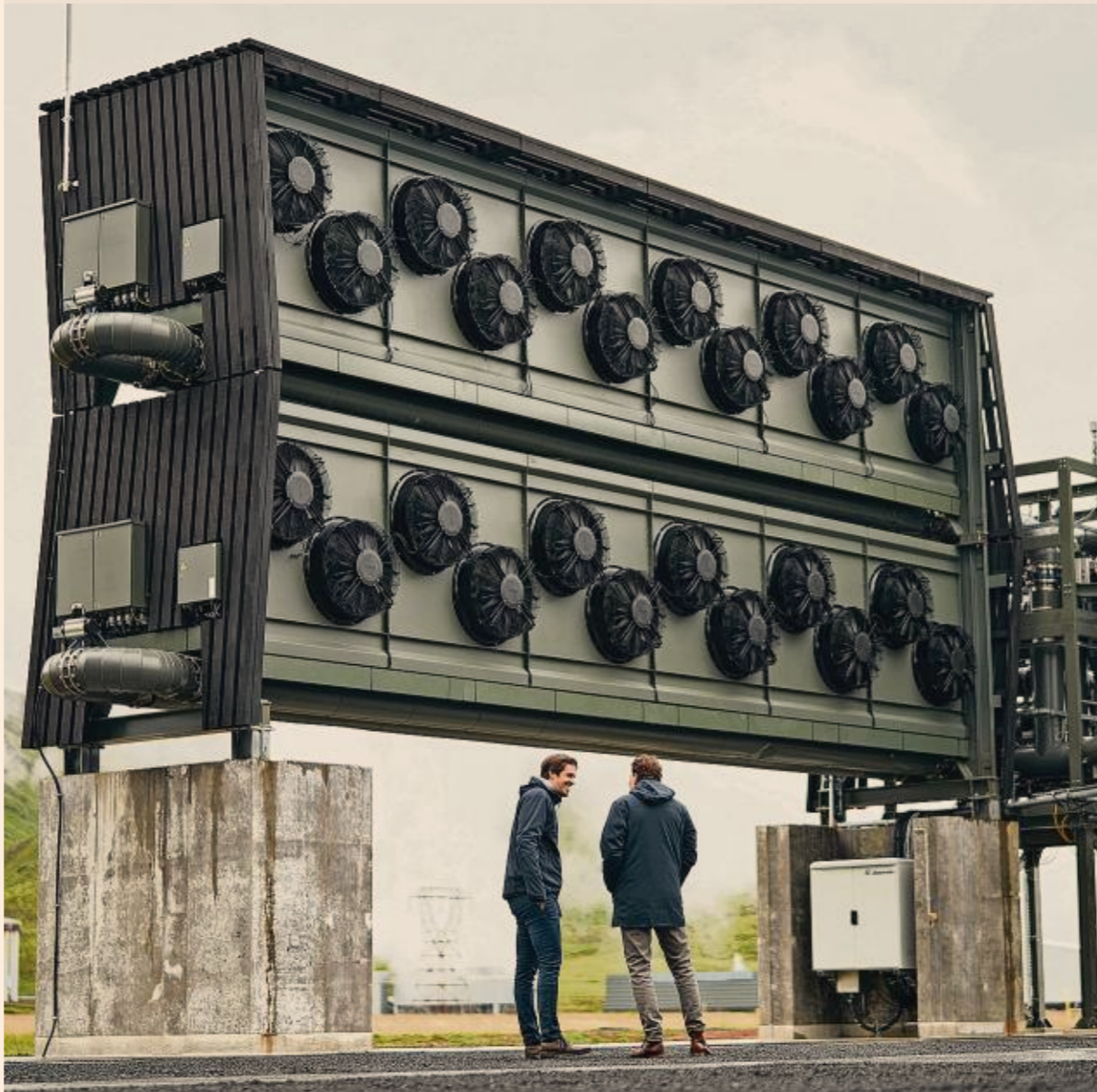
Dormitzer defended the potency of its jab after several studies showed Moderna's shot elicits a stronger and longer-lasting immune response. Some scientists believe this is because Moderna's mRNA dose is more than triple that of Pfizer's, at 100 micrograms compared with 30 micrograms. Moderna has applied for approval of a 50 microgram booster vaccine.

Dormitzer said of the Pfizer shot: "We used the minimum dose level that gave us an immune response in older adults that was greater than the immune response that we saw after natural infection." He said "different studies are showing different things", and opting for a higher dose level might have run the risk of a greater incidence of side-effects. "If you look at what's going on with all the Covid-19 vaccines out there, the derailer has often been adverse events that have cropped up."

Dormitzer said it was clear that vaccine efficacy waned over time, and suggested every country would probably need to follow Israel's lead in administering boosters to the entire population.

Additional reporting by Hannah Kuchler in London

Carbon killer Orca comes to life in Iceland as 'direct air capture' grabs investors' imagination



Climeworks chiefs Jan Wurzbacher, left, and Christoph Gebald at the plant, which sells the most expensive offset

LESLIE HOOK

The start-up behind the biggest direct carbon capture plant said that it would build a much larger facility in the next few years that would permanently remove millions of tonnes of carbon dioxide from the atmosphere.

As Zurich-based Climeworks opened its Orca "direct air capture" project in Iceland yesterday, co-chief executive Jan Wurzbacher said it had started design work on a facility 10 times larger that would be completed in the next few years.

Orca will collect about 4,000 tonnes of CO2 a year and store it underground — a tiny fraction of the 33bn tonnes of the gas forecast by the IEA to be emitted this year but a demonstration of the technology's viability.

"This is the first time we are extracting CO2 from the air commercially and combining it with under-

ground storage," Wurzbacher said. The Orca plant sells the most expensive carbon offset, as much as €1,000 a tonne of CO2 removed, and it counts Microsoft founder Bill Gates among its customers.

Wurzbacher said commercial demand had been so high that the plant was nearly sold out of credits for its 12-year lifespan, prompting the accelerated development of the much larger plant using the same tech.

Orca's other customers include Swiss Re, which recently signed a \$10m carbon removal deal with the plant, as well as Audi and Shopify.

Some energy models show the world will need to be removing billions of tonnes of carbon dioxide from the atmosphere a year by the middle of the century to meet net zero emissions targets.

Critics of direct air capture say the tech is too expensive and consumes too much energy to run at a meaning-

ful scale. But its profile has been rising, with Joe Biden's infrastructure bill including \$3.5bn for four direct air capture hubs.

Climeworks' rival Carbon Engineering, a start-up based near Vancouver, is developing a plant in Texas with Occidental Petroleum that aims to extract up to 1m tonnes of CO2 a year.

Because the atmosphere is just 0.04 per cent carbon dioxide, extracting it can be time-consuming and energy intensive.

Wurzbacher said the Orca plant, which is powered by geothermal energy, was more efficient and used fewer materials than Climeworks' earlier technology. "It is really the next step up."

To mark yesterday's opening, a tank full of carbon dioxide collected from the air was injected underground, where it will mix with water and eventually turn into rock.

Gates tightens control of Four Seasons in \$2.2bn deal

JAMES FONTANELLA-KHAN AND MARK VANDELDE — NEW YORK AND SIMEON KERR — DUBAI

Bill Gates has cemented his control of the Four Seasons luxury hotel group in a \$2.2bn deal with a Saudi prince that marks the technology billionaire's first big deal since he split his fortune with Melinda French Gates earlier this year.

For more than a decade Gates has shared ownership of the Four Seasons with Alwaleed bin Talal, with whom he collaborated in 2007 to take the hotel chain private for \$3.4bn.

Now Gates's investment vehicle Cascade is buying half of Prince Alwaleed's stake, increasing his holding to 71 per cent in a deal that values the hotel chain at \$10bn, including debt. The prince's Kingdom Holdings vehicle said it expected to realise a gain of \$1.6bn on the 24 per cent stake that it is selling.

The Saudi billionaire's fortune has been a subject of speculation since he was released from the Riyadh Ritz-Carlton hotel in 2018 after prolonged detention as part of the anti-corruption campaign conducted by Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman as he consolidated power in the kingdom.

The terms of Prince Alwaleed's release were not clear. Unlike several other high-profile detainees who quietly agreed to make large payments as redress for allegedly corrupt activities, Prince Alwaleed told Reuters that he wanted to leave the Ritz in "complete vindication", and did not expect any assets to be transferred to the state.

Within months of his release, Prince Alwaleed sold another hospitality asset, Mövenpick Hotels & Resorts, for cash proceeds of €482m. He will remain a minority investor in Four Seasons.

Bill Gates and Melinda French Gates announced the end of their marriage in May, raising questions about how their fortune of more than \$120bn managed by Cascade and their philanthropic foundation would be affected.

Gates has expressed regret for meeting on several occasions Jeffrey Epstein, the financier who killed himself in jail in 2019 while awaiting trial over charges that he trafficked underage girls.

After announcing their divorce, Cascade transferred about \$6bn worth of stocks, including shares of consumer group Coca-Cola, railway giant Canadian National and manufacturer John Deere, to Melinda French Gates as part of a financial settlement.

UK risks falling further behind on aerospace without a flight plan

INSIDE BUSINESS

EUROPE

Peggy Hollinger



France's finance minister had sharp words for the country's aerospace sector last week. The industry was heading for a painful reckoning, Bruno Le Maire warned, despite having just been "rescued" from the worst of the Covid-19 downturn with one of Europe's biggest dedicated state aid packages.

Le Maire was referring to the refusal of France's highly fragmented aerospace supply chain to take advantage of another state-backed initiative: a €1bn public-private investment fund designed to accelerate consolidation. Building scale was crucial to "the competitiveness and solidity of the French aerospace industry", he said.

Launched a year ago, the Ace Aéro Partenaires fund aims to bring together small companies in key segments to create suppliers with the scale and investment capability required to win work on the next commercial aircraft programme. In the machining sector alone, France had 80 companies with combined turnover of just €1.5bn, said Marwan Lahoud, Ace Capital's chair.

But finding entrepreneurs willing to sell has proved difficult. As of last week, only seven deals had been announced.

Le Maire's frustration raises the question of whether France was right to take such an activist approach to supporting its aerospace industry. In fact, its €15bn

support package — which included €7bn in loans for Air France and €1.5bn over three years to fund development of a hydrogen-powered passenger jet — may have been partly to blame. It alleviated the pressure on suppliers and fewer went bust than expected.

Now with recovery on the horizon, entrepreneurs are not keen to sell out at crisis valuations. That leaves the risk that many will be vulnerable to the cash and investment pressures of the upturn, or unable to invest in the innovation required for a next-generation jet.

Neither Germany nor the UK targeted their aerospace manufacturing sectors with Covid-19 packages on a French scale. Yet Germany's support was closer in spirit to France, with a €7bn national hydrogen strategy that highlighted aircraft propulsion and hybrid electric flight as government priorities.

The UK said it provided £8.5bn to the sector through its general loan scheme and export finance. But there was no obvious industrial plan guiding how the money was allocated.

So what has been the impact? Initial indications suggest the UK may want to rethink its agnostic approach — especially as the industry begins the pivot towards new technologies such as sustainable aviation fuels and electric and hydrogen-powered aviation.

Figures posted by national trade bodies show that in 2020 Germany pipped the UK in terms of civil and military aerospace revenues. Its sector suffered a 25 per cent revenue decline against the 27 per cent fall recorded by the UK. Senior executives admit that Germany has for some years been gaining on the UK and

The pandemic has exposed the absence of a clear and consistent strategy to guide the nation's ambition

it was only a matter of time before it took more market share.

In France, the percentage decline was greater than the UK, but its total revenues are still substantially higher.

It is true that the UK is penalised by Rolls-Royce's focus on the depressed large engine market. But the UK also invests less than the French and Germans in the future. UK pre-Covid R&D funding in 2019 amounted to 5 per cent of annual revenues, according to the trade body ADS, against 11 per cent in France and 8 per cent in Germany.

Even worse, the British government has suspended funding for projects at the Aerospace Technology Institute, set up in 2014 to future proof UK aerospace.

The UK has made bold claims about its ambitions to be a leader in zero-emissions aviation. It has committed less than £100m, according to ADS; France and Germany have put up billions.

Meanwhile, as France provides long-term capital to build a stronger supply chain, leading UK supply chain companies such as Meggitt, Senior and Ultra have all faced foreign bids.

The aerospace industry may be largely indifferent to ownership if suppliers are competitive. But when the next crisis hits, these deals could have implications for where research is carried out and new technology developed.

After 18 months, the pandemic has done more than reveal the eroding market share of the UK aerospace sector. It has exposed the absence of a clear and consistent strategy to guide the nation's aerospace ambitions. Without consistency, foreign buyers of British aerospace suppliers are unlikely to remain committed to the UK. And without a long-term strategy, there is a very real risk that Britain falls even further behind.

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COMPANIES & MARKETS

Fuel and food compete for edible oil supplies

Diesel vs doughnuts as refiners including Marathon and Exxon pursue renewables targets while prices for the raw materials increase sharply

EMIKO TERAZONO — LONDON
JUSTIN JACOBS — HOUSTON

A search for lower-carbon motor fuel is pitting food groups against the energy industry over tightening supplies of a humble commodity: vegetable oil.

Refiners including Marathon Petroleum and ExxonMobil are adding “renewable diesel” to their product mix in response to government incentives for cleaner fuels. The raw materials are typically edible oils extracted from plants or animal fat.

The push has alarmed food companies coping with record prices for many edible oils this year.

But the energy sector is just whetting its appetite in the vegetable oil market, according to analysts and public announcements from refining companies.

