

We are in a new ideological conflict, between irredentist tyranny and liberal democracy — MARTIN WOLF, PAGE 17

◆ Beijing ‘extremely concerned about civilians’ as it joins push for ceasefire

◆ Russian missile targets Kyiv’s TV tower near Holocaust memorial

◆ About 660,000 people have fled Ukraine since war began 6 days ago

China offers role as peacemaker

GUY CHAZAN — LVIV
ROMAN OLEARCHYK — KYIV
ELEANOR OLCOTT AND
JAMES KYNGE — LONDON

China signalled it was ready to play a role in finding a ceasefire in Ukraine as Russia unleashed devastating missile attacks on Kyiv and Kharkiv that caused multiple casualties.

Beijing said it was “extremely concerned about the harm to civilians” in comments yesterday that followed a phone call between the Chinese foreign minister, Wang Yi, and his Ukrainian counterpart, Dmytro Kuleba.

“Ukraine is willing to strengthen communications with China and looks forward to China playing a role in realising a ceasefire,” the Chinese statement said.

It added that it respected “the territorial integrity of all countries”, without indicating whether Beijing accepted Russia’s claim to the Crimean peninsula or shared its recognition of separatists in the Donbas region of eastern Ukraine.

The statement marked a change in tone from Beijing which in the days before the invasion had described the US as the “culprit” in the Ukraine crisis.

China joined the United Arab Emirates and India last week in abstaining on a UN resolution condemning Russia’s invasion of Ukraine that was supported by 11 members of the Security Council. Moscow vetoed it.

The shift in Beijing’s position was made as Vladimir Putin’s forces intensified a missile bombardment on Ukrainian cities. Videos shared on social media showed several residential districts had been hit, while a Russian missile targeting Kyiv’s television tower killed at least five civilians near the Babyn Yar Holocaust memorial, according to Volodymyr Zelensky, Ukraine’s president.

He accused Russia of war crimes and described that latest attacks as “outright, undisguised terror”. “After this, Russia is a terrorist state,” he said. “No one will forgive. No one will forget.”

Video posted by Ukrainian officials showed plumes of smoke rising from the area near the memorial but the nearby television tower still standing.

A missile also hit a municipal building in the centre of Kharkiv in one of the



Kyiv’s TV tower is hit by a Russian strike as the offensive gathered pace
Ukraine Defence Ministry/EYEPRESS

most destructive attacks on a densely populated urban district since Moscow launched its military offensive.

“It’s a near constant cannonade,” said Dima, a Kharkiv resident who declined to give his second name. “And it serves no discernible purpose: they’re firing haphazardly at people queueing for water and food.”

An estimated 660,000 civilians have fled Ukraine to neighbouring countries since the start of the conflict, a move-

ment of people that could become “Europe’s largest refugee crisis this century”, the UN warned.

A senior US defence official said Russia appeared to be facing logistical problems that were slowing the progress of its advance on Kyiv and complicating its prosecution of the campaign. Analysts worry that Russia’s generals might be resorting to rocket attacks out of frustration at their lack of progress on the ground. Such a shift in tactics would

entail much more collateral damage. As the invasion entered its sixth day, the US and other big oil-consuming nations agreed to tap 60mn barrels of oil from their emergency stockpiles to tackle a surge in prices.

The International Energy Agency said the co-ordinated release, the fourth in its history, would send a “unified and strong message to global oil markets that there will be no shortfall” because of the invasion. The body will consider

“possible additional emergency oil stock draws, as needed”, it added.

But rather than calm prices, the announcement triggered further gains, with Brent crude, the international oil marker, rising almost 10 per cent to a fresh eight-year high above \$107 a barrel before falling back. West Texas Intermediate, the US oil benchmark, climbed more than 10 per cent to \$105 a barrel.

Additional reporting by Justin Jacobs in Houston and Neil Hume in London

Main developments

- ◆ Volodymyr Zelensky accused Russia of war crimes and described attacks as ‘outright, undisguised terror’
- ◆ Moscow imposed a ban on foreign investors selling Russian assets after BP and Shell issued plans to divest
- ◆ MSC and Maersk, the two biggest container shipping groups, suspended cargo bookings to and from Russia
- ◆ Valery Gergiev was sacked as chief conductor of the Munich Philharmonic after failing to condemn Russia
- ◆ Crypto exchanges were pressed to block trades with Russia, amid fears they could be a back door to move cash
- ◆ Latvia urged the EU not to be a ‘political midget’ and grant Ukraine candidate status to join the bloc

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Oligarchs powerless in face of Putin’s power

Oligarch Mikhail Fridman has criticised the Ukraine war in general terms but said yesterday he did not want to attack Vladimir Putin directly because it “will not have any impact for political decisions in Russia”. His comments follow a meeting last week between Russia’s leader and top businessmen, who were warned that anyone who avoided doing business with companies under western sanctions would face punishment under the law. **Little power to sway Putin** > PAGE 5

Investors bet Ukraine crisis will slow pace of ECB and Fed interest rate rises

TOMMY STUBBINGTON — LONDON
MARTIN ARNOLD — FRANKFURT
COLBY SMITH — NEW YORK

Government bonds staged a powerful rally yesterday as investors bet the economic fallout from Russia’s invasion of Ukraine would push central banks to raise interest rates more slowly than had been anticipated.

The biggest moves came in Europe, where Germany’s 10-year bond yield sank below zero for the first time in a month as markets reacted to comments from European Central Bank policymakers arguing against any drastic shift in monetary policy until it became clearer how the crisis in Ukraine would affect the eurozone economy.

Derivatives linked to short-term interest rates show that investors now expect the ECB to lift interest rates by

less than 0.2 percentage points from the record low of minus 0.5 per cent by the end of the year. Two weeks ago markets were pricing in a return to zero this year.

UK yields also tumbled as investors dialled down their bets on UK rate rises. The 10-year gilt yield fell 0.28 percentage points to 1.13 per cent, the biggest one-day decline since the day after the Brexit referendum in June 2016.

US Treasuries were also swept up in the rally, with the 10-year yield falling 0.12 percentage points to 1.72 per cent.

Investors still forecast the Fed to press ahead this month and deliver its first quarter-point rate rise since 2018, but expectations of how aggressively it can tighten policy have moderated. Traders are now pricing in roughly five rate increases this year, down from six on Friday.

“There’s a big dovish repricing going on,” said Antoine Bouvet, a rates strate-

gist at ING. “The market has taken the view that the implications from Ukraine are that the ECB and other central banks will move more slowly.”

Energy prices have surged since the Russian invasion began last week, adding to the headache for central bankers trying to keep a lid on the highest inflation in decades for leading economies.

“This also has a significant impact on growth globally and in the US,” said Rick Rieder, chief investment officer of global fixed income at BlackRock. “This is clearly going to keep inflation high for a longer period of time.”

Luke Ellis, chief executive of Man Group, one of the world’s biggest hedge fund managers, echoed that view, telling the Financial Times yesterday that the Ukraine situation “pushes back” central bank rate rise expectations.

Markets Insight page 11

World Markets

STOCK MARKETS			
	Mar 1	prev	%chg
S&P 500	4305.00	4373.94	-1.58
Nasdaq Composite	13555.59	13751.40	-1.42
Dow Jones Ind	33222.97	33892.60	-1.98
FTSEurofirst 300	1732.92	1771.61	-2.18
Euro Stoxx 50	3777.21	3924.23	-3.75
FTSE 100	7330.20	7458.25	-1.72
FTSE All-Share	4079.97	4157.77	-1.87
CAC 40	6396.49	6658.83	-3.94
Xetra Dax	13904.85	14461.02	-3.85
Nikkei	26844.72	26526.82	1.20
Hang Seng	22761.71	22713.02	0.21
MSCI World \$	2977.95	2980.20	-0.08
MSCI EM \$	1171.31	1171.99	-0.06
MSCI ACWI \$	698.02	698.53	-0.07

CURRENCIES			
	Mar 1	prev	
\$ per €	1.114	1.123	
£ per \$	0.749	0.745	
\$ per £	1.335	1.342	
€ per £	0.834	0.837	
¥ per \$	114.805	115.175	
¥ per £	153.288	154.535	
SFr per €	1.024	1.030	
€ per \$	0.898	0.890	

INTEREST RATES			
	price	yield	chg
US Gov 10 yr	145.22	1.70	-0.17
UK Gov 10 yr		0.99	-0.29
Ger Gov 10 yr		-0.08	-0.21
Jpn Gov 10 yr	110.83	0.18	0.00
US Gov 30 yr	108.92	2.10	-0.11
Ger Gov 2 yr	103.95	-0.75	-0.20

COMMODITIES			
	Mar 1	prev	%chg
Oil WTI \$	105.38	95.72	10.09
Oil Brent \$	106.53	97.97	8.74
Gold \$	1909.85	1884.80	1.33

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WAR IN UKRAINE

Kharkiv onslaught 'More people are dying, every day the terror grows'

GUY CHAZAN — LVIV

Olga Markina says she can scarcely believe what is happening to her hometown Kharkiv, a city in the heart of Europe, in the 21st century, subject to a brutal artillery bombardment that has left dozens dead.

"Every day there's more destruction, every day more people are dying, and every day the terror grows," the child psychologist said. "We thought we lived in paradise, and they've turned it into hell."

Markina was speaking hours after a devastating missile strike on the main square of Kharkiv, Ukraine's second-largest city, turned the regional government building into a fireball, killing seven people and injuring 24.

It was one of a number of rocket attacks that have spread terror and anguish through the city of 1.4mn people, forcing thousands to seek safety in air raid shelters and triggering an exodus of refugees.

In Ukraine's capital, Kyiv, President Volodymyr Zelensky yesterday denounced the strike as "outright undisputed terror".

"After this, Russia is a terrorist state," he said. "No one will forgive. No one will forget."

