

INTERNATIONAL

Economic chiefs survey changed landscape at Jackson Hole

Unprecedented challenges force attendees into deep reassessment

COLBY SMITH
JACKSON HOLE, WYOMING

The world's leading economic authorities waited for two pandemic-stricken years to meet face to face and trade ideas about how to tackle the global economy's array of unusual challenges.

By the time they gathered at Jackson Hole, Wyoming, this weekend, the fear had taken hold that the economic relationships that underpin the global order had fundamentally changed.

Hopes have faded that the two-decade-long era of low and steady inflation will reassert itself naturally as Covid's disruption ebbs. Instead, policymakers are implementing the most dramatic monetary tightening for decades in an effort to tackle soaring prices.

The sharp shift in economic dynamics left attendees at the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City's annual gathering doing some soul-searching, despite the buoyant mood at being back in person again.

"There is a lot of humility in the room [about] what we know and what we don't know," said Gita Gopinath, deputy managing director of the IMF.

The event revealed in stark detail the faultlines caused by the pandemic and Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

"We have the energy crisis, we have the food crisis, we have the supply chain crisis and we have the war, all of which has profound implications for the economic performance of the world, for the nature in which the world is interconnected and, most importantly, for the relative prices of many, many things,"

Jacob Frenkel, the former governor of the Bank of Israel who chairs the board of the Group of Thirty, an independent group of former policymakers, told the Financial Times.

Complicating matters are doubts about just how much policy tightening is needed in the face of unpredictable gyrations in supply and, in turn, prices.

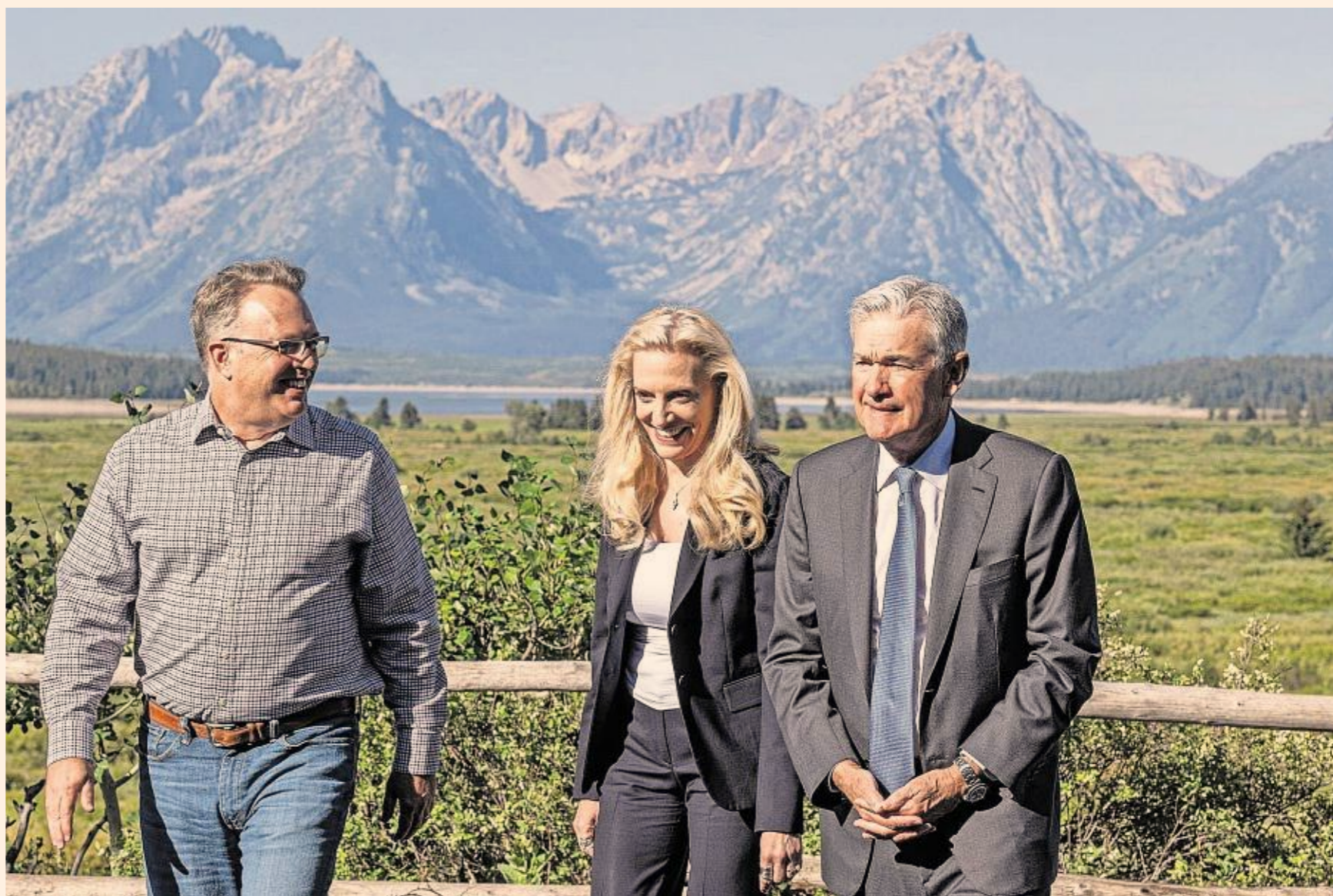
"Currently, we have to make our decisions against the backdrop of high uncertainty," said Thomas Jordan, chair of the Swiss National Bank. "Interpreting the current data is challenging, and it is difficult to distinguish between temporary and sustained inflationary pressure."

According to Isabel Schnabel, an executive board member of the European Central Bank, the next few years are at risk of being dubbed the "Great Volatility" — in contrast with the past two decades, which economists called the "Great Moderation" because of its relatively tranquil dynamics.

Head of the Bank of Korea, Rhee Chang-yong, said the "billion-dollar question" was whether the world would revert to a low-inflation environment after this period of unprecedented shocks and alarming price pressures.

Many officials believe the structural forces that kept price pressures in check — chiefly globalisation and an abundant labour supply — have reversed.

"The global economy seems to be on the cusp of a historic change as many of the aggregate supply tailwinds that have kept a lid on inflation look set to turn into headwinds," warned Agustín



Uncharted territory: New York Fed chair John Williams, left, Fed vice-chair Lael Brainard, centre, and chair Jay Powell take a break at the Jackson Hole meeting on Friday — David Paul Morris/Bloomberg

Carstens, general manager at the Bank for International Settlements. "If so, the recent pick-up in inflationary pressures may prove to be more persistent."

Sceptics of this view say they are confident the world's leading central banks will be able to ward off entrenched high inflation. Jay Powell, US Federal Reserve chair, said on Friday the central bank would "keep at it until the job is done".

"The issue central banks need to focus on is not establishing inflation credibility," said Adam Posen, president of the Peterson Institute for International Economics. "The issue is redoing the strategy and the inflation targets for a world where you are going to have more frequent and larger negative supply shocks."

The 2 per cent inflation target that central banks in advanced economies have mostly abided by for decades came up repeatedly throughout the confer-

ence, with economists suggesting that it might need to be adapted to fit a more fractured global economy.

Long before the inflation surge, the Fed in 2020 announced it would target inflation at a 2 per cent average over time, in order to make up for past periods of undershooting the target. Last year, the ECB said it would tolerate inflation temporarily rising above 2 per cent at times.

"If you are coming down to 2 per cent and you can shorten the amount of low growth you need and also move to a better regime in the long run, because you are less constrained by the zero lower bound, it seems to me like a win-win," said Maurice Obstfeld, the former chief economist of the IMF, told the FT.

Many economists advocated a 3 per cent inflation target. According to Stephanie Aaronson, a former Fed staffer now at the Brookings Institution,

"There is a lot of humility in the room [about] what we know and what we don't know"

Gita Gopinath, IMF

it would give central banks more flexibility to look beyond supply shocks and support the economy in downturns.

When and how the Fed and other central banks approach changes in their mandates will be critical, given their tenuous control on inflation and the risk that households' and businesses' expectations of future price increases could become entrenched.

Karen Dynan, an economics professor at Harvard University who previously worked at the Fed, said it would be "very risky" for the US central bank and its counterparts to even broach the topic until they have reined in inflation.

"They need to do everything they can to preserve their credibility — and maybe, in some cases, restore their credibility — but they are going to have to think hard about what that new goal should be."

Rana Foroohar Opinion

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COMPANIES & MARKETS

Cineworld takes lead role in its own horror story

Chain teeters on brink of collapse with debts nearing \$9bn after ambitious expansion collided with the pandemic

OLIVER BARNES AND ROBERT SMITH
LONDON

When Cineworld, the world's second-biggest cinema chain, admitted how close it was to collapse earlier this month, its management said that part of the problem was a lack of Hollywood blockbusters to pull in customers.

The company told investors that until the release of *Black Panther 2* in November, the "limited film slate" would have a negative effect on admissions and on the liquidity of the debt-laden business, which has been battered by lockdowns and the exodus to streaming services.

But while there has been a drought of entertainment on the big screen, an action-packed thriller played out in Cineworld's boardroom, as its longtime boss ran out of options. During the pandemic, Mooky Greidinger twice brought Cineworld back from the brink of bankruptcy, persuading his lenders into agreeing a rescue package.

He had built his third-generation family business into a behemoth, riding a wave of easy credit to take control of UK chain Cineworld in 2014 and US-based Regal Cinemas in 2018.

But now his company's near \$9bn in debt and lease liabilities — brought on by ambitious expansion plans colliding with the pandemic — look dangerously precarious as ticket sales drag and a \$1bn payout over the botched takeover of Canadian rival Cineplex looms.

At the start of last week, Cineworld confirmed that it was planning a Chapter 11 bankruptcy filing in the US, and similar proceedings in other markets. The US bankruptcy process is likely to be initiated within weeks, according to two people familiar with the details.

Before the pandemic, its stock traded at above 180p. By the end of this week, it was just under 2p a share.

A former Cineworld executive told the Financial Times that resorting to bankruptcy would be "a serious emotional blow" to Greidinger and his brother Israel, who serves as deputy CEO. "They eat, dream and sleep the cinema business. [Cineworld] was their baby," he said. But he added that



pay back a group of lenders, the people added. Cineworld declined to comment.