“We support renewable fuels and the green agenda, but soyabean oil [prices have] tripled. Our members are worried that they may not be able to buy any oil,” said Robb MacKie, chief executive of the American Bakers Association.

The trade group, which counts Krispy Kreme, Bimbo Bakeries USA and Pepperidge Farm as members, recently met officials at the US Environmental Protection Agency to urge lower federal mandates for biofuels.

Food groups have long opposed biofu-

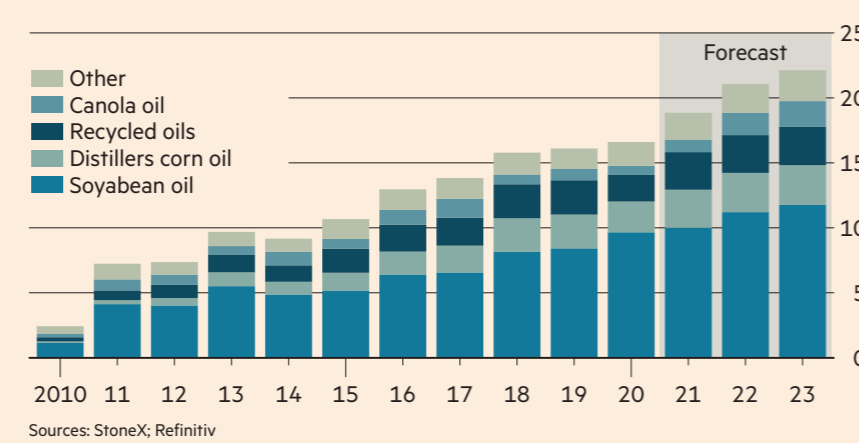
‘We support the green agenda . . . but our members are worried’

American Bakers Association



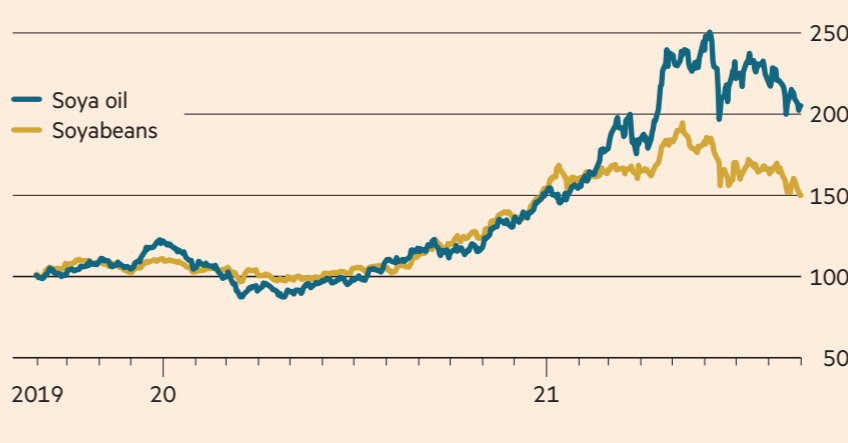
New York-listed food business Krispy Kreme has pointed to ‘extraordinary’ short-term commodity pressure and has raised prices — Angus Mordant/Bloomberg

Feedstock for US biodiesel and renewable diesel
By feedstock (bn lb)



Sources: StoneX, Refinitiv

CBOT soyabean and oil
Prices rebased



to see the demand for renewable fuels, whether it’s in the skies, whether it’s on the roads,” he said.

However, there is some evidence that the surge in feedstock prices has slowed renewable diesel’s momentum, at least temporarily.

David Lamp, the chief executive of CVR Energy, a US refiner controlled by investor Carl Icahn, told analysts last month that the company had hit pause on a new renewable diesel project in Oklahoma because of the “spike” in feedstock prices, which he blamed on the start-up of a pair of new plants in the US.

Sky-high vegetable oil prices are also having a global impact, forcing Brazil and Argentina to reduce biodiesel mandates and putting Indonesia’s fuel-blending plans at risk, said Michael Magdovitz, analyst at Rabobank.

In future, demand for biofuels in the US is likely to mean that the country’s trade flows for edible oil will shift, said Arlan Suderman, chief commodities economist at StoneX. “The US will be more and more of a net importer than a net exporter,” he said.

‘The US will be more and more of a net importer than a net exporter’

Arlan Suderman, StoneX

Baines acknowledged that growth in biofuel production was influencing agricultural markets.

“Will there be some short-term pricing impact? Yes, there will be, just like there’s been in the petroleum world as well. But I think one of the advantages of renewables is that this is becoming a long-term business,” he said.

A long-term view offered little comfort for MacKie. He said his members at the American Bakers Association are being told by suppliers that they could run short of vegetable oil stocks by the end of the year.

“It’s going to get worse before it gets better. We have some members who are very concerned,” he said. “Let’s just pause so growers can grow more beans.”

els targets in the US, notably over corn ethanol mandates that were sharply raised in 2007.

This time the focus has shifted to the feedstocks for diesel-type fuels used in heavy-duty vehicles.

In food and agricultural circles, “it’s become the diesel vs doughnuts debate as food and fuel compete for that oil,” said David Widmar, an agricultural economist and consultant.

The US Department of Agriculture projects that soyabean oil will average 65 cents a pound this year, more than double the price of two years ago.

Krispy Kreme, the New York-listed doughnut company, last month cited “significant commodity cost pressure, particularly from edible oils” as it raised prices.

“I must admit the commodity pressure in the short term has just been quite extraordinary,” chief financial officer Josh Charlesworth told analysts.

Tensions are at their highest in the US, where federal policy and low-carbon fuel mandates in states such as California are driving heavy investment in renewable diesel production capacity.

The amount of soyabean oil used to make biofuels in the US is expected to

total 11.5bn lbs this year, up by a third from 2019 and more than 45 per cent of domestic soyabean oil consumption, according to USDA estimates.

The US Energy Information Administration forecasts that renewable diesel production capacity will reach 5.1bn gallons a year by 2024. While a fraction of petroleum refining output, it would be up from 600m gallons at the end of 2020.

By 2028 the US renewable diesel and biodiesel industry would need almost 30bn lbs of feedstocks including soya-



The soyabean oil price is projected to average 65 cents a pound this year

bean oil, canola oil, used cooking oil and grease, predicts commodity broker StoneX.

Oil companies have flocked to renewable diesel markets over the past two years. Last month, ExxonMobil proposed a renewable diesel investment in Canada. Independent oil refiners Marathon, Phillips 66 and HollyFrontier are also pursuing projects.

Some oil companies are adding agricultural processing to their assets. Marathon and Archer Daniels Midland have formed a joint venture to crush soybeans in the farmlands of North Dakota, sending the soyabean oil to a new renewable diesel plant that Marathon is developing.

Chevron last week said it planned to invest \$600m in a soyabean joint venture with Bunge, the largest oilseed processor, to create what the two companies called a “reliable supply chain from farmer to fuelling station”.

Jeremy Baines, US president of Finland-based Neste, the largest biodiesel refiner, said renewable fuel demand from airlines and road transport would only grow.

“My expectation is that we continue

Financial services

EY in \$2bn push to improve audit quality

KATE BEIOLEY

EY will invest about \$2bn over the next three years to improve the quality of its audits following scandals including the collapse of German payments group Wirecard in a fraud last year.

The sum will be part of a record \$10bn investment plan unveiled by the accounting firm yesterday that will fund initiatives including staff training and improving its ability to detect fraud.

Along with its rivals, EY has come under pressure to invest in its business to strengthen its audit processes.

EY has suffered a series of setbacks including its failure to sound the alarm over a fraud that toppled Wirecard, a company it audited for a decade, and its work on collapsed FTSE 100 medical group NMC Health.

Last month it was fined £2.2m by the FRC and issued with a severe reprimand for failings in its audit of London-listed transport company Stagecoach.

Chief executive Carmine Di Sibio said EY would invest \$2.5bn between 2022 and 2024 in new technology, including in artificial intelligence and machine learning for its audit platform, Canvas.

He said the investment would “allow us to do a better audit and a more efficient audit” and improve the group’s chances of detecting fraud.

In total, Di Sibio said about \$2bn of the three-year investment would “impact audit quality”.

EY typically invested \$1.8bn-\$2bn a year in its business after paying its partners and staff, he said. The roughly \$1.3bn of fresh annual investment would come out of profit following a “very good year . . . around the world from a growth perspective”.

The group said it had made cost savings as the shift to remote working during the pandemic had reduced travel and hotel expenses.

Di Sibio stressed that EY had strengthened its processes around “client acceptance and client continuance” as a result of the Wirecard scandal. The



The firm failed to sound the alarm over a fraud that toppled Wirecard

group now undertook a more rigorous investigation of current and future clients, he said, including scraping social media sites, and was investing in more training for its auditors on fraud detection. About \$500m a year will now be spent on staff training.

“If you [become] a client of EY, we will do a lot more in terms of investigation of who you are,” said Di Sibio. “If you think about Wirecard, at the end of the day the people we were dealing with were not good people.”

EY reported a 4 per cent increase in global revenue to \$40bn for the year to the end of June 2021, following a boom in demand for its services as clients struggled to adapt to remote working and to digitise their processes. A surge in dealmaking towards the end of the year also increased revenue.

EY is not alone in facing criticism over the standard of its audits. In July the Financial Reporting Council said that 29 per cent of the sample of 103 audits it reviewed across the industry required improvement or significant improvement.

In its last financial year, EY grew its assurance division, which includes audit, 2.5 per cent in revenue terms. Tax increased 3.9 per cent and consulting (previously known as advisory) 3.5 per cent.

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COMPANIES & MARKETS

Crypto. Legal tender

El Salvador's bitcoin gamble triggers fresh investor jitters



Traders dump Latin American nation's assets on fears over president's authoritarianism

MICHAEL STOTT
LATIN AMERICA EDITOR

El Salvador's bitcoin gambit has heaped fresh pressure on the country's debt market after investors began selling its bonds earlier this year on rising concerns about the government of President Nayib Bukele.

On the first day of El Salvador's trailblazing adoption of bitcoin as legal tender, the cryptocurrency's global price slumped more than 10 per cent.

Undeterred, Bukele tweeted that his small central American nation had increased its holdings. "Buying the dip. 150 new coins added. #BitcoinDay", he wrote, adding a winking emoji.

Bond traders were not impressed. A fresh round of selling this week pushed the yield on long-dated Salvadoran debt issued in dollars close to 11 per cent while shorter maturities were offering up to 14 per cent.

Prior to Bukele announcing the crypto move in June, Salvadoran long-dated yields were about 8.5 per cent.

In a further sign of market stress, the yield curve on El Salvador's bonds inverted on Tuesday, meaning that short-dated debt was priced below long-dated debt.

"That in itself is never a good sign," said Dean Tyler, head of global markets at BancTrust. "It shows people are starting to question the viability of the shorter end of the curve."

Investors were not convinced by El Salvador's risky and expensive bet on bitcoin in one of the poorer countries in

El Salvador bond yields push higher

Yield on US dollar bond maturing in 2052 (%)



the western hemisphere with an annual GDP of \$25bn.

The coin's value has swung from \$10,000 to \$64,000 in the past year, and is back down at \$46,000 now. Bukele's rushed plan to introduce the volatile digital asset for everyday transactions made headlines around the world.

"If I told you I'm now going to pay your salary in bitcoin, you'd have a lot of questions," said Michael Schlein, chief executive of Accion, a non-profit that invests in tech for financial inclusion. "The notion of poor people keeping savings in crypto is absurd. It's wildly volatile and you're talking about the most vulnerable people in the world."

But traders said the latest slump in Salvadoran bond prices was not only down to nerves over what could prove to be a reckless crypto gamble.

Instead, money managers are also troubled by the president's attempts to increase his power.

Late on Friday, the Salvadoran supreme court ruled that the president could seek a second consecutive term – a decision condemned by the US.

It comes months after the Bukele-controlled congress fired five supreme court justices and replaced them with loyalists.

"The market had priced in the bitcoin news," said Kevin Daly, investment director at Aberdeen Standard. "The news that really shook the market was [Bukele's] gerrymandering things to run for re-election."

This, he said, had pushed the risk premium demanded by investors for holding Salvadoran debt to the highest level of any solvent emerging market.

Siobhan Morden, head of Latin America fixed income at Amherst Pierpont, said the court ruling had complicated the chances of El Salvador agreeing a new IMF programme and securing access to much-needed external funds for its dollarised economy.

"It's all about the Bukele risk premium," she said. "It's all centralised decision-making and he's not surrounded by a top-notch team of technocrats."

The IMF has opposed the adoption of bitcoin as legal tender, citing risks to

A store in El Zonte, El Salvador, accepts bitcoin for payment. The crypto became legal tender this week in one of the poorer countries in the western hemisphere

Marvin Recinos/AFP/Getty

financial stability, consumer protection and the environment.

"The most direct cost of widespread adoption of a cryptoasset such as bitcoin is to macroeconomic stability... Monetary policy would lose bite. Central banks cannot set interest rates on a foreign currency," it wrote in July.

"Without robust anti-money laundering and combating the financing of terrorism measures, crypto assets can be used to launder ill-gotten money, fund terrorism and evade taxes," it added.

El Salvador needs \$3.5bn to \$4bn in foreign funding a year to finance the deficit, cover the costs of coping with the pandemic and roll over existing debt.

The government has said the introduction of bitcoin as legal tender would cost around \$200m initially.

It last issued a bond in July 2020 but has not been able to tap the market again since, Morden added. "Bukele is still running a fiscal deficit of about double the pre-Covid level and debt is 90 per cent of GDP."