Russia's invasion began six days ago when thousands of Russian troops swarmed across the border in what President Vladimir Putin described as a "special operation" to "demilitarise" and "de-Nazify" Ukraine. Kharkiv has borne the brunt of the campaign.

Over the past two days, the eastern city, close to the Russian border and mainly populated by Russian-speakers, has endured a wave of indiscriminate shelling that has caused international outrage and western calls for restraint.

"It's a near constant cannonade," said Dima, a Kharkiv resident who declined to give his second name. "And it serves no discernible purpose, they're firing haphazardly at people queueing for water and food."

So far, despite flooding the country with troops and weaponry, Russia has failed to take a major Ukrainian city. Kharkiv, too, is still under Ukrainian control: Russian troops tried to break through into the city last weekend but were repelled by its defenders.

Analysts worry that Russia's generals might be resorting to rocket attacks out of frustration at their lack of progress on the ground. Such a shift in tactics would entail much more collateral damage.

"The use of heavy artillery in densely



Innocent victim: a body is removed from Kharkiv city hall — Sergey Bobok/AFP/Getty

populated urban areas greatly increases the risk of civilian casualties," the British Ministry of Defence said in an intelligence update yesterday.

Igor, a doctor reached by phone in Kharkiv, who declined to give his second name, said the aim seemed to be to sow panic.

"They want to create chaos, to demoralise us," he said. "This isn't war, this is murder of civilians."

Kharkiv itself is a city in crisis. Hundreds of people have been camping out in metro stations that have been turned into makeshift bomb shelters.

Locals say long queues are forming outside supermarkets. Many ATMs are out of cash and much of the city's public transport has stopped working. The worst-hit neighbourhoods lack electricity.

Markina was out buying food on Monday when she heard a deafening boom. With dozens of other shoppers, she ran for cover in a nearby underground car park.

"Later I saw what had happened. A rocket had hit a residential block a short distance away, a direct hit," she said.

Video footage posted on social media showed roads strewn with burnt-out cars and the facades of apartment blocks reduced to smouldering ruins.

One post showed a group holding a Ukrainian yellow and blue flag standing in front of the bombed out regional government building. Addressing a Russian audience, one man shouted: "Look what you've fucking done! Look how many people have died! Stop, leave, before it's too late!"

Locals in Kharkiv said the mood in the city had darkened in recent days as people hunkered down for a long struggle. "Initially there was just shock, but we were sure the sides would quickly agree on a ceasefire," said Dima.

Yet the first talks between Russian and Ukrainian officials on Monday failed to yield a breakthrough. "Now people realise this is going to drag on, with no end in sight."

Igor, the doctor, said the Russian offensive in Ukraine had disturbing parallels with other wars from recent history.

"I was never in Yugoslavia or Syria," he said. "But this is exactly what Bashar al-Assad did to Syria and now Putin's doing it to Ukraine."

FT Inside and online
See FT View: Opinion: Martin Wolf & Janan Ganesh; Markets
ft.com/war-in-ukraine

EU. Response

Putin's invasion forges new European resolve

Continent's strategic outlook has been transformed, led by Germany's big policy shift

BEN HALL — EUROPE EDITOR

At the beginning of last week, EU leaders were still clinging to hopes that Russian leader Vladimir Putin might be dissuaded from launching a broad military attack on Ukraine.

French president Emmanuel Macron, reporting back from his latest talks with Putin, kept faith in the diplomatic track. The EU imposed sanctions on a few more people for the Russia-led war in Donbas. And Germany continued to resist sending weapons to Ukraine.

It was the kind of hesitant response critics of the EU have come to expect, despite its aspirations to become a geopolitical power.

Fast-forward seven days, and Europe's strategic outlook has been transformed. It was led by a momentous policy turn in Berlin, which pledged to

'Everything has changed. Nobody is questioning where we stand any more'

Nathalie Tocci, political scientist

ramp up defence spending, dropped its resistance to arming Kyiv, endorsed damaging financial sanctions on Moscow and embarked on a costly drive to lessen its energy dependence on Russia.

The EU's illusions about the Russian threat to Europe have crumbled. Where European capitals once favoured dialogue, they have turned to deterrence.

Engagement with Russia has turned to isolation as business, cultural and sporting ties are cut. The shift happened with breathtaking speed, even if it took Russia's decision to launch the biggest military offensive in Europe since the battle of Berlin in 1945 to bring it about.

It was not long ago that European capitals argued over the need for a European Peace Facility to provide weapons to third countries. Now Josep Borrell, the EU's foreign policy chief, has earmarked €450mn to arm Ukraine, including with fighter jets.

"The paradigm has changed. Everything has changed. Nobody is questioning where we stand any more," said Nathalie Tocci, director of Italy's Institute for International Affairs. "It is not

only war in Europe, it is war against Europe."

Michel Duclos, a former French diplomat and adviser to the Institut Montaigne think-tank, said Germany, France, Italy and even to a degree the UK — until the 2018 poisoning of Sergei Skripal on UK soil by Russian agents — failed to recognise that Moscow was becoming more aggressive. Their assessment was shaped by a dominant narrative that Russia felt threatened by the enlargement of Nato, he said.

"Our leaders discovered with horror that the problem for Putin was not the security of Russia but his need to take back the Ukrainian lands," Duclos said.

"When he talked about 'denazification' and the cleansing of Ukraine, it was not the old Putin. It was a Putin prepared to risk it all to satisfy his ethnographic-nationalist imperative."

The illusions about Russia were so big in Germany, said Jana Puglierin, director of the European Council on Foreign Relations in Berlin, that Putin's aggression brought a tectonic shift in German thinking. "The German public has finally woken up," said Puglierin.

For decades, German policy had been driven by two nostrums: that Russia could be made a responsible security partner in Europe; and that dialogue and engagement, particularly through trade, were more effective than deterrence. They have been turned on their head practically overnight.

"With the attack on Ukraine, Putin is not just seeking to wipe an independent country off the map," German chancellor Olaf Scholz told the Bundestag on Sunday as he tore up Germany's post-war antimilitarist foreign policy doctrine. "He is demolishing the European security order that had prevailed for almost half a century."

For years, the EU had tried to avoid sanctions that hurt ordinary Russians. Now the west is looking to wipe out their savings and cut them off from the rest of the world. Russians have become unwelcome. European airspace is all but closed to Russian planes. Russian football teams have been excluded.

The objective seems to be to make ordinary Russians understand the consequences of Putin's war.

The crisis has also brought the EU closer in ways that seemed unimaginable just a few months ago. EU capitals have co-ordinated policy on Ukrainian refugees — a joint approach sorely missing in the 2015-16 migrant crisis. And even Hungary's Viktor Orban, who has nurtured close ties with the Kremlin, has backed tough sanctions.

Meanwhile, post-Brexit Britain has resumed co-operation with the European Commission.

Pierre Vimont, senior fellow at Carnegie Europe, a think-tank, and a former EU diplomat who acted as Macron's special envoy to the Kremlin, said in the long term a new relationship with Russia "would have to be built on top of today's crumbling security order".

"We can't just hope that we can push Russia behind its borders and that the Russia issue will vanish." But now was the time for Europe "to show it stands with Ukraine", he said. "These are giant steps [for Europe]. I don't think there is a way back."



Anger: a war protest is held outside the European Council in Brussels

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WAR IN UKRAINE

Oligarchs on sanctions list have little power to sway Putin

Russian leader's record shows readiness to take on wealthy elite

MAX SEDDON — MOSCOW

As Russia's tanks rolled into Ukraine last week, Vladimir Putin gathered the country's top businessmen in the Kremlin's ornate Hall of the Order of St Catherine to discuss their response to the economic shocks that would follow.

The Russian president, sitting about 20ft away in a conspicuous social-distancing measure, told them he had "no other choice" but to invade Ukraine and, if they wanted to keep their businesses, neither did they, according to people briefed on the meeting.

"It was a pointless meeting. The main idea was to explain himself. The explanation was: 'I get it, but I didn't have any other way out.' That's really what he thinks," one of them said.

On Monday, the EU froze the assets and imposed a travel ban on more than half a dozen of Russia's most prominent businessmen in a move officials said was aimed at compelling the country's elite to demand Putin change course.

But the power dynamic of the meeting made for a much starker message to the assembled billionaires. He warned that anyone who avoided doing business with companies sanctioned by the west would face punishment under the law — implying that the oligarchs had to make a stand — while also stating that Russia would help companies hit by sanctions.

The guest list at the meeting, where attendees were seated in alphabetical order, showed that any form of dissent has become a distant prospect as Putin's power becomes near absolute, people

close to some of the attendees said.

Though some, such as banker Petr Aven and Vladimir Yevtushenkov, owner of the Sistema conglomerate, were among the first to make a fortune in Russia's turbulent 1990s, they were outnumbered by the heads of the state-run banking and energy firms that now dominate Russia's economy, many of whom have ties to Putin's inner circle.

Mikhail Fridman, Aven's business partner, has criticised the war in general terms but told reporters yesterday he did not want to attack Putin directly because it "will not have any impact for political decisions in Russia" while endangering his employees.

"Nobody really wants to suffer. But the message is we will have to," said a senior state banker.

"Being on the US sanctions list used to be a status symbol of patriotism. But now it's a requirement. If you're not on it, it's suspicious."

The meeting showed how far Russia — and Putin himself — has come since his first meeting with the oligarchs a few months after he took office in 2000.

Then, the fledgling leader offered a deal to the business leaders: they could keep the gains they had made from privatising Russian state assets after the Soviet Union's collapse if they pledged fealty and stayed out of politics.

Since then, Putin has imposed his will on the oligarchs by responding to any criticism with reprisals, leaving them with vastly diminished influence and some of them in prison.