The law firm Kirkland & Ellis, along with restructuring consultancy Alix Partners and corporate advisory firm PJT Partners, are working on the restructuring.

But as Cineworld fights for survival, its executives, investors and industry rivals have been left to think about the wider lessons: did its breakneck expansion prove too risky or are its problems symptomatic of an industry in terminal decline? "In a normal world, Cineworld would be heroes right now but because of the epidemic they got caught out" by their high levels of debt, said an executive at a rival operator.

The Greidinger family has been in the cinema business for nearly a century. Mooky and Israel's grandfather established his first cinema in Haifa in 1930.

But Mooky was the first in the family to develop a taste for international expansion. He expanded the company — then called Cinema City — into Hungary in 1997 and subsequently into the UK and the US.

A former Cineworld executive said the expansion had worked out "very nicely" until the \$2.1bn Cineplex bid which, regardless of the pandemic, was "a bridge too far". Tim Richards, chief executive of UK cinema chain Vue, had been working on a bid for the 160-site Canadian chain but pulled out.

When the Cineworld board met to approve the Cineplex deal, only one of the dozen board members raised any objections. "The final straw that broke the camel's back was the Cineplex acquisition," said a person familiar with the discussions. "Nobody was prepared to stand up to them and say this was the wrong deal at the wrong time."

In its full-year results in March, Cineworld said it had "headroom" to cope with its debts provided US admissions — which make up two-thirds of revenues — returned to 85 per cent of 2019 levels in 2022. But, according to data from Box Office Mojo, which tracks ticket sales, they were only 57 per cent of pre-pandemic levels in the first quarter.

At the end of June, Cineworld was due to make a \$170mn payment to a group of former Regal shareholders and was expected to make a payment to banks for a revolving credit facility. Both were missed.

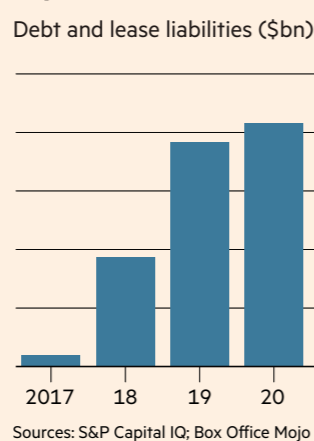
"For the last two years, we've heard [from the company] if only they get a James Bond film, if only they get *Top Gun*," said Barry Norris, chief executive of Argonaut Capital, who has shorted the stock since the 2018 Regal acquisition. "It's just all just smoke and mirrors to take away from the fact that the underlying business is just crap and they've got too much debt."

Cineworld's bankruptcy announcement has certainly rattled the wider industry. Last month, Vue, Europe's biggest privately owned cinema chain, resorted to a debt-for-equity swap to stay afloat. AMC, which has even larger debts than Cineworld, has been boosted in recent years not by strong financials but by becoming a "meme stock", popular among retail traders.

The pandemic did not just temporarily shut down the industry, but it has also sped up its decline, according to industry experts. "The heartland of cinema is young people and they broke the habit and are not returning," said Alice Enders, a media analyst. "Cineworld won't be the last cinema to go bust."

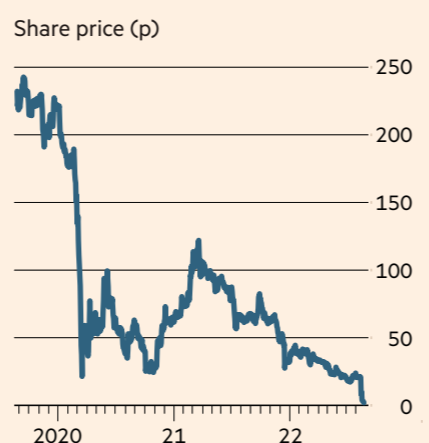
Additional reporting by Christopher Grimes in Los Angeles

The cost of Cineworld's expansion

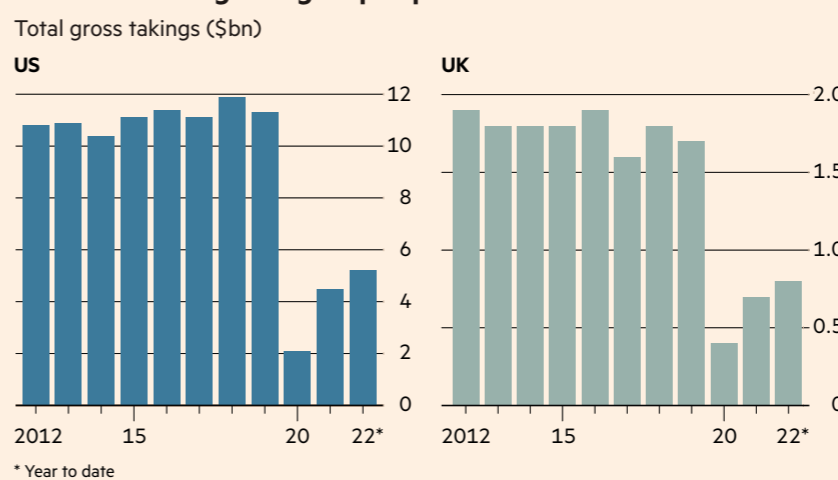


Sources: S&P Capital IQ; Box Office Mojo

Cineworld's decline



Cinemas battling to regain pre-pandemic viewers



* Year to date

Unhappy ending: Cineworld has confirmed that it is planning a Chapter 11 bankruptcy. The share price has plummeted and the company's biggest lenders seem likely to seize control

Robert Convery/Alamy

"hubris" had driven them to borrow too much in pursuit of the goal of supplanting US rival AMC as the world's largest cinema chain. When the pandemic struck, the business unravelled.

During an Israeli court hearing in June over a dispute about local distribution, Greidinger said that because of the pandemic "our life's work collapsed", adding: "I've been fighting every day to save what we have built. I hope we succeed but it isn't certain."

Once the Chapter 11 filing is complete, Cineworld's biggest lenders — which include US investment managers Invesco, Eaton Vance and State Street — will almost certainly seize control of the company. The remaining Cineworld shareholders will be wiped out in the bankruptcy process. Greidinger is expected to be given a stake in the restructured company, according to two people with knowledge of the details.

The restructuring will also allow Cineworld to renegotiate its \$4bn of lease liabilities and reduce the size of its \$1bn payout over the cancellation of its 2019 deal to take over Cineplex. Cineworld is still appealing against the payout in the Canadian courts, with a final decision due in September.

Another option under discussion as part of the restructuring is to sell Cineworld's eastern European operations to

'Our life's work collapsed. I've been fighting every day to save what we have built. I hope we succeed but it isn't certain'

Mooky Greidinger

Shipping

South Korean shipbuilder bets on methanol

SONG JUNG-A — SEOUL

One of the world's biggest shipbuilders expects orders for methanol-powered ships to surge in the coming decades, as tougher environmental regulations intensify a push to use alternative fuel sources.

The bullish forecast by Korea Shipbuilding & Offshore Engineering comes as the company accelerates away from fossil fuels and competition with Chinese rivals intensifies.

"Orders for methanol-fuelled ships will increase sharply for more than 10 years, although LNG [liquefied natural gas] burning ships will remain the mainstream for the next two decades," chief executive Ka Sam-hyun told the Financial Times in an interview.

Analysts expect about 50 methanol dual-fuelled vessels to be ordered worldwide before the end of this year as shipowners in Asia and Europe replace older container fleets. That compares with orders for 19 methanol dual-fuelled vessels placed last year.

The shipping industry is under increasing pressure to decarbonise as the International Maritime Organisa-

tion works to cut greenhouse gas emissions from ships at least 50 per cent by 2050, compared with 2008 levels.

Competition to grab a bigger share of the nascent market is intensifying between South Korea and China. Building a dual-fuelled methanol vessel is cheaper than one designed to use LNG, due to technological advances and because methanol does not require expensive cryogenic bunker tanks and fuel gas handling systems.

AP Møller-Maersk, the world's biggest container shipping company, has ordered 12 methanol-powered con-



The global shipping industry is moving away from fossil fuels

tainer ships worth \$2.2bn from KSOE to be delivered starting in 2024. In June, it floated a tender with shipyards for more ships operating on methanol.

French shipping company CMA CGM has also placed a series of orders for methanol dual-fuel container ships worth about \$1bn in total with China's Dalian Shipbuilding Industry. "You cannot replace all fleets with only clean fuel by 2040. LNG is a transitional option, but it will last for another generation," said Ka. "Eventually, we should move towards hydrogen ships and electric-motor ships, but it is still too far off."

LNG has been widely used as an alternative fuel for shipping companies, but methanol is gaining interest among shipbuilders. KSOE has won orders to build 29 methanol-fuelled ships.

But analysts said there was a limit to how much methanol-fuelled fleets can be expanded.

"Shipowners are looking for alternative fuel sources other than LNG that can reduce carbon emissions further," said Yang Jong-seo, a researcher at Export-Import Bank of Korea. "But it is difficult to secure a large quantity of methanol to fuel ships."

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COMPANIES & MARKETS

Market questions. Week ahead

US jobs growth on the wane, say economists

Will jobs data signal a soft landing for the US economy?

US jobs data for August are expected to come in lower than those for July, but remain in expansion territory – reflecting a 20th straight month of growth.

Economists project that figures on Friday will show the US added 290,000 jobs in August, marking a 45 per cent drop after July's figure of 528,000 significantly surpassed estimates.

Jennifer Lee, a senior economist at the Bank of Montreal, said the August consensus reflects a sea change for employers, who may still need more workers, but have adjusted their expectations in a tight labour market where the unemployment rate sits at historical lows.

"Let's say you were looking for 12 people to hire and you've been finding it very difficult to find the right people," Lee said. "You might be thinking, do I really need another 12 people to hire? Maybe we can get by with only six [hires] . . . and squeeze a little bit more out of the existing workforce."

Strong worker demand, combined with a recent durable goods report that reflected a monthly uptick in business investment, are indicators to Lee that the US economy is holding up even as the Federal Reserve raises interest rates to cool it.