With a large debt repayment of \$800m looming in January 2023, Bukele has limited room for manoeuvre.

Morden said a recent increase in the country's IMF allocation of Special Drawing Rights – a reserve asset that allows the lender to supplement member countries' official reserves – would provide short-term relief but after that, the government might be forced to turn to its own citizens to fund itself.

"The locals are the lenders of last resort," she said. "But if they aren't willing to lend, there may be a shift towards coercive lending" such as potentially nationalising private pensions or even capital controls.

Or, as Daly put it: "There's a real risk this all ends in tears."

'If I told you I'm now going to pay your salary in bitcoin, you'd have a lot of questions'

FT

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Airlines

Rome's rescue of Alitalia breached rules on state aid, says EU

JAVIER ESPINOZA — BRUSSELS
MILES JOHNSON — ROME

Italy's government breached EU state-aid rules when it gave €900m in rescue loans to Alitalia in 2017, according to a verdict set to be announced by Brussels.

The decision by EU competition authorities, which two people with direct knowledge of the matter said would be made public today, comes after a three-year investigation into whether bridge loans to Alitalia illegally distorted competition in the bloc.

EU law prohibits a member state from granting a company financial support that gives it an advantage over its rivals.

The current Italian government, which was not in office when the loans were made, declined to comment.

The decision spells the latest ignominious chapter for Alitalia, Italy's perennially loss-making flag carrier for 75 years. The Rome government has already been working with Margrethe Vestager, the EU competition chief, on a deal to allow a new airline to be created that will be independent of Alitalia.

Brussels will confirm today the details of the new airline, known as Italia Transporto Aereo (ITA), which will start flying next month.

ITA will be economically independent

O'Leary, chief executive of Ryanair, compared Germany's Lufthansa to a 'crack cocaine junkie'

and will not be liable for any illegal state aid received by Alitalia in recent years, people with direct knowledge of the plans said.

The new carrier will be able to buy part of Alitalia's fleet and a reduced number of landing slots as part of the deal struck between Italy and Brussels to allow the new company to operate, these people added.

ITA will also be able to bid for the right to trade under the name Alitalia.

Alitalia has faced financial difficulties for decades and has not posted an annual net profit since the start of the millennium.

Rome took full control of the airline during the Covid-19 pandemic with aviation hit by strict curbs on travel to control the spread of the virus.

Other European governments also put funds into national carriers during the pandemic.

Michael O'Leary, chief executive of Ryanair, compared Germany's Lufthansa to a "crack cocaine junkie".

Brussels is still to rule on a separate €400m government loan given to Alitalia to help it streamline its operations as it tried to sell assets in 2019. Opening that inquiry last year, the commission raised "serious doubts" that the aid was in line with state aid rules.

This year, Mario Draghi, Italy's prime minister, joked that he considered Alitalia "a family thing, a little expensive", referring to its emotional connection with Italians as well as its sizeable losses.

Commodities

BHP joins forces with Gates-backed AI start-up to prospect for battery metals

HENRY SANDERSON

BHP has struck a deal to use artificial intelligence tools developed by a Bill Gates-backed start-up to find new deposits of metals needed for batteries and clean energy.

The world's biggest miner and Silicon Valley-based KoBold Metals will jointly fund exploration using data processing technology to help predict the location of mineral deposits, starting in Western Australia.

The partnership comes as demand for battery metals such as lithium and nickel is expected to surge as sales of electric cars boom.

Large lithium-ion batteries are also increasingly being used to store renewable energy from intermittent sources such as wind and solar.

BHP has pledged to focus on "future-facing" commodities such as nickel following its decision to sell off its oil and gas business last month.

The miner, which supplies nickel to Tesla, is also an investor in a number of start-ups via its internal venture capital arm.

"Their powerful platform combined

with our in-house capabilities and data sets could unlock an enduring competitive edge as we grow our options in future-facing commodities like copper and nickel to meet increasing global demand," said Mark Frayman, head of BHP Ventures.

KoBold, founded in 2018, collects vast troves of historical and scientific data and uses algorithms to identify where mineral deposits might be below the earth's surface.

It then surveys the potential areas



BHP processing facilities will focus more on commodities such as nickel

using aircraft and satellite surveys, feeding the data back into the computer models, which in turn tell its geologists where to look.

"KoBold's technology has been designed to pick up faint signals in the data pointing to hidden ore deposits," the company said.

KoBold has explored for mineral deposits in Canada, Australia and several African countries. Last month, it signed a joint venture agreement with BlueJay Mining to explore for minerals in Greenland.

"The exploration process is a very manual, very human process right now and we're augmenting the human," said Kurt House, KoBold chief executive. "What we do is efficiency of information – is rigorously assess what the most useful information to gather is."

KoBold is backed by venture capital firm Andreessen Horowitz as well as Gates' Breakthrough Energy Ventures.

Keenan Jennings, vice-president of BHP Metals Exploration, said the technology would help it find mineral deposits that were deeper underground because a lot of shallow deposits had already been discovered.

Asset management

Morningstar acquires specialist in race to provide direct indexing strategies

STEVE JOHNSON

Morningstar will become the latest big name to enter the field of "direct indexing", following in the footsteps of a handful of industry giants including BlackRock, Vanguard and Morgan Stanley.

The Chicago-based group, with operations spanning credit ratings, investment research and asset management, is acquiring indexing specialist Moorgate Benchmarks, which develops the customised and personalised indices that lie at the heart of direct indexing.

The concept allows investors to create bespoke portfolios tailored to meet their personal preferences for investment factors, such as tilts to value, quality or momentum investing or their own environmental, social and governance (ESG) parameters.

In the US, direct indexing also allows investors to minimise their tax liabilities via tax-loss harvesting – systematically selling losing stocks and replacing them with similar holdings in order to offset capital gains tax due elsewhere in their portfolio.

Direct indexing strategies are cur-

rently a niche service available only to wealthy investors, but Cerulli Associates forecasts that, in the US alone, they will account for \$4.7tn of assets by 2030, 8 per cent of all adviser-managed assets, up from just \$300bn in 2019.

"ESG and other drivers will lead to a future of mass or even hyper customisation," said Tobias Sproehle, chief executive of Moorgate who will become head

'Our kids will want . . . to swipe left and right and decide exactly what is in their basket and what isn't'

of Morningstar Indexes in Europe. "Our kids will want more flexibility than we have. They will want to swipe left and right and decide exactly what is in their basket and what isn't."

Parametric, a division of investment group Eaton Vance and the global leader in direct indexing, was acquired by Morgan Stanley last year in a deal that kick-started a flurry of activity. BlackRock bought Aperio, the industry number two, in November 2020; Vanguard

bought Just Invest, a Californian wealth management boutique with a customisable, direct indexing service, in July; and JPMorgan Asset Management acquired OpenInvest, a fintech platform that facilitates the customisation of portfolios based on ESG metrics, in June.

The acquisition of Moorgate Benchmarks, a 20-strong, three-year-old London and Frankfurt-based company, is also part of Morningstar's drive to muscle in on the business of providing indices for exchange traded products and other investment funds.

Morningstar is a minnow in indexing, accounting for just 0.6 per cent of the industry's \$4.1bn of revenue last year, according to analysis by Burton-Taylor International Consulting. It is the 10th largest player in the sector, well behind the controlling oligopoly of MSCI, S&P Dow Jones Indices and FTSE Russell.

But it has the highest five-year compound annual growth rate in the industry, of 43.5 per cent. More than \$80bn of assets are now benchmarked against its indices by asset managers such as Lyxor, JPMorgan AM and BNY Mellon.

Financial terms of the deal were not disclosed.

COMPANIES & MARKETS

SEC needs to curb payment for order flow

Sheila Bair

Markets Insight

Securities and Exchange Commission chair Gary Gensler has cast a long-needed spotlight on the practice of brokers selling their retail orders to makers of markets outside of regulated, public exchanges.

Typically, these are "dark pools" – private exchanges run by large financial institutions – or "wholesalers" such as Citadel and Virtu that execute orders internally.

Critics say payment for order flow, or PFOF, represents an inherent conflict of interest, sensibly observing that brokers should be routing orders where they can get the best price for their customers, not the best deal for themselves.

Supporters argue that PFOF benefits retail investors as market makers are required to provide prices that are better than quotes displayed by regulated exchanges. They add that broker profits from PFOF allow them to offer commission-free trading.

But it is far from clear whether PFOF actually reduces costs for retail investors or simply makes their costs less transparent. By allowing market makers to attract order flow with a bribe, not a best price, PFOF incentivises them to hide the true price at which they are willing to trade, probably leading to poorer executions for retail traders.

Unlike market makers on public exchanges, dark pools and wholesalers are not required to publish and stand behind quotes. When they pay for an order, they have the discretion to trade against it or send it to an exchange.

While exchange market makers must improve a published price by a penny, there is no such requirement for dark pools and wholesalers, which can and do "improve" price by tiny fractions of a

cent. Thus, PFOF affords them the luxury of not having to compete on price to draw order flow – and to step in front of those who do – with minimal price improvement.

This reduces competition but also creates disincentives for others to publicly expose their trading interest, knowing dark pools and wholesalers can so easily – and cheaply – jump ahead of them.

The relationship of PFOF to pricing quality was vividly illustrated in a recent enforcement settlement brought by the SEC against Robinhood.

In that case, Robinhood explicitly

Ironically, Bernard Madoff pioneered the use of PFOF in the 1980s

agreed to accept less price improvement for its customers in return for a higher PFOF. The inferior executions given to those Robinhood customers may well have exceeded any benefit from not paying a commission.

Long ago, the UK's Financial Services Authority wisely recognised the harm of PFOF to market quality and integrity, in effect banning it in 2012.

A study conducted by the CFA Institute of UK markets found that, absent PFOF, markets were more liquid and pricing improved for retail investors.

The reason is simple: when market makers have to compete on the quality of their public quotes and are rewarded with trades at those quotes, they compete more aggressively. Incentives are aligned.



Ironically, Bernard Madoff of Ponzi scheme fame pioneered the use of PFOF in the 1980s, arguing to the SEC that it would increase competition for exchanges, then dominated by the NYSE.

Exchange market share has indeed shrunk to barely half but concentrations have accumulated off-exchange.

Wholesalers now account for 38 per cent of US trading volumes, mostly dominated by seven firms.

Market share for retail orders is even more concentrated with Citadel accounting for 47 per cent. This market dominance brings tremendous advantages for Citadel, including a privileged first look at retail order flow – a force that increasingly moves share prices, as we have seen recently with GameStop and other meme stocks.

Gensler has said a number of market structure reforms are on the table, including banning PFOF. That may be difficult as many "free" brokers might start charging commissions again to make up for lost revenue. This would be unpopular with retail investors who also vote and make political donations.

But the return of commissions is not a foregone conclusion. Brokers such as Fidelity are able to offer commission-free trades without resorting to PFOF.

PFOF serves as another reminder to all regulators to scrutinise schemes purportedly benefiting the little guy. History is replete with them. Madoff will be forever remembered for his multibillion-dollar Ponzi scheme but his more impactful legacy may be the damage to investors from PFOF. Let's hope the SEC can find a way to make things right.

Sheila Bair is a former chair of the US Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

The day in the markets

What you need to know

- European stocks suffer worst day in three weeks
- Analysts expect ECB to announce a slowdown of bond purchases
- Oil climbs as producers struggle to bounce back from Hurricane Ida

Stock markets on both sides of the Atlantic fell yesterday as investors anticipated the unwinding of crisis-fighting stimulus that has helped prop up markets throughout the pandemic.

The continent-wide Stoxx Europe 600 index slid 1.1 per cent for its steepest fall in three weeks.

London's FTSE 100 dipped 0.8 per cent, Frankfurt's Xetra Dax sank 1.5 per cent and the CAC 40 in Paris ended the day 0.9 per cent weaker.

Wall Street followed European bourses lower with the blue-chip S&P 500 index down 0.3 per cent by lunchtime in New York and the tech-focused Nasdaq Composite falling 0.7 per cent.

At its meeting today, analysts expect the European Central Bank to announce a slowdown of its bond purchases because of the brightening economic outlook in the bloc.

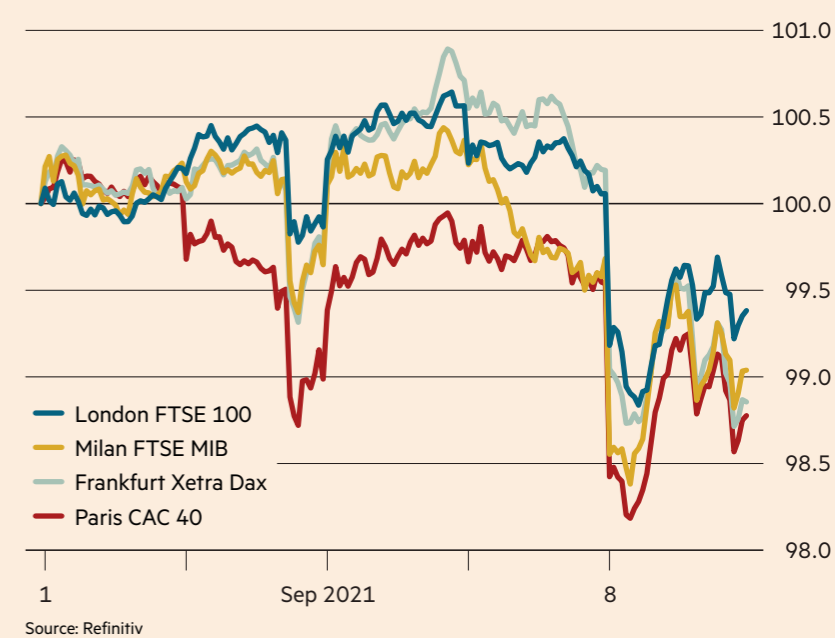
The ECB's €1.85tn pandemic emergency purchase programme has bought €80bn of bonds each month for much of this year to keep lending costs down in the euro area. But the purchases are widely expected to be reduced to about €60bn.