Some who built their fortunes before



Targeted Four men hit by EU measures

Alisher Usmanov, pictured Metals and technology tycoon, controls Russian phone network MegaFon and metals giant Metalloinvest along with other businesses through his USM Holdings. Was among Facebook's biggest investors

Mikhail Fridman Co-founder of Alfa Group, owner of privately owned bank Alfa-Bank, biggest supermarket chain X5 and mobile operator Veon. Runs London-based private equity firm LetterOne, set up using \$14bn raised from the sale of a stake in oil group TNK-BP to Rosneft

Petr Aven Fridman's partner, chairs Alfa-Bank. Former trade minister **Alexei Mordashov** Russia's richest man, owns leading steelmaker Severstal. Holds a 32 per cent share in German tour operator Tui and owns half of Tele2, one of Russia's largest telecommunications companies



Putin came to power, such as Mikhail Khodorkovsky, deposed boss of oil group Yukos, and banker Sergei Pugachev, have left the country. A few other more recently minted businessmen have left the country or been arrested. "The smart oligarchs get how things work here and the dumb ones aren't oligarchs any more," a senior Kremlin official said. "Everyone who doesn't like it is out, or in prison."

Russia's wealth is even more concentrated in the hands of a few today than it was when Putin took power.

The 500 Russians with a net worth of more than \$100mn control 40 per cent of the country's household wealth, according to a study by the Boston Consulting Group last year. That means Russia's super-rich are three times wealthier than their average counterparts globally.

But those vast riches do not bring political power. Fridman, saying he was "shocked" by EU allegations that he

Listening mode: business chiefs hear Vladimir Putin outline his reasons for war. Below, Mikhail Fridman

EPN/Newscom/Avallon



supported Putin's war effort by lobbying against western sanctions, undermining Ukraine's sovereignty, and being an enabler of Putin's inner circle, said yesterday he would contest them.

Any criticism of the invasion would risk reprisals from the Kremlin against his workforce, he said. "If I make any political statement that is unacceptable in Russia, it will have very clear implications for the company, for our customers, for our creditors, for our stakeholders. I do not have a right to push on that situation," Fridman said.

And even if Russia's oligarchs were to demand changes from Putin, they would still be unable to change his mind, one of the people briefed on the meeting said.

"Imagine they go to complain to Putin," said a diplomat from a country where Russian oligarchs own assets. "They say: 'Can you please revise your policy? I lost \$4bn of my \$5bn.' Putin says: 'Do you want to keep the \$1bn?'"

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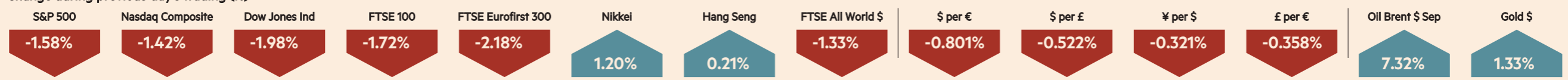


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MARKET DATA

WORLD MARKETS AT A GLANCE

Change during previous day's trading (%)



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



Table with columns for Country, Index, Latest, and Previous values for various global markets.

(c) Stock (u) Unavailable. 1 Correction. * Subject to official recalculation. For more index coverage please visit www.ft.com/worldindices. A fuller version of this table is available on the ft.com research data archive.

STOCK MARKET: BIGGEST MOVERS

Table showing active stocks, winners, and losers for AMERICA, EURO MARKETS, and TOKYO.

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Table showing currency exchange rates for Dollar, Euro, and Pound against various international currencies.

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FT 30 INDEX

Table showing FT 30 Index performance metrics including closing prices and changes.

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Table showing FT Wilshire 5000 Index series performance metrics.

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Table showing FTSE Global Equity Index series performance metrics.

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UK COMPANY RESULTS

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Figures in £m. Earnings shown figures in light text are for corresponding period year earlier. For more information on dividend payments visit www.ft.com/marketsdata. *Placing price. *Introduction. *When issued. Annual report/prospectus available at www.ft.com/ir. For a full explanation of all the other symbols please refer to London Share Service notes.



MARKET DATA

FT500: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table of FT500 largest companies with columns for Stock, Price, Day Chg, High, Low, Yld, P/E, MCap and sub-sections for Australia, Canada, China, Germany, India, Japan, Korea, Spain, Taiwan, Thailand, UK, and US.

Table of FT500 largest companies (continued) with columns for Stock, Price, Day Chg, High, Low, Yld, P/E, MCap and sub-sections for Australia, Canada, China, Germany, India, Japan, Korea, Spain, Taiwan, Thailand, UK, and US.

Table of FT500 largest companies (continued) with columns for Stock, Price, Day Chg, High, Low, Yld, P/E, MCap and sub-sections for Australia, Canada, China, Germany, India, Japan, Korea, Spain, Taiwan, Thailand, UK, and US.

FT 500: TOP 20

Table of FT 500: TOP 20 companies with columns for Company, Close, Prev, Change, Day, Week, Month.

FT 500: BOTTOM 20

Table of FT 500: BOTTOM 20 companies with columns for Company, Close, Prev, Change, Day, Week, Month.

BONDS: HIGH YIELD & EMERGING MARKET

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Table of UK Cash Market Gilts with columns for Mar 01, Price, Red, Yield, Day, Week, Month, High, Low, Amnt.

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Table of Market Interest Rates with columns for Mar 01, Over, Night, Change, Day, Week, Month, One, Three, Six, One year.

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BONDS: INDEX-LINKED (continued)

Table of Index-Linked Bonds (continued) with columns for Country, Price, Yield, Month, Value, Market, No of stocks.

GILTS: UK FTSE ACTUARIES INDICES (continued)

Table of UK FTSE Actuaries Indices (continued) with columns for Index, Mar 01, Day's chg, Total Return, Return, 1 month, 1 year, 5 year.

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ARTS

A revolutionary for all seasons

A New York show of drawings and sketches by Jacques-Louis David reveals his talent and his adaptability. By Ariella Budick

Jacques-Louis David's roller-coaster life carried him from troughs of obscurity to teetering heights of power. Nurtured on conventional academic style, he reached for a radical aesthetic, shedding rococo frills for raw muscle. When the French Revolution exploded, he was ready. The austerity of his technique dovetailed neatly with the severity of Jacobin principles, creating a serendipitous feedback loop between stylistic virtue and political purity. Beauty, as he defined it, served the moral good, as the state defined it.

The Metropolitan Museum's magnificent *Jacques-Louis David: Radical Draftsman* traces the full arc of his career, from his formative student days in Rome, through his early neoclassical manifestos, to the propaganda of his revolutionary years, a stint in jail, glory under Napoleon and, finally, exile in Brussels. The unprecedented gathering of works on paper includes loans from two dozen institutions and private collections. Such a concentrated display of skill would be enough to give the exhibition its lustre, but the show also makes blindingly clear how, even as his fortunes tossed and his politics yawed, David clung to the solid beam of his art.

He was a slow starter. Having twice unsuccessfully applied for the Prix de Rome, he threatened a hunger strike, was denied a third time anyway and finally succeeded on his fourth try. That sojourn in Rome defined for him what it meant to be French: a revival of ancient discipline. He filled his days with drawings of the Forum, the Pantheon, nudes and figures costumed as Greco-Roman archetypes, arming himself with an arsenal of memories.

The Met's installation reveals the profound and life-long impact of those

sketchbooks. From the beginning, we see the emergence of David's abiding themes, such as patriotic sacrifice and unbreachable divides between male and female worlds. In a sketch for his early painting "Belisarius Begging for Alms" (which triumphed at the Salon of 1781), a blind, impoverished old general reaches out and opens his palm to accept the charity of a passing stranger. That outstretched arm entered the body language of David's tableaux, though its meaning shifted over time. A similar gesture recurs, with more terrible force,

Even as his fortunes tossed and his politics yawed, David clung to the solid beam of his art

in that world-changing masterpiece, "The Oath of the Horatii" (1784).

The Met tracks the multiyear process of distilling that painting through a series of studies. A virtuosic chalk drawing enshrines the central composition: the cluster of brothers, virile bodies tensed for battle, dominates one half of the frame, while the women liquefy into a swoon on the other. On the male side, stiff arms and steel swords form a tensile structure, electrifying the scene through sinew and contour. A later oil sketch envelops the scene in a rococo blur of hazy oranges and reds, which David eventually rejected.

It's too bad that the final product remains at home in the Louvre, so viewers can't see how ruthlessly he stripped away all softness and superfluities. The colours have turned cold and grey, the light is unforgiving and the men's steely limbs radiate moral clarity. Even archi-



Above: David's 'The Oath of the Horatii' (1784-85). Left: 'The Lictors Bringing Brutus the Bodies of His Sons' (1787)
RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY, photo: Michel Urrado; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift

ecture has had to sacrifice something to the warriors' high purpose. The oil sketch's Doric columns have now been pruned of their bases, so that pure, unornamented cylinders spring straight from the floor. The storming of the Bastille was still years away, but already "all the required ingredients for revolutionary rhetoric were spectacularly announced in this painting: patriotism, fraternity and martyrdom", writes Simon Schama in *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*.

Just about any ideology can adopt

those lofty principles, and David elevated them, along with integrity and sacrifice, well before he had an agenda to proselytise. More than a dozen studies preceded "The Lictors Bringing Brutus the Bodies of His Sons", which depicts the implacable founder of the Roman Republic, Lucius Junius Brutus, soon after ordering the execution of his two rebellious sons.

At first, the artist experimented with the energy of frenzied crowds. Gradually, he deleted distractions, cutting down the cast of characters, simplifying lines, compressing depth of field. Instead, he illuminated three sets of extremities as if with separate spotlights: a corpse's bare legs, elevated on a stretcher; the mother's arm, extended in longing and accusation; and Brutus's knot of twisted toes, which express the immensity of a father's grief and the ordeals of power. His face is in shadow.