Big retailers have cut their full-year guidance but have still reported strong sales figures that signal resilience in US consumer spending. Macy's and Nordstrom have in recent days topped analysts' expectations for quarterly revenues and Home Depot reported record-high quarterly sales earlier in August.

Lee said she expected a "significant slowdown" in the US economy in the second half of 2022 and into 2023, but

was not ready to call this a recession. "If it's a recession, it'll be the strangest one ever," she said. *Jaren Kerr*

Have soaring natural gas prices propelled eurozone inflation even higher?

Eurozone inflation data for August will be closely scrutinised as investors question how far the European Central Bank will need to tighten monetary policy against a backdrop of soaring energy costs.

Escalating oil and natural gas prices, stoked by Russia's war in Ukraine, pushed eurozone inflation to 8.9 per cent in July. Economists polled by Reuters expect that figure to reach 9 per cent when data are released on Wednesday. Jane Foley, head of FX strategy at Rabobank, said increasing gas prices had caused investors to have a "real negative sentiment surrounding the eurozone that has built up over the past few weeks".

Contracts linked to TTF, Europe's wholesale natural gas price, hit a record high above €343 a megawatt hour on Friday. The ECB is expected to raise interest rates by at least 0.5 percentage points at its September meeting in an effort to tackle record inflation. But investors are concerned that higher borrowing costs risk tipping the region into recession.

Germany's central bank chief has already warned that inflation will not subside by 2023 and that the record energy prices triggered by Russia's supply squeeze would push the country's inflation to above 10 per cent by the autumn. *Nikou Asgari*

Did UK mortgage approvals drop further in July?



Jobs push: an employee at Home Depot in California. The unemployment rate in the US sits at historical lows

— David Paul Morris/
Bloomberg

UK mortgage approvals are expected to have fallen further in July, continuing a downward trend caused by rising mortgage rates and historically high inflation. Economists polled by Reuters expect the Bank of England to reveal that 61,750 mortgages were approved last month, down from 63,726 in June and from a peak of more than 100,000 in November 2020.

Bucking the trend, Sandra Horsfield, economist at Investec, said she expected a small increase [to 64,100] but added that "their trend is still pointing down – a picture that, as long as interest rates are rising steeply and economic prospects and confidence are deteriorating, should remain in place."

In June, the Bank of England's data showed that the interest rate on newly drawn mortgages increased by 20 basis points (0.2 percentage points) to 2.15 per cent, the highest since 2016, follow-

'House prices are likely to feel the pull of gravity from the escalating cost of living crunch'

ing six consecutive policy interest rate rises by the Bank of England. Market pricing implies expectations that the policy rate will more than double to 4 per cent by early next year from its current level of 1.75 per cent, as energy and consumer prices continue to soar.

As a result, consultancy Oxford Economics forecasts house prices will start shrinking on an annual basis from next year, down from the double-digit expansion of early this year.

"Skyrocketing house prices are likely to feel the pull of gravity from the escalating cost of living crunch come autumn, with the impending rise to the energy price cap set to further fuel inflation and the spectre of higher interest rates to combat rising prices upping borrowing costs," said Myron Jobson, senior personal finance analyst at investment service provider interactive investor. *Valentina Romei*

Insurance

Climate litigation risks pushing up cost of cover

CAMILLA HODGSON AND IAN SMITH
LONDON

Climate-related legal action threatens to push corporate insurance costs even higher, with the industry warning that success for activists would force a repricing of cover that has already become much more expensive in recent years.

Businesses face growing legal threats from activists looking to challenge sustainability claims deemed disingenuous or untrue and decarbonisation targets considered too weak to protect investors from future climate-related losses.

In one closely watched battle, environmental charity ClientEarth is preparing legal proceedings against Shell's executive and non-executive directors for their alleged failure to set out a road map for cutting emissions at an appropriate pace.

The coming wave of cases has caught the attention of insurers, who say the cost of directors and officers liability insurance, which covers companies for such legal claims, could rise if activists win some big cases.

"Environmental, social and governance [issues] are very much on the agenda of D&O underwriters," with environmental concerns "a new and major issue", said David Powell, head of technical underwriting at the Lloyd's Market Association, which represents insurers in the market.

D&O insurance prices fell in the second quarter, but that was after four years of rises because of increasing litigation costs. In May, the Bank of England warned that specialist D&O policies were especially exposed to climate-related litigation. Potential claims could relate to greenwashing, breaches of fiduciary duties, and to the financing of emissions-heavy industries, the BoE said. Even if companies win legal challenges, D&O insurers typically cover costs related to defending the case.

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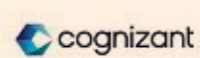
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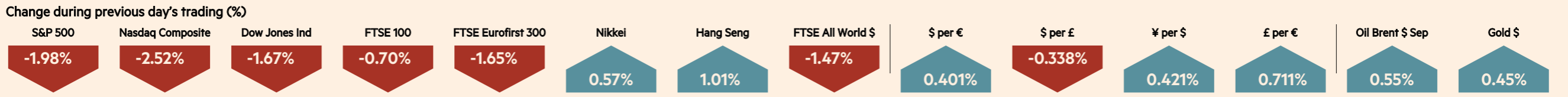
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MARKET DATA

WORLD MARKETS AT A GLANCE

FT.COM/MARKETSDATA



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

Table listing stock market indices by country (USA, Europe, Asia, etc.), index name, latest price, previous price, and percentage change.

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STOCK MARKET: BIGGEST MOVERS

Table listing active stocks with columns for stock name, price, and change.

UK MARKET WINNERS AND LOSERS

Table listing UK market winners and losers with columns for stock name, price, and change.

FTSE ACQUIRES SHARE INDICES

Table listing FTSE indices with columns for index name, closing price, and change.

Table listing currencies with columns for currency, closing price, and change.

FTSE 30 INDEX

Table listing FTSE 30 Index components with columns for stock name, price, and change.

FTSE SECTORS: LEADERS & LAGGARDS

Table listing FTSE sectors with columns for sector name and percentage change.

FTSE 100 SUMMARY

Table listing FTSE 100 summary data with columns for company name, closing price, and change.

Table listing FTSE Global Equity Series with columns for series name, closing price, and change.

Table listing UK stock market trading data with columns for company name, turnover, and price.

Table listing UK Company Results with columns for company name, turnover, and profit.

Table listing UK Recent Equity Issues with columns for company name, issue price, and issue size.

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

MARKET DATA

FT500: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table listing FT500 companies with columns for Stock, Price, Day Chg, 52 Week High/Low, Yld, P/E, MCap m.

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Table titled FT 500: TOP 20 with columns for Stock, Close price, Prev price, Day change, Week change, Month change.

Table titled FT 500: BOTTOM 20 with columns for Stock, Close price, Prev price, Day change, Week change, Month change.

Table titled BONDS: HIGH-YIELD & EMERGING MARKET with columns for Red, Coupon, Ratings, Bid, Bid yield, Mth's spread, Day's change, US.

Table titled BONDS: GLOBAL INVESTMENT GRADE with columns for Red, Coupon, Ratings, Bid, Bid yield, Mth's spread, Day's change, US.

Table titled INTEREST RATES: OFFICIAL with columns for Country, Rate, Current, Since, Last.

Table titled MARKET INDICES with columns for Index, Change, Day, Week, Month, Year, Return, Return 1 year.

Table titled BONDS: BENCHMARK GOVERNMENT with columns for Red, Coupon, Bid, Bid yield, Wk chg, Month yield, Yld chg, US.

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Table titled INTEREST RATES: MARKET with columns for Over night, Day, Week, Month, Three month, Six month, One year.

Table titled CREDIT INDICES with columns for Index, Change, Day, Week, Month, Series high, Series low.

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Table titled GILTS: UK FTSE ACTUARIES INDICES with columns for Price to Yield, Day's change, Month, Year, Total Return, Return 1 month, Yield.

Table titled COMMODITIES with columns for Energy, Price, Change, Agricultural & Cattle Futures, Price, Change.

Table titled BONDS: INDEX-LINKED with columns for Price, Yield, Month return, Value, Market, No of stocks.

Table titled BONDS: TEN YEAR GILT SPREADS with columns for Bid, Bid vs, Spread, Bid vs, Spread.

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Resorting to brainteasers is no way to hire the best



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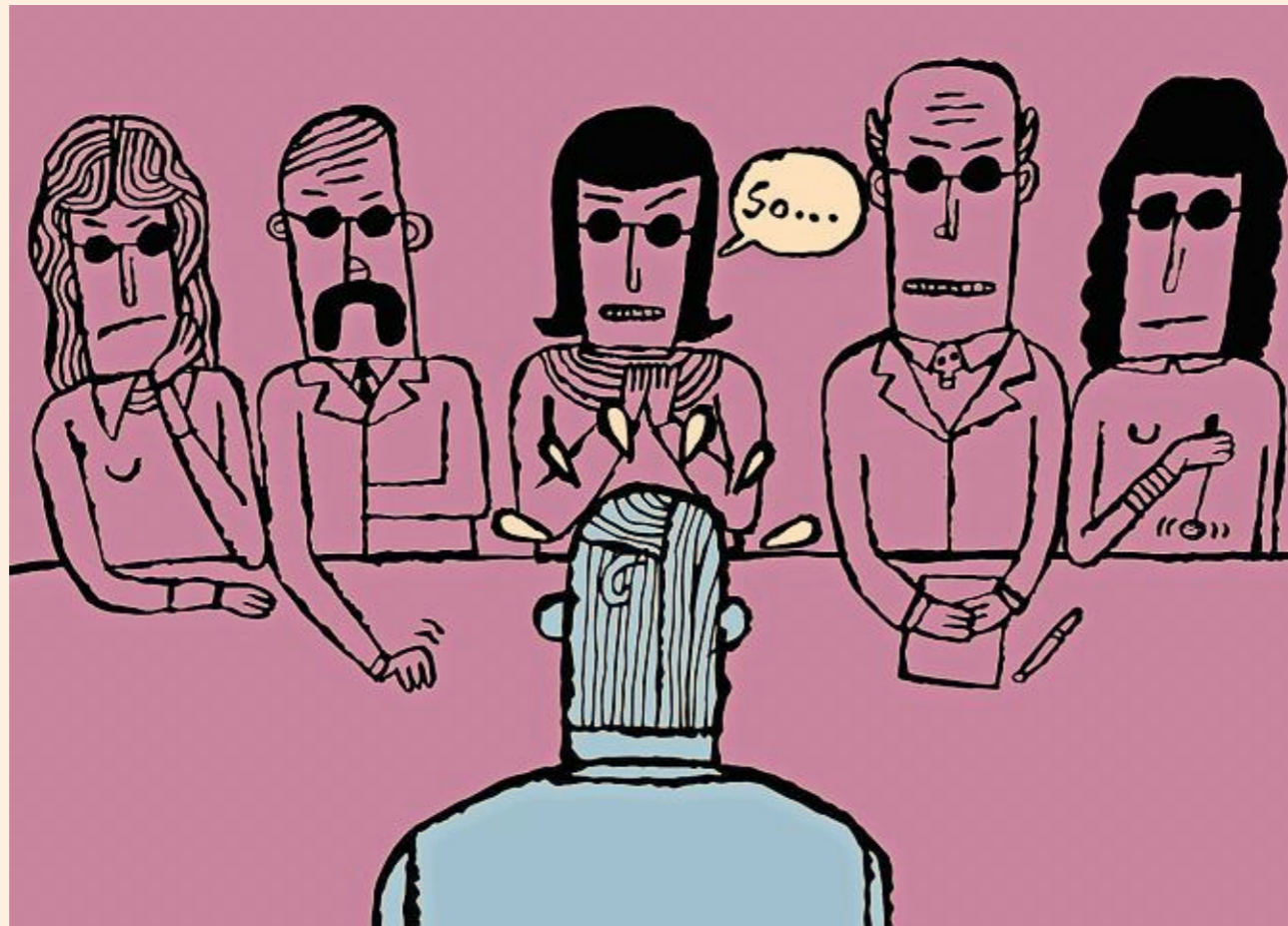
Do you know what a seventh minus an eighth is? And how would you feel if you had to quickly spit out the answer in a job interview? If the thought appals, bad luck. The polls say that, in a matter of days, Britain will be led by a prime minister who likes to test this sort of mental arithmetic test for civil servants in interviews.