After the Stoxx 600 and Wall Street's S&P 500 hit records in recent weeks, fund managers said it made sense for these benchmarks to turn lower now.

"Investors are back from the summer

European stocks slide ahead of ECB meeting

Indices rebased



and thinking about the end of the Goldilocks environment, where you had economic recovery and very loose monetary policy," said Nadège Dufossé, head of cross asset strategy at European fund manager Candriam.

"The ECB looks set to be the first major central bank to communicate tapering [asset purchases]" with investors poised "to see how they do it and how hawkish they appear".

The US Federal Reserve is moving closer towards cutting its \$120bn of monthly bond purchases. Strategists at Goldman Sachs see the Fed as most likely

to announce this tapering in November. "The big picture is that the taper will get going this year," said James Bullard, a hawkish member of the central bank's monetary policy committee.

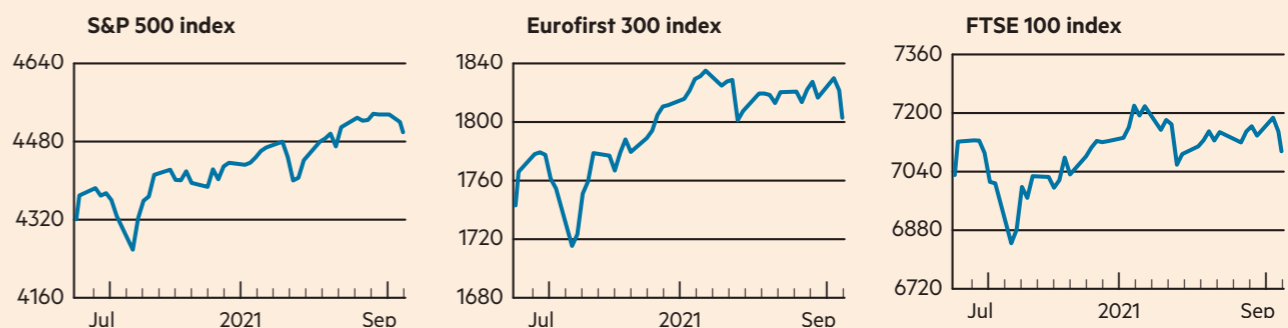
The yield on the 10-year US Treasury fell 3 basis points to 1.34 per cent after hitting its highest point since mid-July a day earlier.

Brent crude rose 1.3 per cent to \$72.50 a barrel with the global oil benchmark pushed higher by US producers struggling to get back to business after Hurricane Ida swept through the energy-producing Gulf of Mexico. **Naomi Rovnick**

Markets update

	US	Eurozone	Japan	UK	China	Brazil
Stocks	S&P 500	Eurofirst 300	Nikkei 225	FTSE100	Shanghai Comp	Bovespa
Level	4499.02	1802.86	30181.21	7095.53	3675.19	114516.67
% change on day	-0.46	-1.03	0.89	-0.75	-0.04	-2.84
Currency	\$ index (DXY)	\$ per €	Yen per \$	\$ per £	Rmb per \$	Real per \$
Level	92.619	1.181	110.335	1.374	6.462	5.282
% change on day	0.116	-0.338	0.104	-0.363	0.027	2.165
Govt. bonds	10-year Treasury	10-year Bund	10-year JGB	10-year Gilt	10-year bond	10-year bond
Yield	1.353	-0.325	0.041	0.651	2.867	10.636
Basis point change on day	-1.690	-0.200	0.550	1.000	1.300	11.700
World index, Commods	FTSE All-World	Oil - Brent	Oil - WTI	Gold	Silver	Metals (LME)
Level	489.55	72.63	69.42	1802.15	24.25	4248.60
% change on day	-0.39	1.38	1.48	-1.07	-1.86	-0.85

Main equity markets



Biggest movers

	US	Eurozone	UK
Ups	Perrigo 9.54	Adp 1.90	B&M Eur Value Retail S.a. 6.92
Global Payments 5.52	Raiffeisen Bank Internat 1.72	Smiths 2.57	
General Mills 4.67	Kpn 1.62	National Grid 1.89	
Citrix Systems 4.11	Snam 1.46	Severn Trent 1.21	
Kraft Heinz (the) 3.55	Ferrovial 1.44	Rentokil Initial 1.10	
Downs	Coty -9.97	Siemens -3.50	Persimmon -4.03
Pultegroup -5.08	Wartsila -3.36	Taylor Wimpey -3.83	
Freeport-mcmoran -4.90	Klepierre -3.33	Land Securities -3.52	
Seagate Technology Holdings -4.82	B. Sabadell -3.31	Barraff Developments -3.44	
Western Digital -4.47	Ucb -3.12	Berkeley Holdings (the) -2.80	

Prices taken at 17:00 GMT

Based on the constituents of the FTSE Eurofirst 300 Eurozone

All data provided by Morningstar unless otherwise noted.

PWM
PROFESSIONAL WEALTH MANAGEMENT

THE NINE
PILLARS OF THE
CBI INDEX

1
FREEDOM OF
MOVEMENT

2
STANDARD OF
LIVING

3
MINIMUM
INVESTMENT
OUTLAY

4
MANDATORY
TRAVEL OR
RESIDENCE

5
CITIZENSHIP
TIMELINE

6
EASE OF
PROCESSING

7
DUE
DILIGENCE

8
FAMILY

9
CERTAINTY
OF PRODUCT

A GUIDE TO GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP 2021

The Citizenship by Investment (CBI) industry continues to evolve, with key developments including Cyprus withdrawing its programme, a new Maltese citizenship offering, and the addition of Egypt to the economic citizenship arena.

The 2021 CBI Index provides analysis of the world's active CBI programmes based on research sourced and commissioned by CS Global Partners.

Sponsored features from CS Global Partners:

- The 2021 CBI Index: key findings
- Reflections and predictions for 2022
- EU CBI: due diligence and lessons learnt
- New horizons: the rise of digital nomadism

Plus an independently written overview of industry developments from PWM.

Download the special report
pwmnet.com/cbi2021

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Wall Street

A cautious revision took the **PulteGroup** lower with the housebuilder expecting its third-quarter gross margin to be between 26.4 per cent and 26.6 per cent – shy of the mean estimate of 26.83 per cent from analysts polled by Refinitiv.

Ryan Marshall, chief executive, added that "shortages for a variety of building products, combined with increased production volumes across the homebuilding industry, [were] directly impacting our ability to get homes closed".

Citrix Systems rallied following a Wall Street Journal report stating that activist hedge fund Elliott had more than a \$1bn stake in the software group.

Cryptocurrency exchange **Coinbase** sank after disclosing in a blog post by its chief legal officer that it had been warned by the Securities and Exchange Commission it could be sued if it launched a digital asset lending product.

A discounted share offering pushed beauty group **Coty** lower.

It offered 50m shares from private equity firm KKR at \$8.53 each, which was 8.1 per cent lower than Tuesday's closing price. Following the sale, KKR would retain 568,367 shares of Coty's series B convertible preferred stock, which was the equivalent of about 10.9 per cent of Coty's outstanding class A common stock. **Ray Douglas**

Europe

Italy's **Salvatore Ferragamo** jumped after reporting a first-half operating profit of €66m against a loss of €72m for the same period a year earlier.

The luxury fashion group said its retail revenues in July and August were also close to pre-pandemic levels.

Following a conference call with the Florence-based company, Deutsche Bank raised its target price on expectations of improved operating profit margins.

A contract win buoyed French IT group **Solutions 30** after it signed a five-year agreement with Open Dutch Fiber to deploy fibre-to-the-home broadband in the Netherlands.

Open Dutch Fiber, formed by US private equity firm KKR and investment group Deutsche Telekom Capital Partners, said Solutions 30's first project would start in the fourth quarter this year.

Swedish private equity firm **EQT** sank following a discounted share sale.

Partners sold more than 63m shares, representing 6 per cent of the total share capital, at \$Kr370 each – this was 7.6 per cent lower than Tuesday's closing price.

French fragrance group **Interparfums** slid after Philippe Santi, chief financial officer, said its exceptional first-half earnings performance would "not be repeated in the second half" due in part to high year-end marketing and advertising expenditures. **Ray Douglas**

London

An upbeat earnings release lifted **B&M**, the variety store chain.

For its fiscal half year, gross margins were forecast to be "stronger than originally anticipated", owing to fewer markdowns, particularly in the general merchandise and seasonal categories.

The Luxembourg-based group forecast that adjusted earnings before interest, tax, depreciation and amortisation would now come in between £275m and £285m for the period, significantly above the consensus estimate of £235m, said Shore Capital. Confirmation that the domestic housing sector remained hot came from estate agent **Winkworth**, which rose sharply after a 330 per cent leap in pre-tax profit to £198m for the six months ending June 30.

This led the group to raise its dividend to 8.30p per share, up from 3.08p for the same period in 2020.

Auto and cycling retailer **Halfords** dropped after highlighting headwinds likely to affect its performance this year.

In a trading update, the group said: "The global cycling supply chain continues to experience considerable capacity constraints, leading to low availability of bikes." Like many of its peers, Halfords also warned of "recruitment challenges" and higher raw material prices. **Ray Douglas**

MARKET DATA

FT500: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table listing FT500 companies with columns for Country, Price, Day, Chg, High, Low, Yld, P/E, MCap m. Includes Australia (AS), Canada (CS), Germany (GE), Hong Kong (HK), India (IN), Japan (JP), Korea (KR), Taiwan (TW), and USA (US).

Table listing FT500 companies with columns for Country, Price, Day, Chg, High, Low, Yld, P/E, MCap m. Includes Australia (AS), Canada (CS), Germany (GE), Hong Kong (HK), India (IN), Japan (JP), Korea (KR), Taiwan (TW), and USA (US).

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FT 500: TOP 20

Table showing FT 500 Top 20 companies with columns for Company, Close, Prev, Change, % Change, Day, Week, Month, Year.

FT 500: BOTTOM 20

Table showing FT 500 Bottom 20 companies with columns for Company, Close, Prev, Change, % Change, Day, Week, Month, Year.

BONDS: HIGH YIELD & EMERGING MARKET

Table showing High Yield & Emerging Market bonds with columns for Index, Red, Date, Coupon, Ratings, Bid, Day's, Mkt's, Spread, Yield, Mth's, Yield.

BONDS: GLOBAL INVESTMENT GRADE

Table showing Global Investment Grade bonds with columns for Index, Red, Date, Coupon, Ratings, Bid, Day's, Mkt's, Spread, Yield, Mth's, Yield.

INTEREST RATES: OFFICIAL

Table showing Official Interest Rates with columns for Sep 08, Rate, Current, Since, Last, Month, Year, Ago.

BOND INDICES

Table showing Bond Indices with columns for Index, Day's, Month's, Year, Return, 1 month, 1 year.

VOLATILITY INDICES

Table showing Volatility Indices with columns for Index, Red, Date, Coupon, Ratings, Bid, Day's, Mkt's, Spread, Yield, Mth's, Yield.

GLTCS: UK CASH MARKET

Table showing UK Cash Market GLTCS with columns for Index, Red, Date, Coupon, Ratings, Bid, Day's, Mkt's, Spread, Yield, Mth's, Yield.

INTEREST RATES: MARKET

Table showing Market Interest Rates with columns for Sep 08, Rate, Current, Since, Last, Month, Year, Ago.

CREDIT INDICES

Table showing Credit Indices with columns for Index, Day's, Month's, Year, Return, 1 month, 1 year.

BONDS: BENCHMARK RETURN

Table showing Benchmark Bond Returns with columns for Index, Red, Date, Coupon, Ratings, Bid, Day's, Mkt's, Spread, Yield, Mth's, Yield.

GLTCS: UK FTSE ACTUARIES INDICES

Table showing UK FTSE Actuaries Indices with columns for Index, Red, Date, Coupon, Ratings, Bid, Day's, Mkt's, Spread, Yield, Mth's, Yield.

COMMODITIES

Table showing Commodity prices with columns for Energy, Price, Change, Agricultural & Cattle Futures, Price, Change.

BONDS: INDEX-LINKED

Table showing Index-Linked Bonds with columns for Index, Price, Month, Value, Market, No of stocks.

BONDS: TEN YEAR GOVT SPREADS

Table showing Ten Year Govt Spreads with columns for Index, Bid, Yield, Spread, Bid, Yield, Spread.

GLTCS: UK FTSE ACTUARIES INDICES

Table showing UK FTSE Actuaries Indices with columns for Index, Red, Date, Coupon, Ratings, Bid, Day's, Mkt's, Spread, Yield, Mth's, Yield.

PRECIOUS METALS (PM LONDON FIX)

Table showing Precious Metals prices with columns for Metal, Price, Change, Month, Year.

REPRESENTATIVE STOCKS FOR EACH MAJOR MARKET

Table showing Representative Stocks for major markets with columns for Index, Price, Change, % Change, Day, Week, Month, Year.

INTERACTIVE DATA PRICING AND REFERENCE DATA

Table showing Interactive Data Pricing and Reference Data with columns for Index, Red, Date, Coupon, Ratings, Bid, Day's, Mkt's, Spread, Yield, Mth's, Yield.