The story of that work highlights art's adaptability. Louis XVI commissioned it, David developed it through the last years of the old regime and it appeared in the 1789 Salon just six weeks after the Bastille fell on July 14, repurposed to promote an utterly different political era. David's allegiance to antiquity made him seem suddenly current, historical allegories freshly relevant, and his paintings struck the architects of the Revolution as both prophecy and justification.

The exhibition culminates in a large pen-and-ink drawing of "The Oath of the Tennis Court", a political manoeuvre that set the stage for violence in the streets. On June 20, members of the newly formed National Assembly defied the king by gathering on a tennis court near Versailles, where they vowed to stay until they'd completed a new constitution. David knew just how to solemnify a contentious meeting: with his

signature choreography of straight arms raised at an angle. Thanks to the tremendously popular "Oath of the Horatii", everyone recognised that gesture as an emblem of zeal, unity and loyalty. In 1794, David and his friend Robespierre organised a parade; participants re-enacted the salute, adding ersatz ancient dignity to the marshalled crowds.

When Napoleon assumed control of the nation and of the Revolution's rhetoric, David once again popped up, Zelig-like, as the leader's designated glorifier. Then, too, he responded to a new political reality with old tropes that proved sturdy enough to survive even Napoleon's metamorphoses. The collective raised arm reappears in an oil sketch for "The Distribution of the Eagles" (1809-10), forming the central triangle. Here, that collective oath-taking and the raising of the eagle standard mark France's transition from republic to empire – the betrayal, in other words, of everything David had claimed he would defend with his life. (David's semaphore outlasted the Napoleonic era, too, eventually morphing into the fascist "Roman salute", still popular with today's neo-Nazis.)

One event did overcome his insistence on manly stoicism and theatrical poses: his own arrest in 1794. During two periods of relatively brief and luxurious confinement in the Palais de Luxembourg, he drew his fellow Jacobin prisoners, observing them with a quality that was new to him: empathy. An ink-and-gouache portrait of the naval commander Jeanbon Saint-André shows the fearless warrior in profile on a round medallion, like a hero of antiquity. But he looks stressed-out now, shoulders hunched, hair unkempt beneath a plain black hat, arms folded protectively, his stare less defiant than apprehensive. Artist and subject both survived that round of humiliation and went on to complete their illustrious careers, but at least in this portrait (and others like it) we see what happens when nimbleness fails and certainties have crumbled away.

To May 15, metmuseum.org



'The Prisoner' (c1816-22)
The Cleveland Museum of Art

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SPRINGER NATURE

Game censorship is a murky business

GAMING

Tom Faber



The curious case of *The Sims 4: My Wedding Stories* was never going to be the biggest news coming out of Russia this month. Yet developer EA still managed to froth the gamer community into a mighty uproar on fan-site Sims Community and social media, when it announced that it would not be releasing its latest expansion pack in Russia due to the country's so-called "gay propaganda" law, which makes it illegal to show LGBT content to minors.

The Sims has long been a standard-bearer for queer representation in gaming, and the marketing campaign for *My Wedding Stories* focused on a lesbian couple planning their marriage. While a few voices applauded EA for taking a stand, many fans were furious, particularly queer Russian players on Twitter. Many pointed out that EA had misunderstood the law, which is ambiguously worded and inconsistently applied. A week later, EA sheepishly backtracked and said it would release the game in Russia uncensored.

It was a PR mess. Yet controversy around censorship in gaming is becoming increasingly common. As the global market grows, developers endeavour to make their content appropriate for audiences in wildly different cultural contexts. If they release a game with uncensored content internationally, they can face criticism for cultural insensitivity and even upset governments, get banned and lose profits. But censor a game and audiences could argue they're compromising artistic integrity or pandering to repressive regimes. Should developers refuse to censor outright? Or do gamers need to accept that games may take different forms depending on geography?

Since the 1980s, games have been censored in some form. The original game development hubs often censored for one another: American games reduced their violence for Japan and Japanese

games toned down sexual content for the US. For the most part, these alterations simply filtered out extremes of sex and gore. But there is another, thornier reason for censorship – when a game developer alters content to appease a government rather than its people.

The epicentre of this debate is China, the biggest gaming market in the world. The Chinese government has always had a volatile relationship with games – consoles were mainly banned between 2000 and 2014, while a ban was introduced last year on under-18s playing online for more than three hours per week. The country's National Press and

Many 'Sims' fans were furious, particularly queer Russian players on Twitter

Publication Administration also censors and bans games with critical views of the country. And in the hugely popular action role-playing game *Genshin Impact*, the words "Taiwan", "Tibet", "Stalin", "Putin", "Hong" and "Kong" are blocked from the in-game chat.

Two recent incidents ignited the fury of the international gaming community. One was the case of *Devotion*, an acclaimed horror game from Taiwanese studio Red Candle Games, which was pulled from sale because of a background detail comparing Xi Jinping to Winnie the Pooh. More troublingly, in 2019 Californian game publisher

Blizzard expelled a professional gamer from a tournament and withdrew his winnings after he expressed support for Hong Kong's pro-democracy movement. The outcry went all the way to US senators, prompting Blizzard to return the prize money and reduce the player's ban. The idea that an American company could act as a political censor for China was a frightening thought.

Governments rarely explicitly tell developers to censor their games. More often, developers self-censor for commercial reasons, entering murky ethical territory. But perhaps more important than whether companies are censoring is the question of why. Developers owe their players transparency. They should state clearly what is being changed and why, so gamers can decide what they want to buy and play. In certain cases, the decision is understandable – such as a mission in *Fallout 3* which was removed for Japanese audiences, in which you can choose to detonate an atomic bomb. In others, such as the Blizzard controversy, gamers end up feeling as if a company has sacrificed its integrity for the sake of its bottom line.

Meanwhile, on an isolated server of *Minecraft* is a digital building called *The Uncensored Library*. This is a project by NGO Reporters Without Borders which noticed that, while many news websites and political blogs are censored in authoritarian countries, *Minecraft* is accessible everywhere. So it stocked this virtual library with censored reporting to prove that games don't merely have to navigate censorship – they can also fight it.



'Sims 4: My Wedding Stories' was the subject of controversy

FT BIG READ. UK ECONOMY

With labour shortages, falling real wages and spiralling inflation, workers from the universities sector to the London Underground are downing tools over pay, cuts to pensions and workplace conditions.

By Bethan Staton, Delphine Strauss and Josephine Cumbo

A new season of strikes

Like many young university lecturers, Carl lives in a state of constant uncertainty. A teaching assistant in the politics department of a London university, he does not find out whether he will have work until a month before the start of each term, when he is given a schedule of a few hours of paid teaching each week.

To make ends meet, the 32-year-old often pieces together teaching jobs on multiple courses. The time in each contract is rarely enough to adequately prepare for lectures, mark students' work or give feedback, so much of the work is unpaid. "There's a lot of insecurity," he said. "We don't know if we're going to get work next year."

Carl, who asked to be identified by a pseudonym, is one of thousands of staff at dozens of universities across the UK taking part in three weeks of strikes over pay, cuts to pensions and workplace conditions. It is one of the most high-profile and disruptive industrial actions now in the UK.

But university workers are not alone. At a recent strike by academic staff at City, University of London, the lecturers and teachers were joined on the picket lines by security staff, represented by another union entirely. What united them was not just pent-up demand for higher pay and a safer working environment, but also a sense of injustice that is fuelling the country's most confrontational pay bargaining season in years.

For the past two years, industrial action has largely paused while unions focused their energies on saving jobs threatened by coronavirus lockdowns. But in 2022, with employers battling staff shortages and inflation already at a 30-year high, workers in a range of sectors from transport to custodial work to education, on the front lines and in white collar offices, are downing tools.

Londoners experienced this firsthand yesterday when strike action over pension reforms shut down the entire London Underground network. Elsewhere in the rail sector, unions are making plans for national strike action if talks with train operators and Network Rail over a restructuring of the industry break down.

In Wales and Gloucestershire, about 3,000 employees at Airbus factories have voted to take strike action over pay from March, as have workers at a nearby subsidiary of GE Aviation Systems. Outsourced cleaners whose workloads intensified during the pandemic, with little reward, have gone on strike at hospitals, railway stations and at Facebook's London offices.

White-collar workers are also up in arms: 1,500 teachers at the Girls' Day School Trust — a group of 23 private schools and two academies across England and Wales — are striking in a dispute over pensions, and industrial action is threatened at the Financial Conduct Authority, where staff are angry at a transformation plan that will effectively cut pay for many of them.

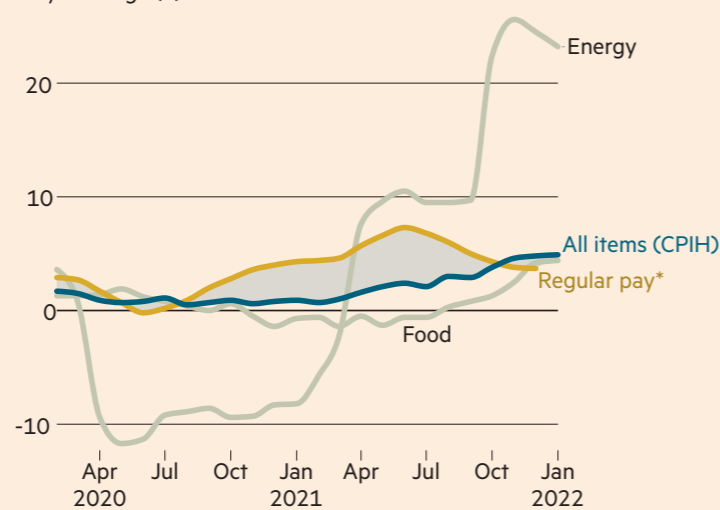
"People work way beyond what they are expected to do in their job descriptions," says Daniel Shannon-Hughes, a branch rep for Unison, which represents security and support staff as well as workers in the public sector. "Even before inflation started increasing at a rapid rate, our members had seen real terms pay cuts for over a decade. It gets to the point where you have to say enough is enough — it can't go on like this. And we've reached that point."