Liz Truss, the frontrunner in the Tory leadership race, is moreover "unwilling to appoint those who cannot promptly say, for example, what a seventh minus an eighth is", The Times reported last weekend.

My first thought on seeing this was that it was one of the most interesting things I had read about the oddly robotic Truss since the contest started last month. It might explain a lot about this daughter of a maths professor, who herself has two maths A-levels.

Also, weeding out the innumerate from the upper ranks of the bureaucracy does not strike me as the worst idea. And some jobs require a degree of arithmetic capacity.

When I tried the seventh-minus-eighth test on FT colleagues last week, the first to pass it in a flash was a



Kenneth Andersson

former financial analyst on the Lex desk.

Most, like me, winced as they groped for the answer, muttering words like "denominator" and "numerator" that had evidently not passed their lips in years. But they got there in the end, which is helpful at a place like the "Financial" Times.

The Truss test is also relatively straightforward, unlike the craftier tactics deployed by the likes of Walt Bettinger, chief executive of US broker Charles Schwab.

He once told The New York Times that he invited prospective hires to breakfast and, having arrived early himself, arranged for the restaurant manager to muck up the candidate's order to see how they "deal with adversity".

This is only marginally better than a US tech company I once came across that sometimes asked job applicants to

“The questions make interviewers feel clever, but don't do much to predict actual job performance”

play table tennis after their interview, to see how they managed "challenges". At least Bettinger's hapless dining companions got breakfast.

The trouble with both of these ploys is they assume people going for a job behave honestly, which they do not.

If you really want a job at Charles Schwab, you will almost certainly treat a waiter politely at breakfast with the boss, no matter how many times you get an Americano instead of a latte.

You will also cheerfully play ping pong, no matter how much you may hate it.

Maths ability is harder to fake, but mental arithmetic tests share another, deeper defect with the ping pong and breakfast trials. All suggest there is a special, fail-safe way to hire good people.

In fact, picking the most suitable employees is one of the hardest things to get right in any organisation.

Remember this if you are ever unlucky enough to be asked one of those weird interview questions such as, "how many golf balls would fit inside a 747?" Or "how many haircuts are done in the US every year?"

The spread of this type of brainteaser is sometimes blamed on companies

such as Google, which has at times used them in hiring interviews.

But these kinds of questions are "worthless", according to Google's former head of people operations, Laszlo Bock. "It's really just a waste of everyone's time," he wrote in his 2015 book, *Work Rules*.

The questions make interviewers feel clever, but they can be practised and don't do much to predict actual job performance, Bock said. So Google had shifted to a range of measures shown to predict performance better, such as tests of practical and cognitive ability.

This underlines the worrying thing about Truss. Would she really blackball someone purely because they fluffed their sums?

I hope not, considering what the political journalist, Simon Walters, wrote last week after reading about the seventh-minus-eighth test.

It reminded him of a meeting he had with Truss years ago when she was pushing for schools to teach times tables and other educational basics.

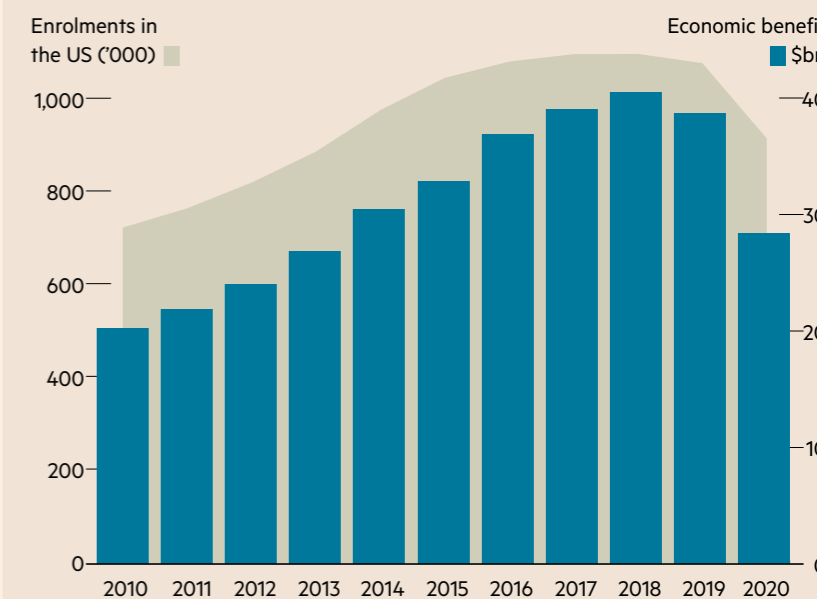
"What is seven times eight?" he asked her. Alas, he reported, the answer she gave was, "54".

pilita.clark@ft.com

Lex.

US universities: Chinese learner earner

Foreign students provide a financial fillip



Sources: opendoorsdata.org; NAFA

The students are coming. Hundreds of thousands of fresh-faced students are descending on college campuses across the US. In their wake trail parents hauling suitcases, mini fridges and Costco-size jugs of laundry detergent.

College officials will welcome overseas students with particular warmth. There was a massive drop in foreign enrolments in 2020 and 2021. Pre-pandemic, US colleges signed up a record 1.1mn foreign students in the 2018-2019 academic year, according to the Institute of International Education (IIE). That number fell to just over 914,000 in 2020-21.

Most universities expect student flows to recover this academic year, a recent IIE survey shows. It cannot come soon enough. College enrolments have retreated steadily over the past decade. Foreign students have emerged as a key source of income. That is particularly true for smaller, less prestigious institutions in the US rustbelt. States such as Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan are among the top-10 receiving the most overseas students.

Foreigners generally pay full tuition fees. At some state public colleges, this can work out to be two or three times what local students shell out. Cuts to state spending on higher education

over the years mean local students can be a loss maker.

Foreign students contributed \$28.4bn to the US economy in 2020. That compares with \$40.5bn generated in 2018. But the figure is still on par with some traditional industries. Soyabean exports, for example, were worth just \$25.5bn in 2020. Foreign students not only provide colleges with cash injections. They do so without adding to vitriolic debate over a growing student debt crisis. Total US student loan debt stood at \$1.57tn at the end of last year. Concerns about the impact on the US economy have prompted president Joe Biden to consider some form of forgiveness on federal student loans.

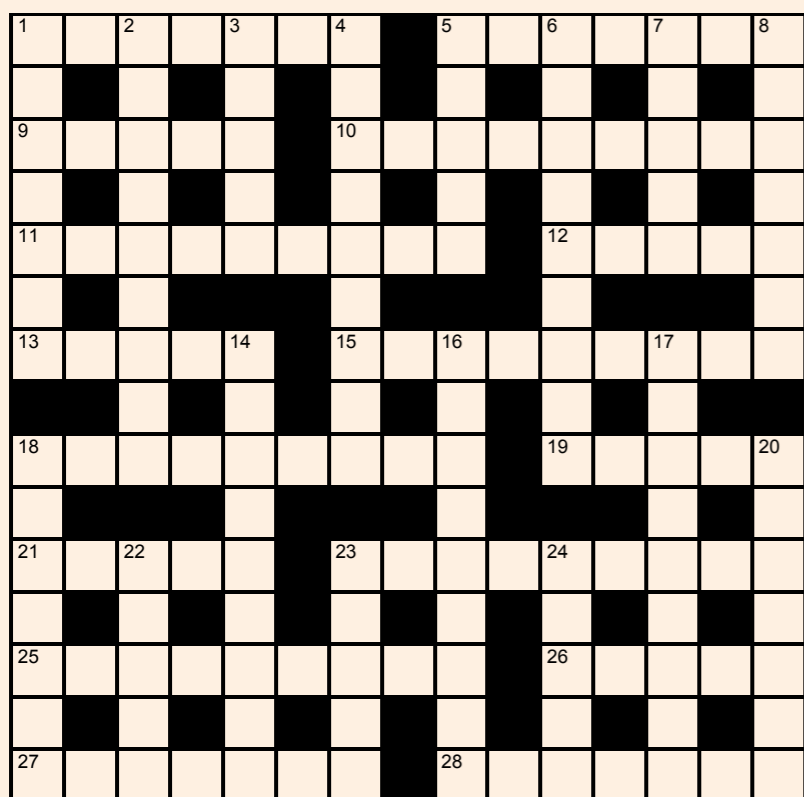
China is by far the single biggest source of overseas students for American universities. They account for more than a third of the total. But in the first half of 2022, the US issued just 31,055 F-1 visas to mainland Chinese students, compared to 64,261 for the same period in 2019, according to data from the US state department.