INTERACTIVE DATA PRICING AND REFERENCE DATA

Table showing Interactive Data Pricing and Reference Data with columns for Index, Red, Date, Coupon, Ratings, Bid, Day's, Mkt's, Spread, Yield, Mth's, Yield.

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FINANCIAL TIMES SHARE SERVICE

Main Market table with columns for Sector, Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, and Volume. Includes sub-sections for Aerospace & Defence, Banks, Basic Resources, Construction & Materials, Electronic & Electrical Equip, Financial General, Health Care Equip & Services, Industrial Engineering, Leisure, Media, Mining, Pharmaceuticals & Biotech, Real Estate, Retailers, Tech - Hardware, Tech - Software & Services, Telecommunications, and Tobacco.

AIM table with columns for Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, and Volume. Includes sub-sections for Aerospace & Defence, Banks, Basic Resources, Construction & Materials, Electronic & Electrical Equip, Financial General, Health Care Equip & Services, Industrial Engineering, Leisure, Media, Mining, Pharmaceuticals & Biotech, Real Estate, Retailers, Tech - Hardware, Tech - Software & Services, Telecommunications, and Tobacco.

FT Global 500 table with columns for Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, and Volume. Includes sub-sections for Aerospace & Defence, Banks, Basic Resources, Construction & Materials, Electronic & Electrical Equip, Financial General, Health Care Equip & Services, Industrial Engineering, Leisure, Media, Mining, Pharmaceuticals & Biotech, Real Estate, Retailers, Tech - Hardware, Tech - Software & Services, Telecommunications, and Tobacco.

FT Global 1000 table with columns for Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, and Volume. Includes sub-sections for Aerospace & Defence, Banks, Basic Resources, Construction & Materials, Electronic & Electrical Equip, Financial General, Health Care Equip & Services, Industrial Engineering, Leisure, Media, Mining, Pharmaceuticals & Biotech, Real Estate, Retailers, Tech - Hardware, Tech - Software & Services, Telecommunications, and Tobacco.

FT Global 1500 table with columns for Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, and Volume. Includes sub-sections for Aerospace & Defence, Banks, Basic Resources, Construction & Materials, Electronic & Electrical Equip, Financial General, Health Care Equip & Services, Industrial Engineering, Leisure, Media, Mining, Pharmaceuticals & Biotech, Real Estate, Retailers, Tech - Hardware, Tech - Software & Services, Telecommunications, and Tobacco.

FT Global 2000 table with columns for Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, and Volume. Includes sub-sections for Aerospace & Defence, Banks, Basic Resources, Construction & Materials, Electronic & Electrical Equip, Financial General, Health Care Equip & Services, Industrial Engineering, Leisure, Media, Mining, Pharmaceuticals & Biotech, Real Estate, Retailers, Tech - Hardware, Tech - Software & Services, Telecommunications, and Tobacco.

FT Global 2500 table with columns for Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, and Volume. Includes sub-sections for Aerospace & Defence, Banks, Basic Resources, Construction & Materials, Electronic & Electrical Equip, Financial General, Health Care Equip & Services, Industrial Engineering, Leisure, Media, Mining, Pharmaceuticals & Biotech, Real Estate, Retailers, Tech - Hardware, Tech - Software & Services, Telecommunications, and Tobacco.

FT Global 3000 table with columns for Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, and Volume. Includes sub-sections for Aerospace & Defence, Banks, Basic Resources, Construction & Materials, Electronic & Electrical Equip, Financial General, Health Care Equip & Services, Industrial Engineering, Leisure, Media, Mining, Pharmaceuticals & Biotech, Real Estate, Retailers, Tech - Hardware, Tech - Software & Services, Telecommunications, and Tobacco.

FT Global 3500 table with columns for Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, and Volume. Includes sub-sections for Aerospace & Defence, Banks, Basic Resources, Construction & Materials, Electronic & Electrical Equip, Financial General, Health Care Equip & Services, Industrial Engineering, Leisure, Media, Mining, Pharmaceuticals & Biotech, Real Estate, Retailers, Tech - Hardware, Tech - Software & Services, Telecommunications, and Tobacco.

FT Global 4000 table with columns for Company Name, Price, % Change, 52 Week High/Low, and Volume. Includes sub-sections for Aerospace & Defence, Banks, Basic Resources, Construction & Materials, Electronic & Electrical Equip, Financial General, Health Care Equip & Services, Industrial Engineering, Leisure, Media, Mining, Pharmaceuticals & Biotech, Real Estate, Retailers, Tech - Hardware, Tech - Software & Services, Telecommunications, and Tobacco.

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MANAGED FUNDS SERVICE

SUMMARY

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Summary table with columns: Winners - US Fund Large Value, Losers - US Fund Large Value, Morningstar Star Ratings, Global Broad Category Group - Property. Includes fund names, returns, and ratings.

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Edentree investment management logo and contact information.



Weightings - As of 31/07/2021 and Risk Measures - As of 31/08/2021. Includes sector weightings and risk metrics like Alpha, Beta, and Sharpe Ratio.

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Table of fund performance metrics including Bid, Offer, +/-, Yield, 1Yr, and 3Yr returns for various funds.

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ARTS

Riveting story of money, power and paint

FILM

Danny Leigh



So riveting is the documentary **The Lost Leonardo**, you can imagine namesake Leonardo DiCaprio starring in the dramatisation. Or you could, but for the fact that he already plays himself – a small, attention-grabbing cameo in a film whose principals include the Saudi royal family, a Russian oligarch, Oxford university, Emmanuel Macron, international financiers, investigative journalists, a gaggle of frantic art historians, a Geneva dealer on a unicycle, the FBI, the CIA and both Leonardo da Vinci (possibly) and Jesus Christ.

The latter is the subject of “Salvator Mundi”, the religious study claimed to have been produced by Leonardo and stumbled on in 2005 as an uncredited wreck. Twelve years later, DiCaprio appears in a Christie’s marketing spot – quite the work of art itself – gazing rapt at what would soon become the most expensive painting in history (\$450.3m, fees included).

The arc of the picture itself is captured not just in its price tag, but how it travels. In 2005, it was carried through Manhattan in a bin liner, a \$1,100 curio discovered in an auction one step from the junk shop in New Orleans. *Of course* it would be New Orleans, a location seemingly pulled like so many of the facts in this film from the pages of an airport thriller. The pace is whipcrack, the impossible soon said out loud – the master declared to have made most of the portrait.

From the start there are dissenters. In London, the National Gallery calls it a Leonardo. Art-world believers and sceptics have at it. Fans of professional wrestling, enjoy.

All this is just the first act. The



Above: ‘Salvator Mundi’ auction, New York, 2017. Below right: ‘The Wonderful’ tells the story of the International Space Station – Timothy A. Clary/AFP/Getty Images

The Lost Leonardo
Andreas Koefoed
★★★★☆

Respect
Liesel Tommy
★★★★☆

The Wonderful: Stories from the Space Station
Clare Lewins
★★★★☆

The Servant
Joseph Losey
★★★★☆

material is a gift. It still needs context and rhythm. A particular skill lies too in re-presenting what has already been a news story. In both respects, what we have here – directed by Danish filmmaker Andreas Koefoed – is a hum-dinger. Casting is some of the secret – the old-fashioned business of talking heads given bold new life. Dispassionate observers make a sharp Greek chorus. And, given the stakes, more than you might expect of the main players appear on camera. Just bagging the interviews is a coup.

But the film is also a triumph of structure. By coincidence, I saw it a couple of nights after a rewatch of *Chinatown*, rightly hailed as a scriptwriting gold



standard. The resemblance is striking. In both films, what starts as one kind of detective story darkens and shape-shifts with each revelation. We cross from art into the next-door realm of extreme wealth. The entanglement of billionaire collector Dmitry Rybolovlev with Swiss middleman Yves Bouvier is not just a ripe subplot; it also spotlights the murk of global finance.

You begin *The Lost Leonardo* hoping to learn whether Leonardo really painted “Salvator Mundi”. Eventually, other questions take over – the greyzone mysteries of freeports, the eternal issue of how, why and to whom art accrues value. The unknown becomes the unknowable. In this story, all interests are vested, and the most esteemed authorities can be – at best – winging it.

In cinemas from September 10

But one indisputable fact is power, the kind for which even money is just a proxy. Again the drama comes from the record – a blockbuster auction, the strangest twists yet. If *The Lost Leonardo* were fiction, a spoiler warning would preface the mention of its current owner – Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman (or so it is assumed). The awe of DiCaprio before the painting was just a performance. Now, no one can measure their real response against it without a private invitation from Saudi royalty. Forget it Jake, it’s *Chinatown*.

Aretha Franklin could sing anything, but her starting point was God. The high-gloss biopic *Respect* duly finds her as a child – played by Skye Dakota Turner – already uplifting souls in church. Decades later, as a global star – the role now filled by Jennifer Hudson – she returns to gospel with the double-platinum-selling album *Amazing Grace*, recorded live in Los Angeles. Fans will have seen the documentary of the same name that charted that recording, finally released in 2018. There, while her vocals were transcendent, her silence between tracks was hard to miss – a woman keeping things to herself.

Here, the same moment is the scene of a grand emotional outpouring, packed with dialogue. Such is the nature of a sturdy, safety-first movie made in the traditional Hollywood register. Before we even get to church, we meet Aretha at 10, woken by her egocentric Baptist minister father CL (Forest Whitaker) to perform for a houseful of guests. The sense of the proprietary does not end there. If his daughter spent her life navigating CL Franklin, *Respect* too has to capture his outside influence without the terrible irony of making itself more about him than his phenomenal daughter.

In UK cinemas from September 10; in US cinemas now

But Hudson – excellent – creates an Aretha too multi-faceted to let that happen. She is regal and needy, perceptive and destructive, out of control and entirely in it. The rest of the film can feel

nonplussed by that complexity, finding its groove as a slick empowerment story with a busy wardrobe department. In its lead, however, the movie has a star of whom even its exacting subject – “Re” to other characters, Ms Franklin in the credits – might have approved. The music is a joy, of course, a glorious songbook recreated by Hudson’s soar and flex.

But her performance is as good between the tunes. And before them. More than in onstage scenes or when mired in domestic trauma, the movie is at its best with Franklin as composer and arranger, glinting with genius as a scrap of music morphs into a song fit for her voice. One in which she could say all the things she wanted to.

In cinemas from September 10

Cracks have appeared in the International Space Station. That at least was the news from Russian media last week, alleging that fissures had been found on an ISS cargo module – the latest of many signs of obsolescence. That Nasa then denied the reports proved the existence of other fraying – in the relationship between Russia and the US as partners in the project. Here is where we are. Private-sector rocketeers Elon Musk and Jeff Bezos ascend into the future. Old superpowers bicker over creaking infrastructure.

No such negative vibes mar *The Wonderful: Stories from the Space Station*, a wholly upbeat celebration of its subject.

In UK cinemas from September 10, and on DVD/BluRay/digital from September 20



Left: Jennifer Hudson in ‘Respect’. Below: from left, Wendy Craig, Dirk Bogarde and James Fox in ‘The Servant’



Made with the help of the space agencies but not at their behest, it can still have the feel of official product. The trade-off is a wealth of nuggety detail, a lyrical edge and a close-up view of this miracle of engineering and multinational co-operation. Close-up enough for the camera to shatter, in fact – set down too near blast-off in the Kazakh desert. Don’t be surprised. As is said, the launch craft is “basically a bomb”, a certain improbability always involved in strapping people atop it to fling them into orbit. Now, though, even that feels less unlikely than Russo-American tensions pausing long enough – with Japan, Europe and Canada in tow – to co-found the station in 1998.

The elegy is implicit. On Earth, pre-flight rituals know no nation. (All crews must urinate on the wheel of the bus that takes them to launch in homage to Yuri Gagarin.) In orbit, vital tiny components made thousands of miles apart slot together like flat-pack furniture. And if a little too long is spent on biographical sketches of the most famous of the 244 men and women who have boarded the ISS, common threads weave through distant backstories. In Iowa as in St Petersburg – and Tokyo and West Sussex – children stare up at vast night skies and long to be part of them, before gazing back to Earth as adults, 250 miles above their human home.

On digital platforms and home entertainment formats from September 13

The London townhouse on Chelsea Royal Avenue in which *The Servant* takes place starts the film in disrepair. Paint has peeled, dust gathered. The owner – callow aristocrat Tony (James Fox) – is too limp to take action. Enter his valet Barrett, played by Dirk Bogarde as a one-man sleeper cell. Has any marker of British class ever been so loaded as home interiors? So the gentleman’s gentleman first cleans, then does the place out in the modish colours of the 1963 – no “chintz frills” here. Now the film too has had a spit and polish, the subversive vision of director Joseph Losey and writer Harold Pinter restored in deep, crisp black and white.

The result gleams, all the better to witness the power struggle. It is hardly a fair contest, Barrett’s cold clarity instantly seeing Tony for what he is, ready to be undone by subterfuge and Sarah Miles. The mood is definitively Pinter, the sly insults about personal hygiene and nightmare games of hide and seek. Yet a secret weapon might be the naturalistic, un-Pinterish line deliveries of Fox and Bogarde, somehow even more menacing for it. Take the film as rude awakening for post-empire England or simple character assassination. Either way, British cinema has never looked so brilliant or provocative.

In UK cinemas from September 10, and on DVD/BluRay/digital from September 20

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FT BIG READ. AFRICA

The repercussions from the collapse of security in the north African state a decade ago have been felt across the Sahel, offering a foothold to jihadi groups and leaving thousands dead and millions displaced.