Some see the resurgence of industrial action as a sign that workers are wielding new bargaining power, especially in sectors facing acute labour shortages and desperate to hold on to staff.

Data gathered by Indeed, the online job search site, shows that advertised wage rates for driving, manufacturing and construction jobs have risen about 8 per cent over the past year. For certain skilled roles, advertised wage growth was in double digits — from chefs to

Earnings are falling in real terms as prices rise

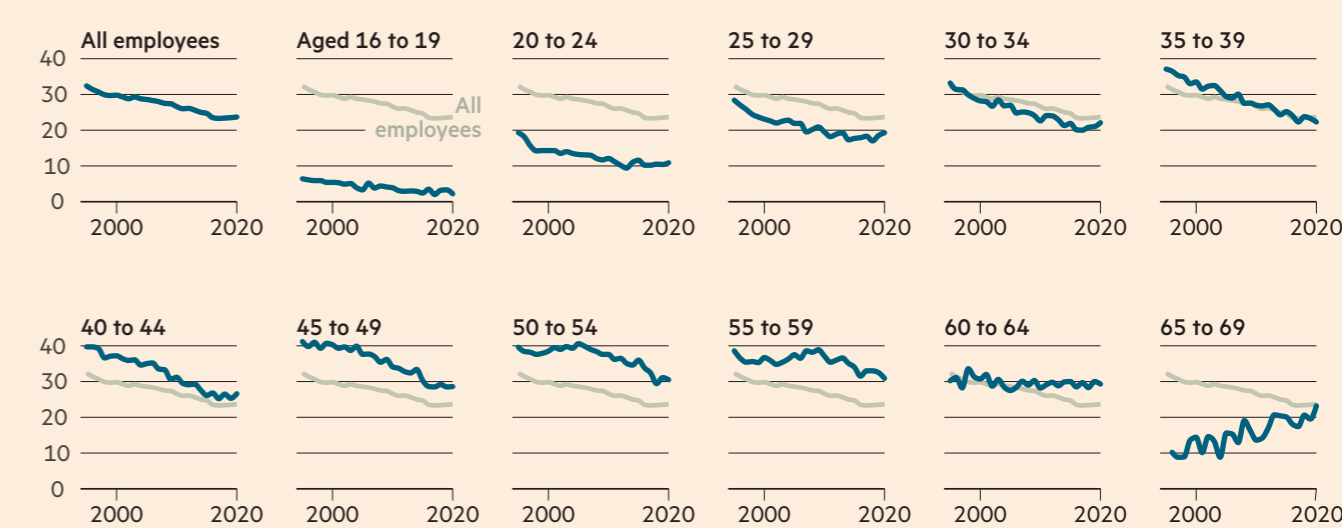
Annual change in consumer price index and sub-indices, weekly earnings (%)



* Seasonally adjusted, three-month average
Sources: Office for National Statistics, FT inflation tracker

Trade union membership has declined for all age groups except the oldest

Membership as a share of all employees, by age group, 1995-2020 (%)



Source: Gov.uk

warehouse packers and mental health nurses. "Workers in some occupations are in a position to bargain for higher wages to cushion themselves from the cost of living squeeze," said Jack Kennedy, economist at Indeed.

But for most people, inflation is rising at a much faster rate than wages. The latest official data showed regular pay, excluding bonuses, was just 3.7 per cent higher than a year earlier in the three months to December, similar to pre-pandemic rates. In real terms, average earnings fell and the squeeze is set to worsen in the months ahead as energy prices push inflation to fresh 30-year highs.

This squeeze on living standards is one factor fuelling anger among key workers, who faced extraordinary demands in the early stages of the pandemic — with most employers now unwilling to offer pay deals that would match inflation, because they are facing cost pressures on all fronts. It adds up to a combustible moment in labour relations, and a test for Britain's unions in the most intense period of worker unrest since the 2016 Trade Union Act placed new, onerous limits on their activities.

"For a few decades now, there's been relatively low levels of industrial dispute. What we're starting to see in recent years is an uptick [and] a counter attack from the employers to try and shut off that emergence of labour struggles," says James Eastwood, the branch head of the University and College Union (UCU) at Queen Mary University of London.

The pension dispute

At UK universities, the core of the industrial action is a dispute over pension benefits provided by the Universities Superannuation Scheme, the main pension scheme provided by UK universities and colleges.

Many of the 200,000 active members regard these benefits as deferred wages that make up for academia offering less in terms of pay and security that would be offered elsewhere.

Members are now facing a potential cut of 35 per cent to their guaranteed pensions, according to union calculations, after a valuation carried out in March 2020 identified a large deficit in the scheme's finances.

The UCU argued the valuation gives a pessimistic view of the scheme's finances and that universities should be able to foot the bill for worker benefits.

Despite its assets recovering to pre-pandemic levels since that assessment, USS said the cuts were necessary because the cost of funding pensions had increased, and because of new pension promises. Universities UK, which represents the sector, said without change pensions would have become "unaffordable" for members and employers.

Jo Grady, the union's general secretary, said strike action was driven by members' "complete disgust and desire to protect what is rightfully theirs", arguing that university bosses were "needlessly attacking" pensions.

But the dispute goes beyond pensions to the overall working environment in the sector. In a

'Some workers are in a position to bargain for higher wages to cushion themselves from the cost of living squeeze'

series of separately balloted strikes, the union is also demanding pay increases, action on gender and race pay gaps, and an end to the precarious, short-term and zero-hours contracts endemic in the sector.

UCU estimates that its workers have experienced an average 25.5 per cent real terms pay cut over the past 13 years, while almost 90,000 academic and academic-related staff are employed on insecure contracts. In response, the Universities and Colleges Employers Association says over half of academic staff had received a pay increase of between 1.5 per cent and 4.5 per cent this year, and that the sector was reducing its reliance on fixed-term contracts.

When the pandemic hit in March 2020, union members scaled back industrial action. But during a strenuous two years in which staff on part-time contracts worked overtime to move teaching online and support students, while struggling to do the research demanded for career progression in the unforgiving world of academia, the grievances became even more acute.

"The experience of the pandemic has alienated staff even further," Eastwood says. "People were working really hard to keep the show on the road and not getting any consideration back. There was a real sense of disrespect, that our goodwill was not being reciprocated."

Universities, Eastwood adds, require this "goodwill" in the form of additional hours spent marking, supporting students or organising events, for their day-to-day running — work that is "critical to the functioning of the university," he says.

Academics say their goodwill and willingness to provide free labour has run out. Further action could include a marking boycott.

The decision to escalate action is in part in response to the approval, last week, of the pension cuts that prompted this wave of strikes. But it is also prompted by outrage at some universities threatening to withhold pay from striking staff for months beyond the action, in what the UCU said amounts to a "lockout".

As well as withholding pay for strike days, several universities including QMUL and City this month said they could deduct 100 per cent of pay from striking staff who did not reschedule lectures cancelled during the strike. The full pay withdrawal could be imposed for a period of "working to contract" or action short of a strike, scheduled until at least May.

Several other universities threatened to deduct pay in part.

UCEA, which advised universities to make the threat, said they were not only "legally entitled" but "compelled" to do so due to a "duty to students".

The union, however, regards rescheduling activities from strike days as undermining strike action and have refused.

"Rescheduling makes the whole strike powerless," says Grietje Baars, a UCU member and legal scholar at City. "We see this as a strikebreaking tactic that we think might have national repercussions, not just within the higher education sector but more broadly."

City said it would "reserve the right" to deduct 100 per cent of pay. "We respect the right of members of our recognised trade unions to take industrial action, but we will continue to do all that we can within the law to mitigate the impact that action has on our students' education," it said.

QMUL said it would "reasonably request" that staff carry out contractual duties.

The challenges to unions' power

Union members fear universities' actions could set a precedent for more punishing responses from employers. "They're underhand tactics, designed to stop a return to a time when staff could take industrial action to defend their conditions," Eastwood said.

Unpredictable employer responses present a challenge for the UK's biggest unions. New leaders have pledged to prioritise members' interests in workplaces rather than becoming embroiled in party politics, but the hurdles to industrial action have become higher since 2016, when the Conservative

government passed controversial legislation that tightened the rules on balloting, with a view to reducing disruption to public services.

Unions' power is also limited by the long-term decline in their membership and their weak presence in many parts of the service sector where low-paid workers are concentrated.

Sharon Graham, the general secretary of the union Unite, ran for office with a promise of practical action to fight job cuts and defend pay. She also set out a detailed manifesto on how she planned to achieve this, including by authorising industrial action ballots whenever cuts to pay or conditions were imposed, and targeting large employers whose standards set the norm for their sector.

Melanie Simms, professor of work and employment at the University of Glasgow, said this new focus on "bread and butter, practical improvements" was a distinct change of tone from the party political focus and backroom deals of the past, but would take time to filter through — while cautioning that unions' influence was weak in many parts of the UK economy. "If you happen to be a binman in Brighton, you're doing all right," she said, referring to a pay rise won by the city's refuse workers after strikes in October. But workers in other low-paid sectors, such

'Across the economy, we are seeing relatively small pockets of quite significant industrial action'

as retail and hospitality could be in a very different position, she said, because "the sectors that have labour shortages are not the ones with union representation".

OECD data shows just 26 per cent of UK employees were covered by collective bargaining agreements in 2017 — ahead of the US, where collective bargaining coverage was just 11.6 per cent but well behind the levels seen in major EU economies and the OECD average of about 32 per cent.