Travel restrictions in China, combined with rising geopolitical tensions between Washington and Beijing, could be giving some Chinese students second thoughts about studying in the US.

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CROSSWORD

No 17,185 Set by SLORMGORM



- ACROSS**
- Definitive lesson in canoeing at the front (7)
 - Hold back substanceless reportage by reporters (7)
 - Incense traveller saved by motor rescue company (5)
 - Fighting against your own state is disgusting (9)
 - Top act cruise ship put on kept snorting drug (9)
 - Main idea of article chaps finally censored (5)
 - What will bore physician seen with sick (5)
 - Knight putting new bracelet on religious type (9)
 - Tory party has 40 day period to become sympathetic (9)
 - Especially old paintings mounted the wrong way round (5)
 - Wood block knocked over by the middle of saw (5)
 - Easily secured rhino is something hunter might miss (1,4,4)
 - Member meeting powerful old American high-flyer (9)
 - Nurse and academic will get back to you (3,2)
 - Back, bottom or front parts of several equines (7)
 - Rogue welcomed by American spies European bugs (7)
- DOWN**
- Conservative whip and news chief had a barney (7)
 - Love helping to support bill by opposition leader (9)
 - South American shopping centre is not very big (5)
 - Carbon and chlorine spelt incorrectly in journal (9)
 - One voraciously wanting to get out of head? (5)
 - Bud on a counter is pleasant to a taste (9)
 - The best English roofer comes from the south (5)
 - Part of group infiltrated by old FBI agents (7)
 - Keep a close eye on game king sitting on behind (4,5)
 - Itch to get plastered with lager as listless (9)
 - Odd Austen novel filled with a sense of wonder (9)
 - Chat about getting in taxi close to The Savoy? (7)
 - Question chancellor about article with suspicion (7)
 - Hebrew character going through alamedas (5)
 - At work, tucking into beer is without equal (5)
 - One who loves a brew is jerk that man punches (5)

JOTTER PAD



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FEATURES

The
Henry Mance
Interview

'This is the breakthrough tool: vaccines against malaria'

Adrian Hill

He helped to create the AstraZeneca Covid-19 drug. But the Oxford scientist also has another urgent goal – to eliminate malaria through vaccination



Charlie Bibby/FT

Early in the Covid pandemic, Adrian Hill, head of Oxford university's Jenner Institute, needed to find a company to roll out his group's vaccine. There was a condition: the partner had to charge little in low- and middle-income countries, so that the vaccine wouldn't be limited to the rich. "If there's one thing that drives many of us here, the word is inequity," says Hill, a slight, fast-talking 63-year-old.

The partner he found, AstraZeneca, went further – selling the Covid vaccine at cost in rich countries too during the pandemic. But the generosity backfired. Oxford's vaccine was soon under siege, its safety wrongly questioned. "It was far more hassle than we expected." The US financial press "wouldn't leave us alone. They clearly didn't like the idea of a low-cost vaccine, undercutting the market". While other vaccine-makers made billions of dollars in profits during the pandemic, the Oxford vaccine failed to get approval in the US.

It was bad enough that "we weren't selling an American vaccine in America. But selling it at nearly a tenth of the price of some other products is . . .", Hill pauses, ". . . relevant." In hindsight, would he do things differently? "It would be reasonable to charge a commercial price in rich countries."

Yet Covid may just be a warm-up act for Hill. Since the early 1990s, he has been searching for a malaria vaccine. In 2020 malaria killed more people in Africa than Covid-19 did. Indeed, as attention switched, deaths from malaria rose – to 627,000, mostly young children. Early trials showed Oxford's vaccine is 77 per cent effective in preventing clinical malaria over a year, and a forthcoming paper will conclude that a booster jab can extend this period substantially

'In the 2030s, I anticipate that we'll be trying to eliminate malaria seriously with vaccines'

"If you'd asked me 15 years ago, 'Can you eradicate malaria with vaccines to the fore?', I wouldn't have been sure. Today I'm sure. This is the breakthrough tool – vaccines against malaria . . . If you get 80 per cent of malaria deaths prevented by vaccination, you should be able to knock deaths down to maybe 50,000-10,000 a year by the end of this decade. Then in the 2030s, I anticipate that we'll be trying to eliminate malaria seriously with vaccines."

That would rank among our age's milestones, at a time when climate change and humans' treatment of nature otherwise threaten to increase disease outbreaks. Malaria may have accelerated the fall of the Roman empire; it probably killed Dante and Oliver Cromwell; it led to the invention of the gin and tonic (to mask the taste of the drug quinine). Although driven from rich countries, it plagues sub-Saharan Africa, which accounts for 96 per cent of malaria deaths.

Without malaria, children would be healthier in general – the disease "makes you susceptible to other infections," says Hill. African countries' economic growth would pick up, and "population growth will probably slow . . .

Everywhere in the world where you've improved health, people have fewer children."

Covid showed that vaccines can be approved and launched quicker than anyone thought. Hill's team has pressed the World Health Organization to repeat the pace. "There's backtracking already . . . There's a child dying every minute. The vaccine looks safe and effective, why should we need five years?"

The WHO has agreed that safety data can be submitted in September. That could mean the vaccine, known as R21, is approved by March, and rolled out to millions of children by July. A similar malaria vaccine – RTS,S, made by UK pharmaceutical group GSK and already approved by the WHO – is due to launch next year too. "After 110 years of no malaria vaccines, like buses, two come along at once."

Because of manufacturing issues, GSK is set only to vaccinate a few million children a year initially. Oxford, which has partnered with India's Serum Institute, has "no limit on the number of doses we can supply next year". Having helped the world through Covid for no profit, the Oxford team may now help some of the world's poorest people to overcome malaria.

Born in Dublin, Hill began his career as a geneticist. He studied how some human populations had developed adaptations in response to malaria. But it wasn't enough. "You couldn't go to those hospitals in the malaria season, without realising that genetics is fascinating, I'd love to understand this better, but my God, we need to do something about this now." In Zimbabwe and Gambia, he saw "two, three children to a bed, having fits, totally anaemic, needing blood transfusions".

Malaria parasites have mutated to escape the human immune system. "They've been thinking about our immune system for a lot longer than Covid, and they're rather good at it." The parasite that causes most deaths – *Plasmodium falciparum* – diverged from other strains millions of years ago.

"About 142 malaria vaccines have been made, manufactured and taken into a clinical trial. Of those, about three are plausibly usable in certain settings," sighs Hill. Yet he never lost faith that a vaccine was possible, because those who survive exposure to malaria grow less affected by it, showing that the parasite can induce immunity.

Both the GSK and Oxford vaccines train the immune system to attack the parasites after they are injected by the

mosquitoes, but before they reach the liver, where they multiply. Each mosquito injects a small number of parasites, perhaps 20. "If you clear those 20, you've won. If one gets through, you've lost. The bad news is you've only got minutes."

GSK's vaccine has efficacy of 44 per cent. This may increase if the vaccine is timed just before the malaria season, as Oxford's is. But Hill argues the Oxford vaccine, which was developed later, is more efficiently designed.

Oxford's Phase 3 testing continues. "We've given 10,000 doses of this vaccine to African children, and we're carrying on. That tells you nothing terrible has happened." Eventually the vaccine could be combined with a new component to reduce transmission from infected humans to mosquitoes.

Malaria funding rose sharply in the 2000s, when "there were guys like Bono shouting at presidents, saying kids are dying. And Bill Gates appeared, and started throwing billions at things. And we thought everything would be cracked very quickly, so did Bill. A lot has been cracked, it just takes more time than you would expect." Spending on insecticides, drugs and bed nets helped to cut deaths by a third.

Still, "malaria's massively underfunded. I worked out that a decade's malaria vaccine funding was what was being spent a day on Covid vaccine

'If Covid had the mortality rate of Ebola, at least one of us wouldn't be sitting here'

development in the pandemic". So far Oxford's malaria efforts have cost more than £100mn. Rolling out the vaccine will cost much more. "If it's 200mn doses [a year] at \$3 a dose, oops: we're going to need \$600mn." Although there may one day be a commercial market for the vaccine, "it's not a money-spinner to get the CEO of Pfizer out of bed".

The Oxford team could fund its own vaccine launch, if it had charged for its Covid vaccine, but Hill has no regrets. "It was crazy charging \$25 for a dose of Covid vaccine that you were selling on a 1bn-dose scale. How rich do you want to get as a result of a pandemic?"

Is he not jealous of BioNTech's co-founder Uğur Şahin, whose wealth is estimated at \$6.18bn? "No. He deserves it, as long as he spends it on vaccines and not on fast cars." Hill is sceptical, however, of Şahin's focus on tackling cancer with mRNA vaccines. "What we know about treating cancer with vaccines, you wouldn't start with RNA." He's also unconvinced by BioNTech's efforts to tackle malaria. He clearly burns with intellectual competitiveness.

Hill is more upbeat about gene drives that could kill off the mosquitoes that spread malaria. But "it makes a big difference whether [they work in] 50 years' time or five years' time."

Covid vaccine rollout has stalled in parts of Africa. Would a malaria vaccine be different? "Vaccine uptake rates [for other diseases] are higher in most countries in sub-Saharan Africa than in many parts of Europe . . . I'm pretty confident that's not going to be one of our big problems."

Hill was married to Sunetra Gupta, an

Oxford professor of theoretical epidemiology who became a leading critic of lockdowns. The couple separated in 2017. Are his views on lockdown . . . ? "Different. I'm being very diplomatic."

The Covid vaccine was the first deployed vaccine that Hill had worked on. An Ebola vaccine, accelerated in a 2013 outbreak, was never tested; a rival drug was approved first. "I'm told it was toss-of-coin which one they tested first.

They didn't test ours because by the time they'd done the trial there wasn't any Ebola left." That is the "tragedy of outbreak pathogen vaccines" – often by the time they're ready, they aren't needed.