By Neil Munshi

Gaddafi's death still haunts Libya's neighbours



In 2017, Precious was approached by a woman in her neighbourhood who offered her an incredible opportunity: leave her corner of southern Nigeria for Italy, where she could work as a seamstress and send money back to her family. She had seen people on social media seemingly living the high life in Europe and witnessed what the money they had sent home had done for their families. The journey would be easy, the woman assured her, and then she could help her family.

"She deceived me," says Precious, sitting on a couch in Benin City, Nigeria's fourth-largest city and a major hub for human trafficking and migration to Europe. "And I suffered."

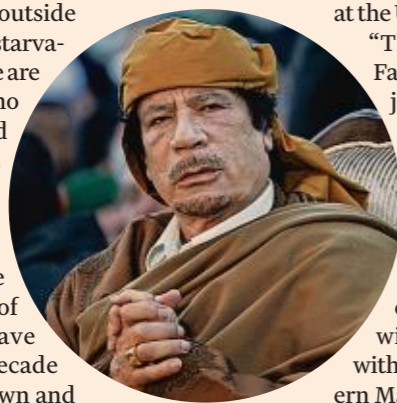
Far from an easy journey, Precious, who is now 22 and who did not wish to share her surname, was passed from middleman to middleman in Nigeria, and then, in Niger, piled into the back of a Toyota Hilux truck with 25 other people for a three-day drive across the Sahara desert. She was beaten and starved, others died. But it was when the truck arrived at the border with Libya that her real suffering began.

For more than a year, Precious was held in forced prostitution with dozens of other women from across sub-Saharan Africa. She wasn't allowed outside and was subjected to abuse and starvation. "Libya is a bad place — there are no laws there," says Precious, who escaped in 2019 and returned home on a UN charter flight. "They say that since he died, everything has changed."

"He" is Muammar Gaddafi. Stories of brutality and abuse are common among the hundreds of thousands of people who have passed through Libya in the decade since the dictator was overthrown and the oil-rich north African country descended into chaos and conflict. Libya had long been an entrepôt for migrants heading north, but after the 2011 revolution which toppled Gaddafi their numbers soared as it became the most important conduit for Africans seeking to reach Europe, where their arrival helped fuel the rise of the populist right. More than 700,000 migrants are currently stranded in Libya, according to the International Rescue Committee, which calls the journey that Precious took "the world's most dangerous migration route."

A decade on, observers say the unintended consequences of the toppling of Gaddafi — a dictator whose 42-year rule was marked by corruption and human rights abuses — in August 2011 and his assassination two months later can be seen far beyond Libya. In migrant deaths in the Mediterranean Sea, slave camps and brothels on land; and in the collapse in security across the western Sahel that has killed thousands, displaced millions and sunk France into what some consider its "forever" war.

'The fall of Gaddafi [below] is really a key moment for at least unleashing that set of crises — it's just a cascading set of events from there'



try into fiefdoms, while armed groups, criminal gangs and people smugglers exploited the weakness of the state. In March, a unity government was sworn in as part of a UN-backed process to end a two-year civil conflict that sucked in regional powers and foreign mercenaries. The new administration is supposed to oversee fresh elections in December.

The foreign ministers of Libya's neighbours — including Egypt, Tunisia, Sudan, Chad and Niger — met last week to discuss the situation, and called for overseas mercenaries and fighters to pull out of the country. "Libya is the first victim of these irregular elements," said Algeria's foreign minister Ramtane Lamamra. "And the risk is real that neighbouring countries also become victims if the withdrawal [of mercenaries] is not handled in a transparent, organised way."

Trouble flows from Libya to Mali

The Sahel, the semi-arid strip below the Sahara — home to some of the world's poorest nations — has long been a region of instability. So it is useful to think of Gaddafi's fall not as a direct cause of its current turmoil but as an accelerator of dynamics long under way in the region, says Yvan Guichaoua, a Sahel specialist at the UK's University of Kent.

"These insurgencies in Burkina Faso, Niger and Mali were somehow just ready to break out and just needed a sort of push, a trigger," he says. "Libya was this trigger." Mali had been the subject of numerous rebellions over the years, but it was fighters — both Tuareg rebels and jihadis — who cut their teeth in Libya, armed with Gaddafi's arsenal and flush with cash, that finally captured northern Mali, helping to cripple the government in the capital, Bamako. France intervened in 2013 and has been there ever since, an intractable military entanglement that has become a vulnerability in President Emmanuel Macron's 2022 re-election campaign.

Jihadi groups have since embedded themselves deeper and deeper into the region, turning it into one of the most important fronts for al-Qaeda and Isis. Extremists in neighbouring Burkina Faso took inspiration from their Malian counterparts and mounted their own domestic insurgency that has shattered the country's security. Jihadis exploited

existing ethnic tensions in both countries and filled governance vacuums left by a neglectful state.

Sahelian leaders in turn have used the chaos in Libya as an excuse for their own inability to secure their nations and "muscular strategy toward their own people", says Guichaoua, adding that Libya's importance has sometimes been overstated as a driver of insecurity.

That is echoed by Corinne Dufka, west Africa director for Human Rights Watch, who says Libya's link to insecurity in the Sahel "has been totally exaggerated". The "vast majority" of weapons in circulation now, she says, "are from attacks that [jihadis have] waged against the security forces . . . or are just buying on the open market".

What is not in dispute is that migrants have long travelled through the Sahara desert to get to Europe. In his latter years Gaddafi had acted as a regulator — turning flows on and off as a way of extracting concessions from the EU and Italy. But with the despot dead, traffickers and militias filled the void. Post-revolution, "the smuggling economy [was able] to . . . operate with greater impunity", according to a 2018 report by the Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime.

The EU in effect set its border in the middle of the desert in Niger by paying that country €1.6bn in aid between 2016 and 2020 to stop migrants from travelling on centuries-old routes through the Sahara. It set them on to more dangerous alternative desert routes, where thousands have since died.

In neighbouring Chad, authoritarian leader Idriss Déby had faced down rebellions for years, many launched from Libya. The Chadian group that ultimately killed him had worked as mercenaries for the France-backed rebel general Khalifa Haftar in eastern Libya and emerged equipped to mount a serious offensive on the capital N'Djamena, say regional experts.

Déby, who took power in a 1990 coup, had become further entrenched because of the political and financial support he received from Europe, which saw him as its most important bulwark against jihadis in the Sahel.

"A lot of things have happened since [2011]," says Daniel Eizenga, a research fellow at the US defence department's Africa Center for Strategic Studies. "But . . . the fall of Gaddafi is really a

key moment for at least unleashing that set of crises — it's just a cascading set of events from there."

Guns for hire

In February 2011, as the Arab uprisings swept across the Middle East and north Africa, young Libyans inspired by the crumbling of regimes in Egypt and Tunisia used social media to organise a "Day of Rage" against Gaddafi's rule.

The west, led by France, intervened, bolstering the popular uprising. The decision was opposed by Joe Biden, the then US vice-president, but Nato fighter jets were streaking across the skies over Libya by March. In August, rebel forces seized Gaddafi's compound and on October 20, found and summarily executed him near the city of Sirte.

His death left a vacuum. US president Barack Obama said in 2016 that his "worst mistake" was "failing to plan for the day after" in Libya. Biden, also in a

Chadian troops, above, from the regional joint Task Force formed to fight Boko Haram, one of several Islamist groups active in the region. Libya's instability has acted as an 'accelerant' for conflict and mass migration, below, say experts

FT montage/AFP/Getty/Dreamstime

Williams. "[For some rebels] the attraction of the resources, the manpower, the training, were too hard to resist. And so little by little, they affiliated themselves with Isis [and al-Qaeda]."

Death of an ally

On the morning of April 20, as celebratory gunfire erupted on the streets of N'Djamena to mark his victory in a sixth straight Potemkin election, Idriss Déby was already dead or dying hundreds of kilometres from the capital. He had been killed while visiting troops on the frontline of a firefight with a rebel convoy hurtling south from Libya.

Western powers considered Déby an important ally in the fight against Islamist terror group Boko Haram in the area bordering north-east Nigeria. He had become even more essential to the French-led effort against jihadism in the Sahel. Chad's stability was so important to Paris that in 2019 it sent Mirage jets to strike a rebel convoy heading for the capital. Yet the French did not intervene as fighters from the Libya-based Front for Change and Concord in Chad neared N'Djamena earlier this year.

"You can't think about the transformation of the rebellions in northern Chad without looking at them in view of the Libyan civil war," says Eizenga. "The current instability and uncertainty in Libya — which is a direct result of Gaddafi's death — and the ongoing civil war have just opened up all kinds of opportunities for would-be mercenaries and other rebel factions."

"Libya has always been a key part of Chadian stability, and Déby said in 2011, 'look if Gaddafi goes, we're going to have a lot of trouble,' and I think he knew [what] that meant for him too," he adds.

Back in Benin City, Kenneth Michael, who like Precious is part of a support group for returning migrants, pulls up a picture of an emaciated man on his phone. "I came back in 2017 and I was half dead," he says.

He had tried to cross the Mediterranean Sea three times during his two years in Libya. Each time, his rubber boat was caught by the Libyan Coast Guard, who put him in prisons that were, he says, little more than slave camps, where the guards forced him to call his family to wire money for his release or hired him out to farmers as slave labour. Since the start of 2021, 23,000 people have been intercepted at sea and returned to Libya, says the IRC.

Michael is one of tens of thousands of victims handed over to smugglers and militias by the Libyan Coast Guard, which, despite being accused of gross human rights violations, is a key partner in the EU's anti-migration efforts. Libya is now the source of up to 90 per cent of the people who cross the Mediterranean to Europe, according to UNHCR. The International Organization for Migration reports that 1,312 people have died trying to cross the Mediterranean so far this year, more than double the number by this time last year and 20 per cent higher than the same period in 2019.

"There is no law, so some people there [in Libya] live how they want to," says the 32-year-old. "This lack of governance and the population of Africans trying to go through . . . [the traffickers] saw they could make a lot of money, and treat us however they wanted."

He stares vacantly at the picture on his phone, before adding: "I can't describe what I went through in Libya."



2016 interview, said: "My question was . . . 'He's gone. Doesn't the country disintegrate? What happens then? Doesn't it become a . . . Petri dish for the growth of extremism?'"

Extremists used Gaddafi's arsenal to expand their activities in the Sahel. It is "still to this day the largest uncontrolled stockpile of ammunition in the world", says David Lochhead, a senior researcher at the Small Arms Survey, who was one of the first UN peacekeepers deployed to northern Mali in 2013.

The west had not prepared for the immediate aftermath. And the EU has subsequently spent billions of euros in security, development and border aid across west and central Africa in order to stem the flow of migration. France spent more than €900m alone last year on Operation Barkhane, its military mission to the Sahel, where it has had 5,000 troops stationed since 2013.

No region has paid a higher price than the Sahel itself, where thousands have been killed and millions displaced in spiralling violence that began in northern Mali after the return of armed mercenaries who had worked for Gaddafi.

"There was all that concern [in 2011] — much of it justified — about what are you going to do about 14,000-15,000 well-trained men with nothing to do . . . coming into your territory, who are your citizens," says Bisa Williams, who served as the US ambassador to Niger between 2011 and 2013. "It created a swarm of people descending on sub-Saharan Africa, and those countries weren't prepared."

Northern Mali had long faced Tuareg rebellions. But "what made it so potent this time . . . was that it became an opportunistic insurgency in some ways that [jihadist groups] linked on to", adds

'[The traffickers in Libya] saw they could make a lot of money, and that they could treat us however they wanted'

Opinion

This is just the start of Apple and Google's app store wars

BUSINESS

Brooke Masters



Apple often portrays the App Store as the democratisation of software. Since 2008, developers everywhere have been able to use Apple's code to create new smartphone applications, and users can find and try them there, knowing that the company has vetted the offerings. Now both the App Store and its rival Google Play are under attack as cut-throat monopolies that disadvantage competition and extract unfair commissions. Last week, South Korea enacted the world's first law allowing mobile phone users to bypass the tech groups and pay app developers directly. In a recent settlement with the Japan Fair Trade Commission, Apple was forced to create a payment bypass for certain

subscription apps. The EU and India are also probing app sales and Australia may wade in. Meanwhile, a US judge is considering *Fortnite*-maker Epic Games' claims that Apple's 30 per cent commission on app sales and in-app purchases is an illegal monopoly. Epic's lawsuit against Google is pending, and US senators are waiting in the wings with draft legislation that allows both developers and customers to bypass official app stores. Complaints about Big Tech are nothing new, so why has this issue caught fire? Part of it is simplicity. Rather than novel legal issues involving network effects, use of personal data and effects on democracy, the app sale fight is about money. Powerful, well-funded opponents are helping make the case for change. Epic chief executive Tim Sweeney crusaded against the App Store for years before filing suit, and Brussels' interest was sparked by a 2019 complaint from streaming group Spotify. There is ample evidence of the financial benefits of charging commissions on app store use. In 2019, Google's parent, Alphabet, drew an estimated 20 per

cent of operating profits from Play, even though it was just 10 per cent of revenue. Apple bundles the App Store into "services", a category that accounts for one-fifth of revenue, one-third of gross profit margin and almost all margin growth, says Joseph Evans of Enders Analysis. Regulators, lawmakers and judges are also on familiar ground as they consider whether Apple and Google unfairly use app store control to box out competitors and extract rents from developers. The allegation of bundling — using dominance in one kind of software to gain advantage in another — was at the heart of the 1990s case seeking to break up Microsoft. Though the company ultimately worked out a deal, the pressure is often credited with creating

space for Google and Apple to thrive. High-end department stores provide a parallel. Luxury brands such as Chanel or Hermès often enter concession deals with them. While terms vary, the brand supplies the product while the store provides the real estate and sales staff, and usually takes a 25 to 40 per cent cut. With that in mind, the 30 per cent app commissions look hard to justify. Apple and Google supply the underlying code, the sales platform and curation that encourages users to download apps. But their costs are far lower than a store's because the sales process is automated and they sell phones rather than renting or buying real estate. Claims that Google and Apple need app store control to protect users also seem self-serving. Epic trial documents showed that Apple reviewers spent an average of 13 minutes on each app and some are approved in under a minute. No wonder scams have repeatedly snuck through. Curation is another revenue opportunity: Apple sells the top position after a search. Ask for the Ringo parking app, and you get Uber. Put in

Lyft and the first suggestion is the rival service Bolt. That may explain why Google and Apple are not above beating strategic retreats. Both companies have already cut commissions to 15 per cent for smaller developers. Apple previously avoided a fight with Amazon by exempting the Prime app from paying commission on video sales. In the past two weeks it has loosened global payment rules for some small developers as well as Netflix, Spotify and other "reader" apps that let subscribers access content on multiple platforms. Notably, these concessions exclude Epic and other big game developers who account for most app revenue. Spotify has also called the tweaks insufficient. Google insists that app payments allow it to keep the Android operating system free, while Apple contends that letting users "sideload" apps purchased externally would lead to anarchy rather than more democracy. Big Tech may have conceded a few battles but it remains dug in for a long war.