Kevin Rowan, head of organising at the Trades Union Congress, gave a similar warning about the limits of unions' power. "Across the economy, we are seeing relatively small pockets of quite significant industrial action," he said.

Because balloting thresholds made it difficult to organise national strikes in the public sector, this would not necessarily lead to a "big wave of industrial action", he said. But he added: "The government should not assume public service workers are happy with their pay or workload issues."

For many workers, industrial action is the only recourse they have left. Jackie, a rail sector cleaner, joined strike action in Westminster last week to demand higher hourly wages and better sick pay from the outsourcing company Churchill. "I have to work 84 hours a week to bring enough money in," she said.

Despite 14 years of service, she said, she had received only 80 per cent of her usual pay when she was forced to take three months off work after catching Covid — she believes, from a passenger who sneezed in her face while she was cleaning a train.

Now, she said, she found herself scouring supermarkets late at night for discounted food to make ends meet.

"A lot of cleaners are single people with children," she said. "You shouldn't have to do that."



A strike over pension reforms shut the London Underground yesterday



A lecturer takes part in industrial action in London last week

Charlie Bibby/FT

Opinion

The incoherence at the heart of anti-westernism



AMERICA
Janan Ganesh

An oligarch-free London and Côte d'Azur, a more militarised Germany, a Finnish public with eyes for Nato: these are the novelties that have been set in motion over the past week. The ethical rigour of Fifa, which has barred Russia from a World Cup four years after it hosted one, nearly tops the list of surprises.

But not quite. For real exotica, consider the spectacle of a united Washington. No world event since the attacks of September 11 has rallied the west's most divided capital more than the invasion

of Ukraine. Where President Joe Biden is attacked by Republicans, it is for not sanctioning Russia early or harshly enough. Marco Rubio and Lindsey Graham are among the GOP senators who have pushed the tough, if pun-marred, Never Yielding Europe's Territory Act ("Nyet"). There are takers of the Kremlin line in the wider conservative movement, no doubt, but few where it matters — on Capitol Hill.

A DC-to-Berlin show of unity and resolve is not the same thing as ultimate victory. There is no guarantee it will even last. But it does expose the central glitch in so much anti-western thought.

In the telling of its most devoted enemies, the west is an all-powerful oppressor, and a decadent pushover. It foists its values on other parts of the world with violent certitude, and fails to stand up for its way of life due to a fog of post-Christian self-doubt. It is a monolith — the west — and a paper tiger that will

come apart at the folds any minute now. It is arrogantly universalist and cringing in its relativism. It is Napoleon crossing the Alps and it is Jane Fonda in Hanoi.

Both sets of prejudices can't be true at the same time. In reality, each is a hopeless exaggeration. But of the two, the more flattering account — the west as domineering — is the one that is being

main follies of the west since the second world war — Suez, Vietnam, Iraq — were examples of too much zeal, not too much timidity.

The west "contained" the Soviet Union so tenaciously as to alarm the author of that policy, George Kennan. It then took Nato, wisely or not, to the borders of Russia. The surprise of the past week's sanctions and condemnations, then, is that anyone is surprised. Democratic societies can be slow to stir but, if they lacked the capacity for concerted and lasting action, they wouldn't have built up the ascendancy against which Russia and other revisionist powers now chafe.

Not that this misapprehension is new. In 2004's *Occidentalism*, one of those rare works of nonfiction that should be longer, Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit trace the history of the idea that a westerner is a "timid, soft bourgeois". It was there in Imperial Japan and in

al-Qaeda. It simmers away on the wilder edges of American and French conservatism. It is an argument that would almost be worth entertaining if it wasn't so often paired with its exact inverse: a gripe that the west rides roughshod over the interests of non-liberal powers.

The incoherence here is of more than academic consequence. It is what leads enemies of the west to test its mettle so recklessly. Saddam Hussein didn't think the US would make a fuss over its invasion of Kuwait in 1990. To demonise an enemy is one thing. To underrate it at the same time almost guarantees a miscalculation at some point. Prussia, perhaps the most Occidental power that has ever existed inside the west, used to doubt the fibre of Britain (too commercial a culture) and France (too bloodlessly rational). Two of those three states still exist. But the winning process made killing fields of Europe.

The west can't do much to stop its

rivals reading it wrong. But it can choose not to encourage them. Too often, its own public discourse goes along with the trope that democracies lack some ineffable fortitude. As well as being wrong on (most of) the facts, this is succour for the other side. Biden left Afghanistan in chaos last August, and deserved criticism for it. But a hysterical political class spoke of the US as a dilettante that had only given that ill-starred country a brief go, not 20 years and hundreds of billions of dollars.

The latest version of this self-blame is the idea that Ukraine would have been safe had Donald Trump still occupied the White House. It is a notion both perverse (he was impeached, in part, for not making free with armed support for Ukraine) and weirdly messianic. The west's enemies need no help in misunderstanding it.

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Putin's war against liberal democracy

Martin Wolf Economics

A conflict of choice on the children of a peaceful country is not an action we can allow ourselves to forget



Nobody knows how this will end. But we do know how it began. Vladimir Putin has mounted an unprovoked assault on an innocent country. He has committed the worst act of aggression on European soil since 1945 and has justified this vile act with outrageous lies. He has also, for the moment, united the west against him. Putin is not the first tyrant to confuse a wish for peace with cowardice. He has instead roused the anger of western peoples. The result is a range of sanctions on Russia as impressive as it is justified.

Putin may be the most dangerous man who has ever lived. He is dedicated to restoring Russia's lost empire, indifferent to the fate of his own people and, above all, master of a vast nuclear force. Yet resistance, however risky, is imperative. Some will insist that Putin's actions are the west's fault and above all the result of its decision to extend Nato. The reverse is the case. Putin has reminded us why the countries that knew Russian rule best were desperate for Nato's expansion. He has also demonstrated why it was necessary. Europe needed a defended border between Russia and its former possessions. Ukraine's tragedy is to be on the wrong side of that line. It did not pose a threat to Russia, other than by wanting to be free; Russia posed a threat to it.

Sanctions are often ineffective. Those imposed this time will not be. The US imposed sanctions on the secondary market in sovereign debt on February

22. Germany suspended the certification of the controversial Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline on the same day. On February 24, the US, EU and other members of the G7 limited Russia's ability to transact in foreign currencies. And two days later, a number of Russian banks were removed from the Swift payments network, a freeze was imposed on the Bank of Russia's assets and transactions with the central bank were prohibited.

A thorough analysis by the Institute for International Finance sums all this up: "We expect sanctions imposed in recent days to have a dramatic effect on Russia's financial system as well as the country as a whole." A big share of the country's \$630bn in liquid reserves will be rendered useless. The central bank has already had to double interest rates. There are runs on banks. With the exception of energy, the economy will be substantially isolated. (See charts.)

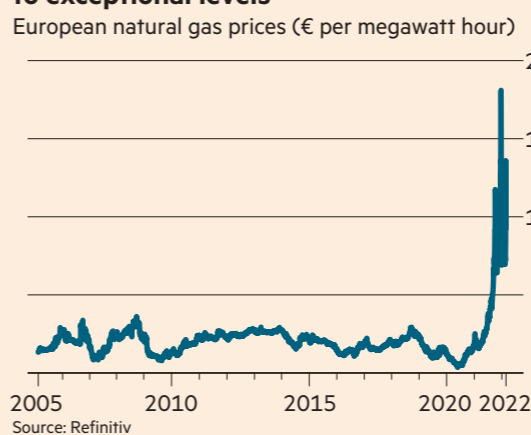
The pain will not all fall on Russia. Costs of oil and gas will be high for longer, exacerbating global inflationary pressure. Food prices will also rise. Should Russia cut off its energy exports (at great cost to itself), the disruption would be even more severe. Russian natural gas generates 9 per cent of gross available energy in the eurozone and the EU as a whole. But winter, the season of greatest need, is at least passing.

Beyond these relatively specific effects, the combination of war, nuclear threats and economic sanctions hugely increases uncertainty. Central banks will find deciding how to tighten mone-

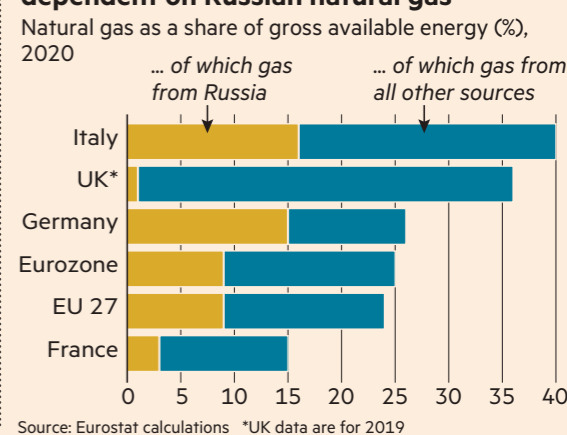
The rouble has plummeted against the dollar



Prices of natural gas have soared to exceptional levels



Germany and Italy are particularly dependent on Russian natural gas



tary policy even more difficult. The same will be true for governments trying to cushion the blow of energy shocks.

In the long term, the economic effects will follow geopolitics. If the outcome is a deep and prolonged division between the west and a bloc centred on China and Russia, economic divisions will follow. Everybody would try to reduce their dependence on contentious and unreliable partners. Politics trumps economics in such a world. At a global level, the economy would be reconfigured. But

As master of a vast nuclear force, Russia's president may be the most dangerous man who has ever lived

in times of war, politics always trumps economics. We do not yet know how.