Did missing out on the Ebola vaccine double Hill's motivation to succeed with malaria? "If you reacted like that to unfortunate things happening, you wouldn't be doing malaria vaccines for 25 years." There is always another chal-

lenge. The Sudan strain of Ebola has no approved vaccine; Oxford has a candidate. The Jenner Institute's other targets include vaccines for cancer.

There may be another pandemic. "It may not be as bad as Covid – it hopefully, probably won't be – but it could be worse. If Covid had the mortality rate of Ebola, at least one of us wouldn't be sitting here." It's clear to me which one of us would be missed more.

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On the spot

Chance of another significant pandemic in the next decade? If you include flu, high. Over 50 per cent.

Did Russia steal the Oxford vaccine? No. Nobody needed to tap our internet to find out how we make a recombinant chimpanzee adenovirus. You can get it free online.

Hoard or throw away? Naturally I'm a hoarder, but I'm being forced to throw away. It hurts.

Steak or tofu? Steak.

ARTS

Can Seoul become Asia's new art hub?

This week, Frieze art fair comes to a city with an abundance of collectors and newly popular with global galleries, writes Yuna Park

When Frieze Seoul opens on September 2, it will cap the South Korean capital's swift rise to prominence as a global art centre. Even though international galleries have been opening or expanding their spaces there in the past few years and there is a longstanding collector base, Frieze's choice of Seoul for its latest fair still came as somewhat of a surprise to the art world both locally and internationally. So why Seoul now?

"Frieze always looks for cities that are culturally dynamic," says Patrick Lee, director of Frieze Seoul. "Korea also has so many great factors – the artists are amazing, not just the young contemporary artists but the others that came before. The collecting culture also goes back for decades." Those artists, such as Nam June Paik, Lee Ufan and Lee Bul, and the efforts of galleries such as Hyundai and Kukje have stimulated first local, then global, collectors.

Frieze Seoul, which opens at Coex in southern Seoul, will coincide with Kiaf Seoul, an international art fair operated by the Galleries Association of Korea which goes back two decades. The fairs will collaborate, sharing a joint ticket and a talks programme, in part driven by Frieze seeking ways to be accepted as a longer-term player in the tightly knit local scene. Kiaf's organisers were also aware that Frieze would bring global collectors to Seoul.

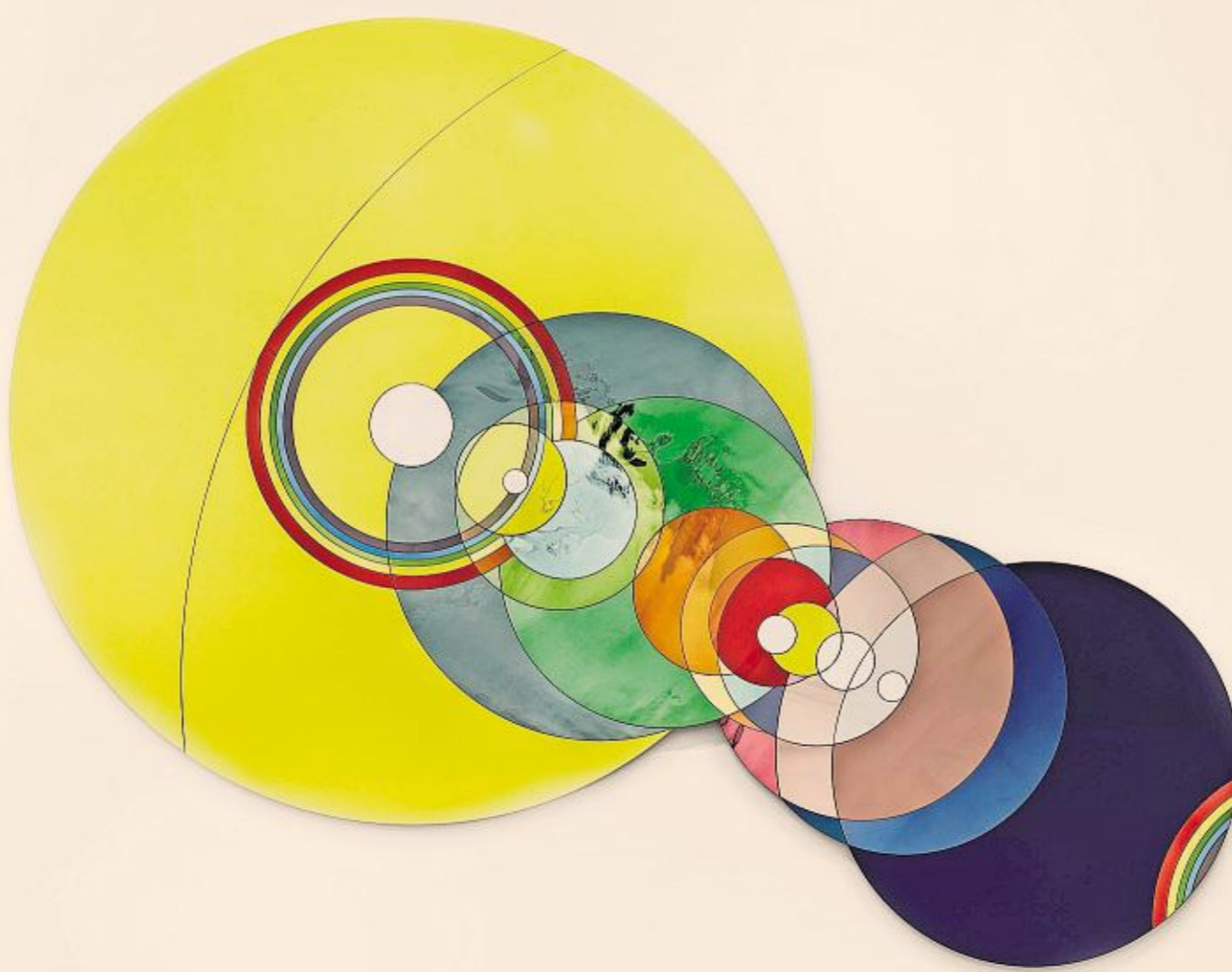
In the past four years foreign galleries have started flowing into Seoul, driving its international relevance and prominence. Vibrant pop culture, a growing number of collectors, well-equipped infrastructure and a business-friendly environment all worked together to draw galleries to the city of 9.5mn.

Those factors have come into sharper focus as Hong Kong, Asia's pre-eminent art-market hub, has been losing its advantages after the political turmoil of 2019 and the mainland Chinese government's crackdown on freedoms, say multiple gallerists.

"South Korea is one of a few countries – including Hong Kong – that do not impose import duty on artworks, which is a huge advantage to international galleries," says Hwang Dal-seong, chair of the operating committee of Kiaf Seoul. "South Korea's art market enjoyed a heyday back in 2007, which did not last

Above: Seoul's PKM Gallery will show Olafur Eliasson's 'Seeing sensitivity flare' (2022) at Frieze. Above right: Nam June Paik's 'Robot (Radio Man, Joseph Beuys)' (1987), Hakgojae Gallery

'The Korean art market is expanding with a new generation of "young and rich" collectors'



familiar with digital systems and open to purchasing works online, backing the market growth during the pandemic. Young Korean collectors quickly absorb new artists," says Perrotin.

Lee Hyun-sook, who founded Kukje Gallery in 1982 and who has followed the local market for decades, says the young generation is playing a pivotal role in expanding the Korean art scene. "The members of the so-called MZ generation [millennials and Gen Z] in South Korea are developing their own taste in art, forming their own collection, not necessarily following the fame of an artist. They also have a high level of understanding of art, which is quite encouraging in the local art market here."

There is plenty of noise around South Korea's fast-growing art market, but Frieze Seoul will prove the real test in confirming whether Seoul can become Asia's new art hub.

September 2-5, frieze.com

Yuna Park is culture reporter at The Korea Herald

history of art collecting", such as the late Samsung group chair Lee Kun-hee, whose collection of 23,000 items was donated to national museums recently.

"The Korean art market is also expanding both in quality and quantity with a rapid inflow of a new generation of 'young and rich' collectors. They are

long" – thanks to the global financial crisis. "But it will be different this time in terms of the quality of international galleries coming in and purchasing power of Korean collectors."

The South Korean art market is expected to surpass a trillion won (\$760mn) this year for the first time, according to research from July this year from the Korea Arts Management Service government agency. The local art market recorded 916bn won last year, well over double the 381bn won of 2019. Hong Kong need not worry quite yet, however: even a trillion won is still relatively small compared to Greater China, whose 2021 turnover was \$13.4bn, according to Art Basel's Art Market Report 2022.

Emmanuel Perrotin became one of the first western gallerists to open in Seoul, in 2016, and he will open his second space in southern Seoul ahead of Frieze week. Seoul will be one of only two cities in which Perrotin has opened two separate venues, the other being Paris. He credits South Korea's "long



Hejrum Bä's 'Table-turning' (2020), Whistle gallery

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FRIEZE SEOUL 2022

Collecting supplement

Frieze fair's first foray into Asia marks a high point in South Korea's booming art scene.

Our online supplement features interviews with its new director, Pat Lee, who believes 'younger Korean collectors are trending', and with leading Korean sculptor Seoyoung Chung, whose solo show opens at Seoul

Museum of Art. En Liang Khong takes a tough look at what is really meant by 'Asian' art; Hayoung Chung profiles the venerable Gallery Hyundai; the FT's correspondent Christian Davies reports on strife between galleries and auction houses in this exciting market. And more at ...

ft.com/frieze-seoul22



Characters shine in tale of a treasure hunt

PODCASTS

Fiona Sturges



In the late 1980s, a retired art and antiques dealer named Forrest Fenn learned he had cancer and would likely be dead within three years. However, he declined to retire to his sickbed and wait for the end. Instead, he dreamt up a wheeze whereby he would hide a bronze chest containing gold and jewellery worth \$1mn in the Rocky Mountains.

Fenn survived the cancer but, in 2010, decided to go ahead with his plan regardless. He composed a poem, published in a memoir, that contained clues about the chest's whereabouts and invited the world to solve his puzzle. He thought it would be a bit of fun that would bring families together and get them outdoors, but the reality proved to be more complicated.