Rather than novel legal issues involving personal data and democracy, the fight is about money

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The promise of a post-9/11 architecture has been wasted

DESIGN

Edwin Heathcote



Twenty years ago, architecture became a target. At 8.46am on 11 September 2001, Mohamed Atta, an Egyptian former architecture student, engineer and urban planner, flew a plane into the North Tower of the World Trade Center. It was a symbolic attack on US hegemony, modernism and the globalisation inherent in its very name. This carefully-planned and destructive act led to the deaths of nearly 3,000 people and changed a world-famous skyline. Thirty years earlier, the construction of the World Trade Center had itself been a destructive act, the substitution of one kind of city for another. A mixed neighbourhood of piers, docks, and manufacturing; of Radio Row, electrical repair shops, warehouses and showrooms; of Little Syria and its grocery stores and Lebanese restaurants, all flattened and replaced by the monoculture of office work. The towers, designed by Minoru Yamasaki, stood in a bleak plaza, once a byword for urban alienation. They had a certain suaveness to their scale but they were hard to love. Resembling financial bar charts, they looked like what they were, banal machines for maximising land value. They also represented a nexus of global finance and the transformation of public land (the Port Authority) into private profit (Larry Silverstein bought the lease months earlier). They signified the end of old New York, a wipeout of the almost medieval plan

For a symbol of corporate hegemony, you could hardly do better than the rebuilt World Trade Center site

built by Dutch settlers and of Downtown as a bustling, chaotic neighbourhood. New Amsterdam had been globalisation of a kind, the imposition of a European walled city on a new world site. The towers were globalisation on another scale, the placeless architecture of late modernism. It was their destruction which finally endeared the towers to the city. As an image they have become far more permanent than they seemed when they stood. The memorial and preserved voids have ensured the site is part of the tourist and memory economy, not the financial economy. After the attack, Ground Zero became the world's most visible shrine, one filled with flowers, candles and photos of lost relatives. The space was transformed from real estate to human value and it became inviolable. Debate raged around what or whether to rebuild. Architects did themselves few favours in their ambivalence-chasing proposals and the results appear to have learnt little from the mistakes of the 1970s, except that they now have stronger concrete cores, blast-proof bases and massive bollards. It is astonishing that 84 per cent of all towers over 200m tall standing today were built after 9/11. Architecture remains the extruded plan of maximum value. While Swiss Re, the site's insurer, argued with Silverstein about the value of the site, they were planning a new London office at 30 St Mary Axe, known in the UK as the Gherkin. It too was built on the site of a tragedy, the Baltic Exchange, which had been almost destroyed by an IRA bomb in 1992. That tower, designed by Foster + Partners (who also designed one of the buildings at Ground Zero), once a monument to a new kind of City, has been dwarfed by bigger, blander towers around it. If you wanted a symbol of corporate hegemony, you could hardly do better than London's City cluster or the rebuilt World Trade Center site. There was speculation in 2001 that architecture would never be the same, yet since then towers have become the de facto global vehicle for investment. The urban legacy of 9/11 is museumification, the tendency of cities to reflect on their own tragedies and those beyond. Whether in Westminster's proposed Holocaust memorial or the 9/11 memorial, meaning has been franchised out to monuments so that corporate architecture can carry on as it was. We have learnt nothing.

The writer is the FT's architecture and design critic

Health levy shows Johnson's path for Tories

BRITAIN

Robert Shrimley



People did know that when they chose Boris they weren't electing a Thatcherite," says one close ally of the prime minister. In fact no one was sure what the Tory leader would be but his MPs were desperate enough to subordinate almost all considerations to his status as an election winner. All assumed he could be controlled in power. His Vote Leave aides, most notably his ex-strategist Dominic Cummings considered him nothing more than a frontman for their own political project. Tory MPs trusted others to keep their chaotic, solipsistic leader in check. Now, Johnson has presented them with the bill for their bargain and it is a big one: a £12bn tax rise, mostly funded through a manifesto-breaching rise in national insurance, to tackle NHS backlogs and fix longstanding problems with social care. Having unveiled it as a fait accompli to his cabinet, he is now ramming the measure through parliament. There are multiple criticisms aside from the risk of the broken promise. In as far as the money is to fund social care — and the bulk is going to the NHS in the first years — it looks generationally unfair with younger workers paying

to save the homes of wealthier pensioners. The tax also hits employers and so raises the cost of staff. But Johnson is trusting his own instincts (and they have served him well this far). He judges that the risks are outweighed by the damage which would follow from a protracted NHS crisis or not meeting his promise to protect older, more affluent voters from the social care lottery. The new levy and social care plan represent an uncomfortable compromise between Johnson and his chancellor Rishi Sunak. The prime minister wanted the policy without the national insurance rise. But when forced to decide, he chose to tax and spend. And this is the key point for many of his MPs who were frantically touting alternative ideas to a tax rise, be it converting Covid debt into a 50 or 100-year "war loan" or simply demanding savings in other areas. Thatcherite Tories have long suspected that their leader lacks their devotion to small government. When many saw Brexit as the precursor to a lower-tax, lower-regulation economy, Johnson was describing himself as a "Brexity Hezza", a nod to the interventionist former deputy prime minister, Michael Heseltine. Now they are asking whether, even allowing for the costs of Covid, they have become a high-spending, higher-taxing government. This week's increase comes on top of £25bn of measures announced in the budget. The tax burden will now be the highest since 1950. But while a big call on health might



seem exceptional, it is not the end of the spending challenges. Johnson is still resisting demands from his MPs to make permanent the temporary £20 increase to universal credit, but those calls will grow after a social care policy designed to protect the assets of the propertied classes. And then there are calls for more money for schools and to battle backlogs in the legal system as well as the longer-term commitments of net zero and "levelling up". The state of the public finances means the chancellor has more leeway than he has been letting on. But while Tories traditionally look for savings and, ideally, tax cuts before an election, Johnson looks increasingly like a leader tilting his party away from such frugality. "It's the same as always," says

He judges that the risks are outweighed by the damage which would follow from a protracted NHS crisis

one friend. "He wants to be popular." Whether there is a deep conviction or merely a skin-deep instinct may not matter. The path of least resistance will keep pushing Johnson towards higher spending until he judges tax levels to be a political problem. But if, by commission or omission, Johnson is leading his party down this path, there are three major challenges. The first is he needs a plan for public-service reform to ensure his largesse is spent effectively. The NHS in particular will swallow any sum given. Spending is easy. Spending wisely requires clarity of vision and a ruthless focus on delivery. That is not a charge regularly levelled at this administration. This also demands a more effective cabinet. But stronger ministers can be a challenge, so they must also sign up to his direction of travel. Throughout the week, Westminster swirled with unconfirmed rumours of a reshuffle. Cynics dismissed this as a ploy to instil discipline — for all the grumblings in advance his more free-market ministers put up little fight this week. But a

reshuffle is overdue, not only to move underperformers but to ensure a team which signs up to his political approach. The final obstacle is the toughest. A higher-spending government, especially a Tory one, needs a coherent strategy for economic growth. This government does not have one. Current projections after the post-Covid bounce are for growth rates below 2 per cent. Those who saw a Brexit reboot are instead facing a less competitive economy, with exporters facing more bureaucracy and looming corporate tax rises. Mooted productivity gains from levelling up will take years to materialise. The upshot is that, even allowing for the pandemic, the Conservative party has accidentally placed itself on a long-term trajectory to a larger state and higher spending. For many Tories, Johnson was the key to securing Brexit and staying in power. But having won the war, the more Thatcherite among them are starting to fear they might be losing the peace.

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There is still time to talk to the Taliban about education

Kevin Watkins

As the Taliban transition from armed insurgency to government in Afghanistan, is the country dubbed the "graveyard of empires" about to become a graveyard for the hopes and aspirations of its children? The answer will hinge in large measure on how the Taliban approach education, and whether western governments have the resolve to stay engaged. There is plenty of cause for pessimism. When the Taliban last ruled Afghanistan, they treated education as another front in the war against western values. Schools were closed, girls' education suppressed and female teachers were banned. The Taliban are now taking up the reins of government in a country with a dramatically changed education profile. Today, over 9m Afghan children are in

school — ten times the number when the Taliban were last in power. Around 40 per cent of those children are girls. Women account for one-third of the teacher work force. Afghanistan's education "miracle" is often overstated. There are still some 5.7m children out of school, most of them girls. Progress on enrolment has stalled and education quality is poor. Even so, millions of Afghan parents and children now see schooling as a right and a passport to a better future. Aid has played a central role in Afghanistan's education transformation. Donors have pooled resources through mechanisms like the World Bank-co-ordinated Afghanistan Reconstruction Trust Fund. UK aid alone has funded the training of thousands of female teachers. If the nation-building enterprise of western governments is a case study in hubris, the expansion of educational opportunity is evidence of the power of international co-operation. Protecting and building on the foundations now in place should be a first-order priority. As in most other areas the Taliban's

intentions on education remain unclear. Its leaders have made some encouraging, if vague, statements on human rights and girls' education. Critics see these declarations of good intent as a public relations smokescreen for an unreformed "Taliban 2.0" bent on returning Afghanistan to the dark ages. Reality is more prosaic. There is no monolithic Taliban policy on education. Protecting and building on the foundations now in place should be a first-order priority. In fact, there is no policy. Edicts adopted during the insurgency are designed to accommodate hardliners and moderate views, coupling a general embrace of Islamic principles to aspirational promises of "modern education" for all Afghan children. Even a cursory glance across the areas that have been under effective Taliban control for years points to a range of

possible futures. In southern regions, such as Helmand and Kandahar, local commanders have resolutely blocked the expansion of schooling, especially for girls. In other areas public schools and community education programmes have been allowed to operate, with the Taliban entering formal or informal access agreements with the government, UN agencies and NGOs. Afghanistan's education future is not set in stone. Some hardliners would doubtless like to roll back the education gains of the past 20 years. Pragmatists in the Taliban leadership may take a different view. They will know any attack on education risks triggering public resentment, especially in cities. They might also recognise that a failure to protect education, especially girls' education, will restrict access to the aid Afghanistan desperately needs. There is an opportunity for engagement here. Donor withdrawal and the World Bank's decision to suspend operations pose an immediate threat to the provision of health, education, and other basic services in Afghanistan. Western governments, working with

regional partners, should now establish achievable and monitorable conditions for restoring aid. Education should be put at the heart of any dialogue. The Taliban must be left in no doubt that the erosion of constitutional provisions on universal education, especially girls' education, access to schools, or the employment of female teachers will have adverse consequences for aid. But dialogue is not just about waving the stick of aid conditionality. Education can also be a point of constructive engagement. Pragmatists in its leadership know the Taliban is ill-equipped to manage a complex education system and respond to community demands. Donors should offer to step up aid, subject to the development of a credible education plan. Talking to the Taliban on education will not be easy. The alternative is to turn away. That would represent an unforgivable betrayal of the country and its children.

The writer is a visiting professor at the London School of Economics, and until recently was CEO of Save the Children UK

Lex.

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Ford/Apple: forward momentum

The dream of making automobiles appears to matter more to Wall Street than the actual manufacture of them. While electric self-driving start-up valuations soar, Ford's share price has travelled sideways over the past five years. Yet the Detroit stalwart may have some fuel left in its tank. Late on Tuesday, Ford announced that it had lured Doug Field away from Apple. Field was the latest luminary to lead the \$2tn Silicon Valley titan's secretive effort to create its own vehicle. But the auto ambitions of leader Tim Cook now appear doubtful. Apple's interest in autonomous driving seems more focused on software than vehicle production. Ford's own autonomous vehicle business has aggressive launch date targets – though these were pushed back by the pandemic. Until now, however, Ford has failed to convince investors of its ambitions on electrification and self-driving technology. A costly \$11bn restructuring in 2018 allowed General Motors to pass it by. While old economy companies must prove that they can think progressively and stop fighting yesterday's war, their operational expertise appears underappreciated by the markets. Even before the latest mania around electric and autonomous vehicle start-ups, Wall Street never got behind Ford and GM. They typically traded at less than seven times forward earnings before the pandemic. Even achieving a 10 per cent operating margin would be considered heroic for Ford. Both had difficulty balancing selling enough internal combustion vehicles today with making costly investments in electric vehicle production for tomorrow. Ford's smaller scale relative to GM – the former producing about half as many vehicles – gave it the look of a runner-up. But Ford has stepped on the accelerator. Before the semiconductor shortage, sales of trucks and SUVs were solid. Ford's hyped F-150 electric truck has secured 120,000 orders and its Mustang Mach-E is the second-best selling electric SUV in America. Ford's shares have rebounded by nearly half in 2021, which gives it a market value of roughly \$52bn. This still trails Tesla and even Rivian.