Europe will surely change most. A huge step has been taken by Germany, with its recognition that its post-cold war stance is now untenable. It has to become the heart of a powerful European security structure able to protect itself against a revanchist Russia. This must include a huge effort to reduce energy dependency. Tragically, Europe needs to recognise that the US will not be a reliable ally so long as Donald Trump, who views Putin as a "genius", commands the Republican party. Britain, for its part, has to recognise that it will always be a European power. It must commit itself more deeply to the defence of the continent, above all of its eastern European allies. All this will need resolve and cost money.

In this new world, the position of China will be a central concern. Its leadership needs to understand that supporting Russia is now incompatible with friendly relations with western countries. On the contrary, the latter will have to make strategic security an overriding imperative of their economic policy. If China decides to rely on a new axis of irredentist authoritarians against the west, global economic division must follow. Businesses have to take note of this.

A war of choice on the children of a peaceful democracy is not an action we in the west can allow ourselves to forget. Nor can we forgive those who started it or those who support it. The memories of our own past must forbid it. We are in a new ideological conflict, not one between communists and capitalists, but one between irredentist tyranny

and liberal democracy. In many ways, this will be more dangerous than the cold war. Putin holds unchecked and arbitrary power. So long as he is in the Kremlin, the world will be perilous. It is not clear whether the same is true of China's Xi Jinping. But we may yet learn that it is.

This is not a conflict with the Russian people. We should still hope for them a political regime worthy of their contribution to our civilisation. It is a conflict with their regime. Russia has emerged as a pariah ruled by a gangster. We cannot live in peace and security with such a neighbour. This invasion must not stand, since its success would threaten us all. We are in a new world. We must understand that and act accordingly.

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Germany's foreign policy shift is about more than Ukraine

Daniela Schwarzer

The German Bundestag last Sunday convened for an extraordinary session to discuss Vladimir Putin's war on Ukraine. It turned out to be a historic occasion: Chancellor Olaf Scholz announced a seismic shift in Germany's foreign, defence and security policy.

From the first moment, the atmosphere was unusual — a combination of solidarity and an urge to act in the face of senseless aggression. There was a standing ovation for the Ukrainian ambassador, Andriy Melnyk, who had previously attracted significant push back after publicly pressuring the

German government to deliver arms to his country.

The turn that Scholz announced was about far more than Ukraine. With a war on the EU's doorstep, the chancellor promised German leadership to fight for democracy and freedom on the European continent.

There was one big difference to his predecessor Angela Merkel's speech at the 2019 Munich security conference which earned her the title "leader of the free world": Scholz's claims were credible as he detailed concrete steps and put his money where his mouth is.

Germany will press ahead to meet Nato's target of defence spending of 2 per cent of gross domestic product and will create a €100bn fund for defence investments. He pledged to modernise the poorly equipped military to prepare it for the conflicts of the future, committed to nuclear sharing, reiterated the need to purchase armed drones and

promised investment in resilience.

This budget increase will make Germany the biggest defence spender in Europe and a far more interesting partner to the US. As France re-engages with Nato and Germany commits further

Unlike Merkel's claims, Scholz's were credible as he put his money where his mouth is

resources to EU defence co-operation, there is a real opportunity to strengthen the European pillar in the transatlantic defence architecture.

At a stroke, Scholz settled issues that are complicated for pacifists in his own Social Democratic party and the Greens. It may prove difficult to keep the coalition together when the going gets

tougher, although all three parties have moved over the past few months. The chancellor has merely capitalised on this momentum.

The SPD had to revise its attitude towards Russia and the story it has told about the benefits of interdependence. When the war in Ukraine is over, Russia is unlikely to return to being Germany's principal energy supplier.

In the wake of Russian aggression against a peaceful and independent Ukraine, the Greens have had to revise their attitude to hard power, defence spending and German support for military action in its neighbourhood. And the liberal FDP had to accept that the country needs to take on additional debt for matters of national security.

That includes further investment in energy infrastructure. Scholz, finally, laid out how Germany will diversify its energy sources. Since 2014, when Russia annexed Crimea, energy security has

been acknowledged to be the Achilles heel of Europe's approach to an increasingly authoritarian Russia. But instead of betting on new sources, Germany built the controversial Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline (although Scholz has now halted the approval process).

The sanctions regime will impose significant costs on Germany not only over gas, but also in other ways. But for now it is standing firm with other EU member states. It will be essential that the government secures public support for this new approach. And, sadly, the moment has never been better. While Scholz was speaking in the Bundestag, more than 100,000 people gathered in central Berlin to demonstrate their support for Ukraine as Russian attacks were reported in real time.

Germany's policy turn might have come late, but it is hugely significant nonetheless. As Green foreign minister, Annalena Baerbock, rightly said: "The

rules we set for ourselves must not keep us from living up to our responsibilities. When our world is a different one, our policy must be as well."

One rule, however, has not changed: Germany must not allow itself to be isolated. That is why the government changed course in the 48 hours before Scholz's speech — on energy, sanctions, the supplying of arms and solidarity with Ukraine alongside the rest of Europe and the US. It is also why this new engagement is not only about security for Germany. The government will seek to anchor its new foreign and security policy ever more deeply in the EU — better to fight for peace and the future of the continent, and to reassure Germany's partners they have nothing to fear from an economic giant becoming a leader in foreign and security policy, too.

The writer is executive director of the Open Society Foundations in Europe and Eurasia

Lex.

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Ukraine/Russia: sanctions-busting bitcoin

Crypto enthusiasts boast of advancing financial liberty. But digital currencies may now be commandeered by Russia as weapons in the battle to crush the freedom of Ukraine.

Crypto assets could help Russia continue trading with the west even as intensifying sanctions choke off conventional payments channels.

It would hardly be a frictionless switch. Bitcoin, for example, is a volatile transaction medium. The stock of cryptos is also tiny compared with key currencies such as the dollar. The entire crypto market has a market cap of \$1.7tn, not much bigger than the Russian banking assets targeted by sanctions, says consultancy Elliptic.

Sanctions busters would need to use non-compliant platforms. Crypto exchanges such as Binance are blocking the accounts of any Russian clients targeted by sanctions, though holding out against Ukrainian requests to freeze all Russian users. Any business that facilitates prohibited transactions can expect severe repercussions. Last September, the US Treasury imposed sanctions on Suex, a virtual currency exchange, for its role in ransomware deals. Last month, the FBI announced it was launching a unit for blockchain analysis and virtual asset seizure.

Law enforcement is helped by gaps in the secrecy around cryptos. Bitcoin users, for example, are linked to a public address. But there are anonymity-enhancing services that can help mask the origin of such deals. Russian cyber-expertise suggests that it is reasonable to expect they are developing ever more sophisticated techniques. Cryptos may play a more tangential role in Russia's struggle with the west than as a replacement for correspondent banking. They provide funding via cyber crime. Criminals in Russia last year stole nearly \$400m of digital assets, says crypto analytics firm Chainalysis.

Cryptos can play a positive role. Witness their use by people fighting for freedom in Ukraine and Myanmar. Yet this role is overshadowed by sanctions-busting potential. The deployment of financial shock-and-awe tactics against Russia will only accelerate those efforts.

Collateral damage is likely. Expect

large-scale abuses to put the brakes on crypto assets' uptake by financial institutions.

Cryptos began moving into the mainstream last year. That advance is about to stall.

Toyota/cyber warfare: lamed manufacturing

A cyber attack on a supplier shut down operations at all Toyota's plants in Japan yesterday. Officials fear the hack was a reprisal against Japan for imposing tough sanctions on Russia.

The stoppage will deepen doubts over the carmaker's just-in-time system at a time when cyber warfare is seen as a growing threat. Tech security experts have predicted widespread Russian hacking, though this has not materialised so far.

Toyota halted production at all 14 sites in Japan, which account for about a third of its global output. Kojima, a plastic-parts supplier to Toyota, was hit by a system failure that prevented it from shipping parts, accompanied by a demand for payment. A one-day suspension affects the production of about 13,000 cars. The impact from disruption at a lowly component group shows how vulnerable Toyota's lean manufacturing philosophy has made it. It is tightly integrated with more than 400 suppliers, allowing it to run on as little inventory as possible.

Wafer-thin inventories have already amplified supply-chain disruption. The company cut output forecasts three times last year. Shares are down 12 per cent from a January high.

Japanese business is lagging behind peers in cyber security. System failures at Mizuho Bank this month disrupted ATMs. It was the bank's 11th such incident since last year despite a \$3.6bn systems overhaul. Government agencies and game companies have also suffered attacks. A Mizuho-commissioned analysis blamed a culture where staff were reluctant to voice criticisms and struggled to respond to crises. Almost two-thirds of financial groups claimed a lack of sufficient cyber defence personnel, according to a Bank of Japan survey.

The volume of cyber attacks globally more than doubled last year. Cyber crime is estimated to cost \$6tn a year. The Ukraine war increases the threat.

Sanctions: compliance challenges

Investors, bankers and professional advisers are scrambling to keep up with proliferating western sanctions on Russian banks, companies and oligarchs. The most significant of these are freezes on the overseas assets of Russia's central bank. Several other banks now face expulsion from the Swift payments system.