Missed Fortune, a new podcast from Apple TV Plus, opens with the story of Darrell Seyler, an ex-cop and recruitment specialist whose determination to find Fenn's treasure eventually cost him his job and his home. The host is Peter Frick-Wright, a journalist who began reporting on Seyler for *Outside* magazine in 2014 when he joined him on one of his missions to Yellowstone National Park.

At the start of the trip, Seyler is certain he has found the location of the stash based on a grainy photograph

that appeared to show a box wedged into an escarpment; by the end, he is in tears. He had already made multiple expeditions to Yellowstone and, on two separate occasions, had to be rescued by rangers. Seyler was fined and told by a judge to stay away from the park for five years, an instruction he blithely ignored.

Many listeners will already know how the story ends, though the mystery of the treasure's whereabouts isn't the point here. In recounting Fenn and Seyler's stories, Frick-Wright gives us two fascinating character studies. The host interviewed Fenn several years before his death in 2020 and found a disagreeable man who made his fortune buying and selling Native American artefacts which some claimed weren't his to sell. Meanwhile, Seyler emerges as a troubled soul who endured untold cruelty throughout his childhood.

If there's one problem with *Missed Fortune*, it's the relentless solemnity of the storytelling. It is a common habit among narrative podcasts to introduce a superfluous subplot in which the hosts wrestle with their own demons, and this one is no different as Frick-Wright agonises over his apparently stalling career. But more frustrating is his reluctance to find the fun in this story of modern-day fortune hunters going to increasingly crazy lengths to land their prize. His is a determinedly glass-half-empty approach, as he turns an objectively entertaining story into a tale of a broken American dream.

"Everybody wants this treasure hunt to be fun, to live in a world when that's all there is to it," he says gloomily. "And it is fun, if your idea of fun is solving a riddle and on the way losing everything."

podcasts.apple.com



Forrest Fenn, subject of the new podcast 'Missed Fortune', at home with his collection of antiques
Guardian/eyevine

Opinion

A post-dollar world is coming

MARKETS

Ruchir Sharma



This month, as the dollar surged to levels last seen nearly 20 years ago, analysts invoked the old Tina (there is no alternative) argument to predict more gains ahead for the mighty greenback.

What happened two decades ago suggests the dollar is closer to peaking than rallying further. Even as US stocks fell in the dotcom bust, the dollar continued rising, before entering a decline that started in 2002 and lasted six years. A similar turning point may be near. And this time, the US currency's decline could last even longer.

Adjusted for inflation or not, the value of the dollar against other major currencies is now 20 per cent above its long-term trend, and above the peak

reached in 2001. Since the 1970s, the typical upswing in a dollar cycle has lasted about seven years; the current upswing is in its 11th year. Moreover, fundamental imbalances bode ill for the dollar.

When a current account deficit runs persistently above 5 per cent of gross domestic product, it is a reliable signal of financial trouble to come. That is most true in developed countries, where these episodes are rare, and concentrated in crisis-prone nations such as Spain, Portugal and Ireland. The US current account deficit is now close to that 5 per cent threshold, which it has broken only once since 1960. That was during the dollar's downswing after 2001.

Nations see their currencies weaken when the rest of the world no longer trusts that they can pay their bills. The US currently owes the world a net \$18tn, or 73 per cent of US GDP, far beyond the 50 per cent threshold that has often foretold past currency crises.

Finally, investors tend to move away from the dollar when the US economy is slowing relative to the rest of the world. In recent years, the US has been growing

significantly faster than the median rate for other developed economies, but it is poised to grow slower than its peers in coming years.

If the dollar is close to entering a downswing, the question is whether that period lasts long enough, and goes deep enough, to threaten its status as the world's most trusted currency.

Since the 15th century, the last five

The currency has been bolstered by the weaknesses of its rivals, but alternatives are gaining ground

global empires have issued the world's reserve currency – the one most often used by other countries – for 94 years on average. The dollar has held reserve status for more than 100 years, so its reign is already older than most.

The dollar has been bolstered by the weaknesses of its rivals. The euro has been repeatedly undermined by financial crises, while the renminbi is heavily

managed by an authoritarian regime. Nonetheless, alternatives are gaining ground.

Beyond the Big Four currencies – of the US, Europe, Japan and the UK – lies the category of “other currencies” that includes the Canadian and Australian dollar, the Swiss franc and the renminbi. They now account for 10 per cent of global reserves, up from 2 per cent in 2001.

Their gains, which accelerated during the pandemic, have come mainly at the expense of the US dollar. The dollar share of foreign exchange reserves is currently at 59 per cent – the lowest since 1995. Digital currencies may look battered now, but they remain a long-run alternative as well.

Meanwhile, the impact of US sanctions on Russia is demonstrating how much influence the US wields over a dollar-driven world, inspiring many countries to speed up their search for options. It's possible that the next step is not towards a single reserve currency, but to currency blocs.

South-east Asia's largest economies are increasingly settling payments to one another directly, avoiding the dol-

lar. Malaysia and Singapore are among the countries making similar arrangements with China, which is also extending offers of renminbi support to nations in financial distress. Central banks from Asia to the Middle East are setting up bilateral currency swap lines, also with the intention of reducing dependence on the dollar.

Today, as in the dotcom era, the dollar appears to be benefiting from its safe-haven status, with most of the world's markets selling off. But investors are not rushing to buy US assets. They are reducing their risk everywhere and holding the resulting cash in dollars.

This is not a vote of confidence in the US economy, and it is worth recalling that bullish analysts offered the same reason for buying tech stocks at their recent peak valuations: there is no alternative. That ended badly. Tina is never a viable investment strategy, especially not when the fundamentals are deteriorating. So don't be fooled by the strong dollar. The post-dollar world is coming.

The writer is chair of Rockefeller International

Textbook economics will not avert this energy crisis

Torsten Bell

Economic crises have phases you can almost feel. They ebb and they flow, as the nature and scale of the crisis, and our awareness of it, changes. Single events often crystallise a shift, forcing policymakers to wake up to the fact they are required to act in ways that seemed unimaginable just weeks before.

The run on Northern Rock in 2007 forced the traumatised Treasury I was then working in to guarantee savers' deposits, while initially ruling out nationalisation and insisting this was an isolated case. A year later, the collapse of Lehman Brothers brought home the reality: the global financial system was on the brink and it was time to nationalise institutions at the commanding heights of British banking.

For the UK's current cost of living crisis, the Northern Rock moment was April's 50 per cent increase in typical energy bills to £1,971. The government allowed prices to rise, while eventually offering households £30bn of support to pay surging bills.

But the latest announcement from Ofgem that energy bills are heading to £3,549 this October, on the way to more than £5,000 in January, was the Lehman Brothers moment of this crisis. It tells us we are entering a new world where policies previously seen as unthinkable are now all but inevitable.

Prices will be heading higher just as temperatures plummet and families turn on the heating: the UK uses 80 per cent of domestic gas between October and March. Energy bills are on track to

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Everyone pays the cost as rich keep spending

BUSINESS

Rana Foroohar



Inflation isn't new, but price rises can still shock. I recently holidayed in the Hamptons, a tony beach area outside New York, where I was stunned to pay \$800 for a single shopping cart of groceries. This wasn't at some foodie emporium, but rather at the IGA, which is the American equivalent of the UK's Tesco. Food prices are up everywhere, but in places like this, they have reached nosebleed levels.

Wealthy locals and vacation shoppers notice, but seem not to curb their spending. Everyone else is travelling an hour or more to get groceries outside the resort areas, ordering dry goods from Costco and growing their own produce.

This story is extreme, but by no means a one-off. To the extent that the wealthy in the US are not yet cutting back on spending, they may be an important and under-explored factor driving the inflation felt by all.

The top two-fifths of income distribution in the US accounts for 60 per cent of consumer spending, while the bottom two-fifths accounts for a mere 22 per cent, according to 2020 BLS statistics.

Income inequality is not the same as wealth inequality. But the two can go hand in hand. People who make higher

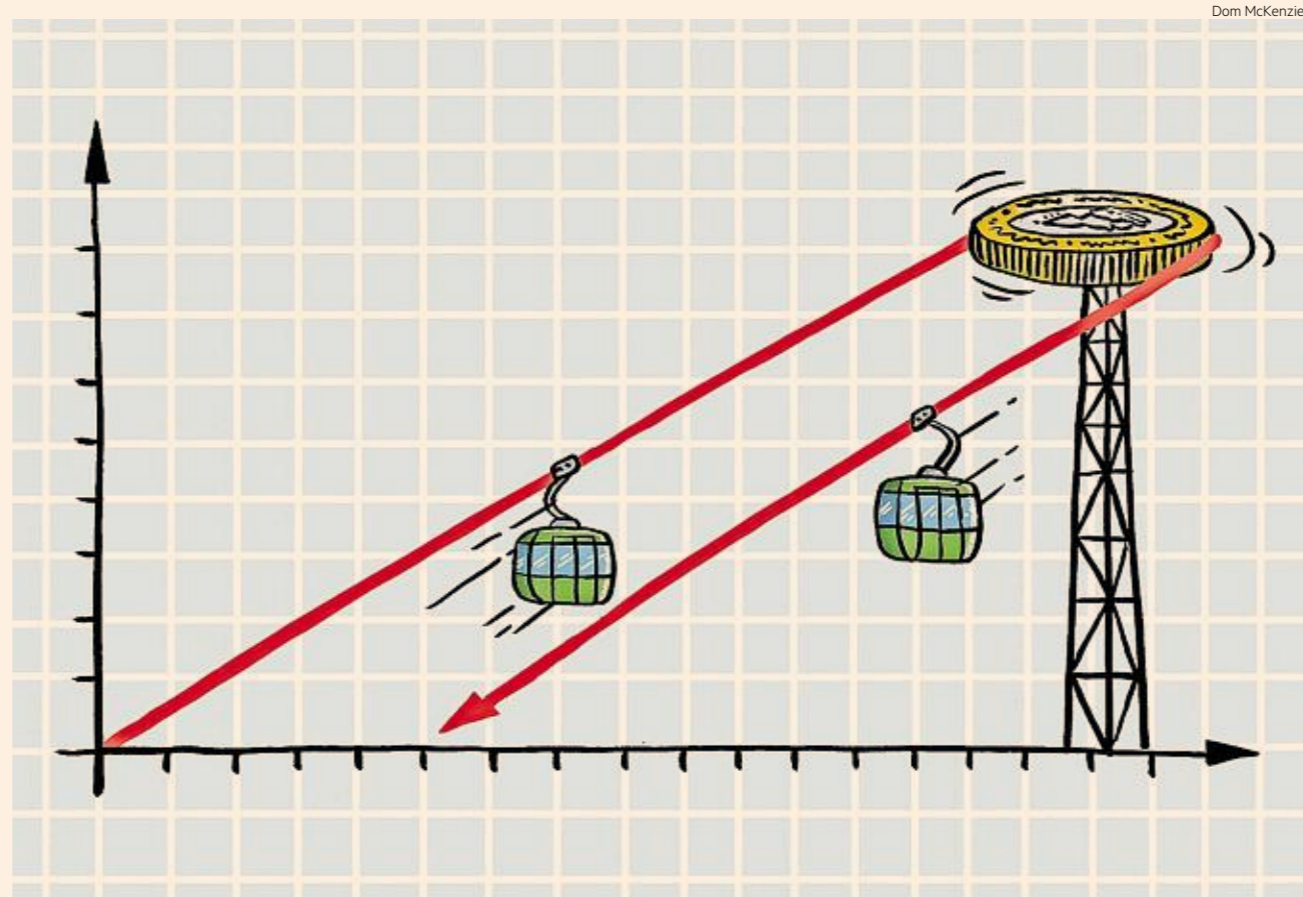
incomes tend to receive a greater percentage of compensation in stock. They also have vastly more home equity (which tends to encourage more consumption spending, according to IMF research).