The latter Amazon- and Ford-backed EV truck start-up is seeking a \$70bn initial public offering, offering a pricier rival to Ford's own models. Ford will hope hiring Field away from Apple can add some air to its own valuation.

Estate agents: kings of their castles

British estate agents have had plenty of cheer this year. Winkworth, the latest to join the party, yesterday reported a doubling of sales in the interim period, over both year-ago and pre-pandemic numbers. Foxtons, its zippiest rival, generated two-thirds more sales over the same period and registered a bump over 2019. Yet at some point sobriety looks set to return. So far, though, more business means profits have returned. For Winkworth, pre-tax profit quadrupled to £2m. The small number reflects its franchise model, with income derived from an 8 per cent cut of franchisees' takings. Realtors are an upbeat lot. They see plenty of reason to toast their future. London rents, a lead indicator of sorts, slumped by as much as a fifth during the pandemic. But with employers keen to usher workers back into the office, would-be tenants registering interest have jumped by a third on year-ago figures, says Winkworth. Average UK house prices increased 13 per cent in the year to June, according to official figures. But London, where the average house costs £510,000, managed less than half that growth. An optimistic read is that a return to the capital by workers, students and investors, combined with short supply, will send prices higher. Recovery in the macro backdrop, including jobs, and a possibly sustained desire for more space, also help. Others will struggle to see too much sustainability in these trajectories. Much of the boom stems from government largesse, including the stamp duty holiday – a Covid boost introduced in mid-2020. The phased removal of that prop has dented homebuyer enthusiasm. Mortgage approvals, which rushed back to levels last seen before the financial crisis of 2008 after the levy was introduced, have begun tapering off. The latest Bank of England data shows a 6 per cent drop from June to

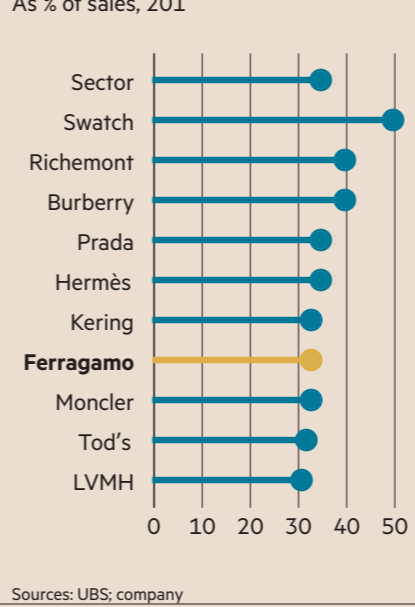
Ferragamo: cobble wobble

Shares in the Italian luxury company jumped after stronger than expected results. But they have lagged behind peers in recent years as it struggled to revamp its brand. Chinese consumers are expected to drive nearly half of global luxury sales by 2025, though Ferragamo has less exposure than some peers.

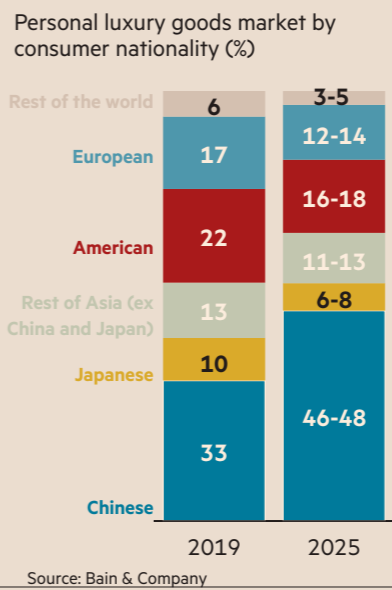
Ferragamo falls behind the rest of the pack



Exposure to Chinese consumers



Luxury sector is counting on China



A sleeping beauty was how a recent boss described Ferragamo. But perking up the Italian luxury company is no easy job, as shown by its long-flagging share price and rapid turnover at the top. Chief executive Micaela Le Divelec Lemmi bowed out on Tuesday with a better than expected set of interim results. But even with Tuesday's near-7 per cent share price jump, the stock is a few percentage points below its level when she was appointed in July 2018. Beijing's planned crackdown on wealth inequalities did not help. Last month's announcement hit all luxury makers' shares. Chinese consumers are expected to account for most sector growth in the next few years. Ferragamo has slightly below average

exposure. Its leather goods should be less vulnerable than, say, expensive watches. Those are not pitched at the swankiest end of the market. Even so, Ferragamo has some fundamental problems. Though the "shoemaker to the stars" has a famous brand, it lacks much of a buzz. Ferragamo has trailed peers that invest more in new product launches. The company is not stretched. It has averaged free cash flow of more than €100m annually since 2016. But luxury brands need to spend. Many family-owned businesses have sold out to get the benefits of scale offered by conglomerates such as LVMH. The named family owns two-thirds of Ferragamo. Its reluctance to relinquish control probably explains why plans to

sell a minority stake had to be abandoned this year. Its recent success in recruiting a big name boss – Burberry's Marco Gobetti – offers another sign the family has no imminent plans to sell out. Hence, there is rightly little speculative, buyout premium in the share price. The enterprise value to forward ebtda multiple sits about a quarter below the biggest luxury groups. Attracting Gobetti was a coup. He should recruit a talented team. But it has proved hard for small luxury companies to turn themselves round. Gobetti will be Ferragamo's fourth chief executive in little over five years. The investment case depends on him shaking awake the dormant beauty lying within Ferragamo.

July. A more tempered second half beckons. The party hats may soon be removed.

Coinbase: unstable coin

Twitter rants are not a good negotiating tactic. Coinbase's decision to use the site to complain about the US Securities and Exchange Commission its actions "sketchy" – suggests a poor grasp of regulatory diplomacy. Coinbase says the SEC has threatened to sue the trading app if it launches a product called Lend, which would allow users to earn interest on their crypto holdings.

As the number of retail crypto investors has grown, so has the number of high-yield account offers. Many boast they can pay out far better rates than bank cash accounts. Gemini advertises 8.05 per cent. Coinbase, which has 8.8m active monthly users, wants in. Rising crypto prices mean revenues are up more than 1,000 per cent in the second quarter to just over \$2bn. It is keen to expand its universe of products before prices fall and trades slow. Lend would offer a 4 per cent annual yield on stablecoin holdings pegged to the dollar. The supposed surprise about the SEC's wariness seems disingenuous. Even if cryptocurrencies and stablecoins are not deemed securities, the SEC has made clear, via references to the Howey case, that the investment

contracts in them count as such. Coinbase chief legal officer Paul Grewal acknowledged the company was told that the SEC regarded the lending product as involving a security. It opted to open a customer wait-list anyway. US state authorities have already brought legal actions against BlockFi, which offers interest-paying crypto accounts. New Jersey regulators dubbed them unregistered securities. Yet Coinbase's shares did not move in after-hours trading. It has salted away more than \$4bn – plenty of cushion for lawsuits. Plus its share price had dipped the previous day following service problems. More importantly, Twitter threads and blogs play to the crypto crowd who see watchdogs as the enemy. Coinbase's intended audience may not be regulators at all.

PayPal/Paidy: hoping to cash out

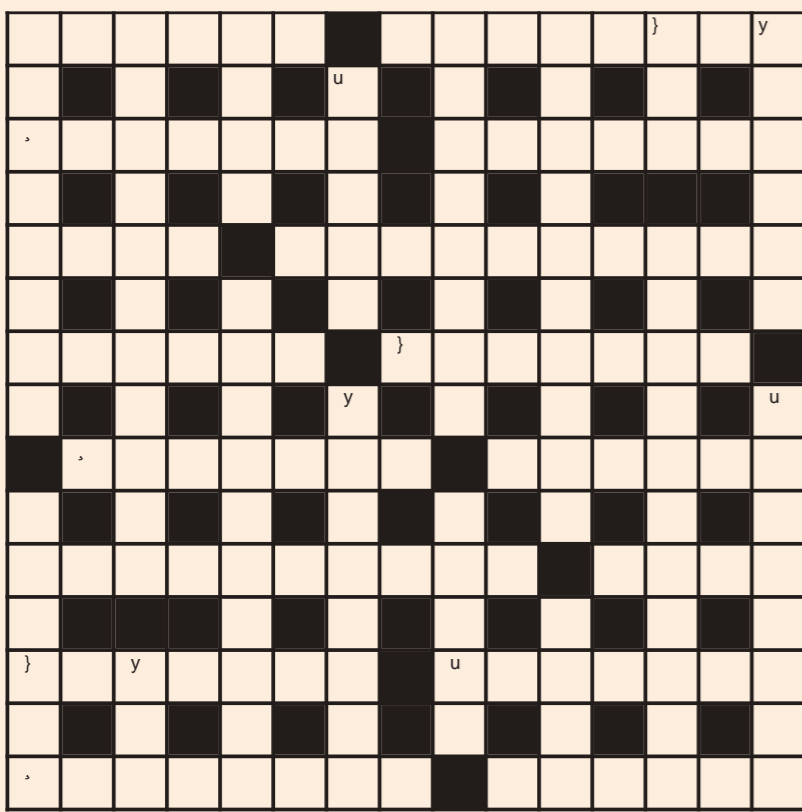
The rise of 'buy now, pay later' services has made it easier for millennials and Gen Z consumers to satisfy their hunger for the latest gadgets and fashion. But a business that lets shoppers pay for purchases, often with interest-free instalments, also happens to be quite crowded in the US. Competition includes Sweden's Klarna, Silicon Valley-based Affirm and Square, following its \$29bn deal for Australia's Afterpay last month. Even Apple has explored entering the market. No surprise then that PayPal has cast a wider net. The US online payment heavyweight is buying Paidy, a privately held BNPL group in Japan, for ¥300bn (\$2.7bn). The offer price is a big jump from Paidy's \$1.3bn last valuation back in March. But priced against forward gross merchandise value, PayPal will pay only 1.8 times, less than the 2.4 times recently listed Affirm trades on. For PayPal, which launched its own pay later service last year, buying Paidy allows it to deepen its push into both the BNPL sector and Japan itself. Japan is home to the third-largest market for online shopping. Yet it remains one of the few developed markets where cash remains king. Despite its reputation as a futuristic nation, 70 per cent of purchases in the country occur in cash, says PayPal. Having a fast-ageing population, reluctant to embrace e-payments, has not helped. But change is afoot. Online transaction volume should grow by nearly 60 per cent to ¥30.2tn by 2024, says Yano Research Institute. Paidy, whose 6m-plus account holders are projected to make \$1.5bn in purchases this year, looks well placed to cash in on this shift. PayPal will hope to tap into Paidy's user base to cross sell its other services. A pandemic-fuelled boom in online shopping and digital transactions has been good for PayPal. With a market value of \$344bn and a projected \$5.6bn in net income this year, it can afford to add Paidy to its checkout cart.

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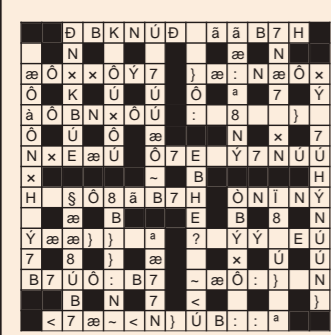
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- ACROSS**
- 1 Lad on estate perhaps shows bottle (6)
 - 4 Sick boss swallows remedy and hides (8)
 - 10 Host is firm – Nancy's mum must keep quiet (7)
 - 11 For instance blocks roads going to the West Country (7)
 - 12 Head back with a member of school? (4)
 - 13 Oscar replaces article in flat for one westerner (10)
 - 16 Popular favourites around part of Wellington? (6)
 - 17 So to speak, take the shine off pleasure? (7)
 - 20 Staunch Democrat candidate finally elected (7)
 - 21 Hound's tooth (6)
 - 24 Where Scrabble players find characters having a lively night out? (2,3,5)
 - 25 Predict some heated objections when making U-tun (4)
 - 27 On vacation, Vince is trapped by a storm? Typical (7)
 - 29 Over the phone, local authority offers advice (7)
 - 30 A surprisingly decent love story (8)
 - 31 Penny meets film actor (6)
- DOWN**
- 1 Male turned up drunk, carrying a screwdriver? (8)
 - 2 With modern clothing, short skirt's suggestive (11)
 - 3 Warning: women only! (4)
 - 5 Dog is brought round in basket (8)
 - 6 Complete idiot, boring clot (10)
 - 7 Regularly trying to find doctor (3)
 - 8 Thus see nurses left alone (6)
 - 9 Scrub up from sauce boat (5)
 - 14 Free kick, a shot securing victory with unknown scorer (11)
 - 15 Ben heard of riots in advance (10)
 - 18 Part of Temple Bar I'm missing (8)
 - 19 Ring merchant, maybe to ridicule keeping healthy (8)
 - 22 Change Aston Villa's final composition (6)
 - 23 Get female to eat out (5)
 - 26 Part of ship's outer covering (4)
 - 28 A looker? Yes, we're told (3)

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