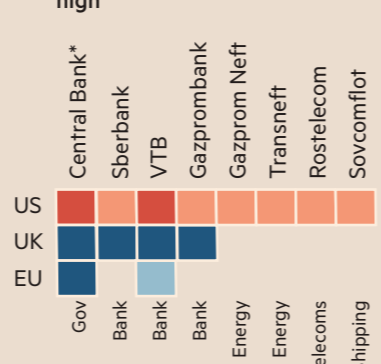
US sanction type

- Asset freezes via Designated Nationals and Blocked Persons
- Payment and capital market restrictions

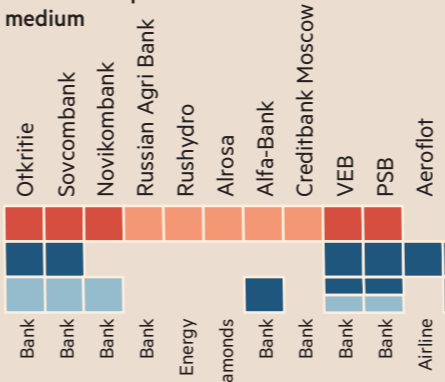
UK/EU sanction type

- Frozen assets, blocked payments and restricted access to capital markets
- Swift ban

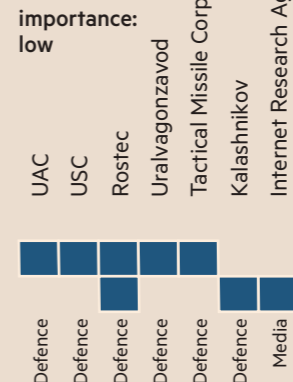
Economic importance: high



Economic importance: medium



Economic importance: low



FT graphic. *National Wealth Fund / Ministry of Finance. Note: Entities selected and ranked by Lex according to their economic significance and/or level of connection to west. Sanctions ranked by severity according to assessment by Lex. Sources: US and UK governments, European Commission, FT research

Sanctions against Russian groups and individuals have unleashed frenzied activity in compliance departments of asset managers and banks.

Complex ownership structures too often defeat Know Your Client checks. Investors holding listed securities have more clarity, even as sanctions become the complex matrix illustrated by the graphic accompanying this article. But they cannot dump many assets when Russian markets are closed.

Meanwhile politicians and savers are putting pressure on pension funds. A group of California senators is urging state agencies, including Calpers and Calstrs, to divest all their Russian assets immediately. That ban would hit securities previously worth

more than \$1bn. The UK's Universities Superannuation Scheme still has about 0.5 per cent of its £90bn portfolio connected to Russia, despite halving equity investments recently. Asset managers such as Abrdn and Man Group have also been dumping stock.

Disinvestment is especially awkward for passive funds. But exposure is modest, luckily. Russia accounts for just over 3 per cent of emerging market benchmarks run by MSCI and FTSE Russell, and about 30-40 basis points of MSCI's All Country World index.

Russia may be carved out of benchmarks at zero value. Funds are unlikely to salvage much more than this. Even if the Moscow exchange reopens shortly, smooth disinvestment would need open, liquid marketplaces

for foreign exchange, settlement, clearing and payment. Not to mention counterparties.

Investors clearly underestimated the chances of war and sanctions. The London stock market yesterday said that BlackRock on Friday raised its stake in Polymetal above 10 per cent. That implies a loss of up to £260m in the ensuing rout in UK-listed shares of the Russian miner.

Funds such as USS talk about the "moral" case for disinvestment. That raises awkward questions about the west's skewed priorities.

Many emerging market funds that are dumping Russian stocks remain exposed to China. It is equally repressive. Add fiduciary duty and the trilemma becomes painful.

The consensual culture that made businesses such as Toyota a success may also make them very vulnerable.

Defence stocks: war regains symmetry

Weapons makers are in vogue again. Russia's invasion of Ukraine represents the return of bloody, conventional warfare to Europe. War is once again symmetrical. Some lobbyists are even pushing for western weapons makers to receive ethical investment status.

In its biggest postwar defence pivot, Germany has announced a massive €100bn fund to modernise its military. It also pledged to raise spending to 2 per cent of GDP, up from the 1.5 per

cent it currently spends. Expect other countries to follow suit. Global military spending is entering a secular upswing.

European defence stocks — led by Germany's Rheinmetall — have surged. US companies are set to benefit too.

Shares in Raytheon, maker of the Stinger missile that Germany is sending to Ukraine, have risen 11 per cent since the war began. Lockheed Martin, behind the F-35 fighter jet, is up 15 per cent. Northrop Grumman, which makes attack and surveillance drones, has climbed 16 per cent.

The run up in share prices means Lockheed now trades at 16 times forward earnings, while Northrop and Raytheon are on a multiple of about 18 and 21 times respectively. The three stocks traded on a valuation of about 15 times three years ago.

Defence stocks can push higher still. Many European countries cut military spending after the Cold War in the belief that trade and diplomacy had made war in the region obsolete. Digital technology, AI and cyber security were the new preoccupations.

Russia's invasion of Ukraine signals a recovery in the conventional arms sector. Ethics are fluid. German defence sector lobby group BDSV says the EU should recognise the defence industry as a "legitimate sustainable actor" under ESG taxonomy.

Investment bank Citi is calling for a debate on the "social value" of defence.

It is difficult to see weapons of mass destruction as ethical investments. But that designation would give funds driven out of Russian hydrocarbons somewhere to put their money.

Cheniere/LNG: super cool

"Anybody who wants gas in 2021-22 had better start making deals today," Charif Souki told the Financial Times in 2016. Little did he know that by 2022 a global energy crisis would be brewing.

At the time, Souki was leaving Cheniere Energy after spearheading an expensive bet on exporting liquefied natural gas from the US Gulf Coast. That gambit has paid off spectacularly.

Years ago, Cheniere was spending several billion dollars a year building LNG export terminals with virtually no immediate revenue. Last week, it announced that it expected to hit at least \$7bn in operating profits this year.

It has enough cash flow to begin paying down a \$50bn debt load as well as start a dividend. Among the challenges of making a long bet on the super-chilled fuel was the risk that fossil-fuel consumption would ease quickly, leaving pricey assets stranded. But with Russian gas becoming untouchable, replacement resources look more attractive than ever.

The US, a longtime net importer of natural gas, began LNG exports just five years ago. The US Energy Department predicts that it will soon have the largest peak export capacity of any nation in the world, going from 11.6 billions of cubic feet per day to 16.3 Bcf/d by the end of 2024.

Europe, even before the Ukraine crisis, was worried about how resilient and affordable its gas supply was given that 80 per cent came from abroad. An analysis by consultancy Wood Mackenzie says European benchmark gas futures are trading at about \$30 per million British thermal units. Factoring transport costs, US LNG is priced at roughly \$10 per million BTU.

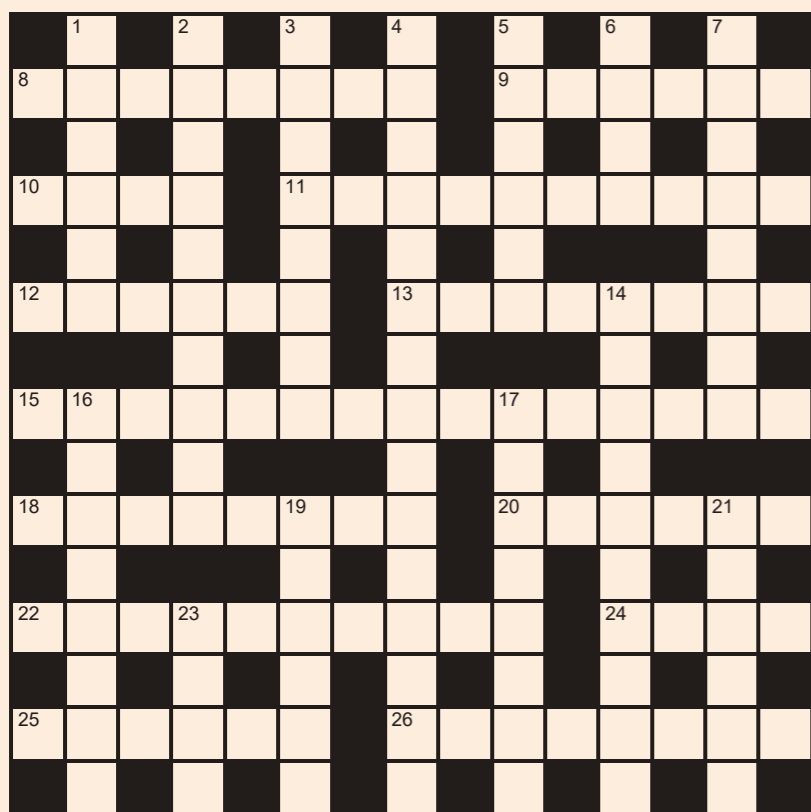
Long-term bets take long to pay off. Cheniere spent a decade and \$30bn of investment to hit an enterprise value of nearly \$70bn. European countries raising LNG import infrastructure are probably years away from capturing the benefits of the US's natural resource boom. But for US investors, politics and profits are nicely aligned.

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ACROSS

- I see you can set back a language (8)
- Empire's last Dark Lord, one effecting escape (6)
- Metal swizzle stick once seen centrally (4)
- Shortage that is stopping cynic getting fed bananas (10)
- Foreign character sick over hot dish (6)
- Traces martens back to Eurasian ground (8)
- The effing stupid allowance concerning future IT? (5-10)
- Cross over to enter function with international food (8)
- Rules charge should follow offence in hearing? (6)
- Too much in rat race, orderly that's fired (10)
- Host owning many branches? (4)
- Renounce exam success at college (4,2)
- Assailant formerly working with yours truly? (8)

DOWN

- Tailless little bird taps shallow drinking vessel (6)
- Reckoned copper has entered name and date incorrectly (10)
- Moving slowly, old man being fed by wife Heather (8)
- Exact definition of "offer" initiated new term for "suggestion" (15)
- Snapper on line getting no space? (6)
- Partly overturned degeneracy charge (4)
- Shakespearean character worked out crime (8)
- News time for some day workers, maybe those who wait on (10)
- Monk supposes said year will be terrible (1,4,3)
- Fish in 50% of dishes after starters of roll and soup (8)
- Hold old trophy in, ultimately, Pyrrhic victory (6)
- Band finally together in East-End group of houses? (6)
- Danger of search lacking force (4)

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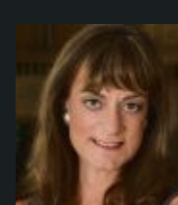
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