The American Enterprise Institute, a right-leaning think-tank, estimated in February that the wealth effect of both asset gains and cash extraction from the refinancing of property (which hasn't corrected yet, like stocks) represented \$900bn, with a consumption impact that started last year and will continue through 2022.

Amazon's Jeff Bezos can build a half-billion-dollar yacht, and it doesn't change life for anyone but him. But when the top quintile of Americans as a whole enjoy 80 per cent of the wealth effect from rising stock and home values (the AEI's estimate), I suspect it starts to have a real impact on inflation, and on the overall structure of our economy, which over the course of the past 30 years of real falling interest rates has become highly financialised.

Gavekal founder Charles Gave explained the underlying dynamics of all this in a recent piece for clients. “If the market rate [of interest] is too low versus the natural rate, then financial engineering pays off . . . borrowing to capture the spread will lead to a rise in the value of those assets which yield more than the market rate, but also to a rise in indebtedness.”

The issue is that fewer new assets will be created – why invest in a factory or workforce training when you can buy



back stock? One practical result of this unfortunate Wall Street–Main Street arbitrage is lower productivity. Falling productivity and artificially low rates often equal inflationary recovery periods – just as in the 1970s.

The only way out is through the pain of higher interest rates. The market cost of capital must be normalised to reduce financialisation, and the unproductive allocation of resources and inequality that comes with it.

Unfortunately, the pain of that paradigm shift (like the benefits of the previous one) won't be shared equally. Rising rates hit the poor hardest, raising the cost of non-expendable items such as food, housing and payment of credit cards and other loans. The rich can keep spending, while others have

Wealthy Americans may be an important and under-explored factor driving inflation

to make tougher economic choices.

The US housing market is the best example of the economic and social downsides of extremely financialised growth. Historically, high home prices – which are in part a result of more cash buyers and investors in the market, as well as zoning restrictions and financing trends that favour the rich – mean more people are renting. Rents today are rising not just in big cities, but across most of the country.

But the people who tend to rent are those least likely to be able to pay the higher prices. According to 2021 Pew Data, 60 per cent of renters are in the lower quartile of American income. If you look at net worth, including asset wealth, that number rises to 87.6 per cent. As more discretionary income goes on basics, the consumption picture is further skewed towards the rich.

Of course, no economic paradigm lasts forever. Higher interest rates will eventually bring down artificially inflated asset values.

Meanwhile, the Biden White House is doing what it can to buffer inflationary

pain for working people. It has been releasing strategic petroleum reserves in a partly successful effort to lower prices at the pump, extending pandemic-era caps on some student loan payments and pushing for antitrust action in areas where corporate concentration (which has grown hand in hand with financialisation) may be responsible for some inflationary pressure.

But more changes are needed. The success of corporate lobbyists in overturning efforts to roll back carried interest loopholes are shameful. Student debt forgiveness – no matter how generous it is – will not change the fact that the cost of four years of private university in the US (an elastic cost that can be bid up indefinitely by the global rich) is nearly double the median family income. Housing markets continue to cry out for major reform.

I suspect it will take a younger generation to push through these sorts of systemic changes. They simply don't have as much asset wealth to protect.

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be three times higher this winter than last, at £500 a month.

Worst affected will be the UK's 4mn customers on prepayment meters, who cannot spread the higher winter costs out over the year. They will be asked to find more than £700 in January alone – over half of their typical disposable income Millions will run up arrears and damage their financial health. And thousands will risk their physical health because they cannot heat their homes.

Averting a winter catastrophe will require different, not just larger, interventions from the incoming prime minister. The government's response to date has been to insist that consumers face the true cost of energy to provide strong incentives to reduce consumption. At the same time, it provided lump-sum discounts and payments, particularly to those on benefits, to cover some costs.

This is what the economics textbooks call for and it made sense when bills hit £2,000. It is not viable when they are more than double that amount. The cliff edge between those who do get support and those who get next to nothing becomes too great – earning £1 too much, so that you don't qualify for universal credit, could cost you more than £1,000.

Because the payments are a lump sum they take no account of how big increases in energy bills are for different households. The challenge to come is far greater than average for a large, low-income family renting a poorly insulated home they are powerless to improve.

The scale of the crisis calls for a radical approach. We will have to cap energy costs below market rates, so it's time to focus on the hard questions involved. How far do we go? Should everyone, or just those on low and middle incomes, benefit? And how will we pay the bill, which will amount to tens of billions of pounds? There are some big trade-offs.

A radical social tariff would be the best targeted approach for those on lower incomes seeing their bills rise most, but is harder to implement than a price cut for everyone. Borrowing will take a lot of the strain but windfall and solidarity taxes should be imposed if we are to reduce bills significantly without forcing the Bank of England into even bigger interest rate rises.

None of this is easy, but the energy crisis has made us much poorer as a country. The phoney war phase of this crisis is over; the doing something about it part should begin urgently.

The writer is chief executive of the Resolution Foundation think-tank

Europe's leaders must avoid divisions that would only benefit Moscow

ECONOMY

Martin Sandbu



A giant flame burning outside St Petersburg, big enough to be seen from Finland, captures Europe's challenge as autumn approaches: Vladimir Putin is flaring off gas while the continent braces for a winter of discontent triggered by record energy prices.

Putin's attack on Ukraine has brought home the need for more pan-European public goods and joint action, above all for security and energy independence. It reinforces a realisation that was already seeping into the political consciousness thanks to the pandemic and the climate crisis.

But the next six months will put leaders' best intentions to severe political and economic tests. The need to do

more together comes just as national politicians face extreme temptation to become more inward-looking. And governments will have to invest more money in the common good just as their economies take a turn for the worse.

At home, every country is racked by high energy prices, and the demand to cushion the blow for voters will take up ever more political attention. It would be a mistake to let the cost of living crisis distract from helping Ukraine, since it is largely caused by Putin's weaponisation of gas prices. But the temptation to do so, and the pressure to put one's own country first, will only get stronger as the suffering from rising energy bills becomes more severe.

Then there are pre-existing frictions that undermine the EU's ability for collective action. Poland's and Hungary's erosion of the rule of law remains unresolved. The European Commission has declined to approve the latter's recovery plans and has launched its new instrument for holding back other budget transfers to Budapest, too. Warsaw's plan is approved but any disbursement is conditional on further concessions on

its politicised judiciary reform. The economic squeeze may bring both back into the fold but it could also tempt them to play a bigger spoiler role.

Elsewhere, the political spectres from the eurozone crisis have started appearing again. Suspicions about how Italy is spending its recovery fund money are not far below the surface. Grumbles can be heard that Berlin has not shed its penny-pinching instincts when it comes

This perfect storm makes for a winter of divisiveness and indecision. That, of course, is Putin's goal

to EU financial aid for Ukraine. And in Spain – previously hard hit by crises but today relatively well placed with its large gas import capacity – politicians find it hard not to invert Germany's old lecturing, accusing it of living beyond its (energetic) means.

Beyond the politics, economic obstacles to policy action are mounting too.

Inuring Europe from Putin's energy manipulation will require investments to better tie the bloc's energy infrastructure together. But public and private finances are set to deteriorate.

Most growth indicators point in the wrong direction; mere stagnation would be a lucky outcome. Even if Europe is spared an outright recession, Putin's gas games make it poorer through much-worsened terms of trade. Germany, of all countries, has gone into trade deficit on the back of expensive gas imports. Add to this a monetary orthodoxy telling the European Central Bank to reduce aggregate demand, damp wage demands and rein in the eurozone's (impressive) job growth.

This perfect storm makes for a winter of divisiveness and therefore indecision. That, of course, is Putin's goal. It must be all of Europe's goal to avoid it.

It is a good start that EU leaders are keenly aware of their predicament. As all face energy crises at home, they understand the domestic pressures on their counterparts. Some are trying to prepare voters for what is going to come. But it will take great political deftness to

land such a message among those who have long felt bypassed by whatever abundance there may have been.

Between EU countries, intriguing political reconfigurations are under way. Hungary's friendliness with Russia has alienated it from Poland. This has neutered the Visegrad group, joining both with Czechs and Slovaks, often in opposition to western Europe. Countries on the EU's northern flank are awkwardly finding they cannot be defence hawks and fiscal hawks at the same time: if they want greater investment in Europe's security, they must be open to more joint spending or laxer restrictions on national budgets.

These are at most hints of a more cohesive politics. To realise it, and frustrate Putin's designs, government chiefs must resist their instincts as merely national leaders. German chancellor Olaf Scholz's much-awaited speech in Prague today is the best chance to give a strong lead. To say it is a make or break moment for Europe's future may be an exaggeration. But only a slight one.

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Cartier

