

Open planning

Fresh thinking can bring the office back to life — SARAH O'CONNOR, PAGE 15

Making history

Xi unassailable as Communist party marks 100 years — BIG READ, PAGE 13



Meme too moment

Trading's diversity woes not helped by Reddit 'bros' — MARKETS INSIGHT, PAGE 9

Dhaka dash Covid variant sparks exodus

Migrant workers join the exodus from Dhaka, the Bangladesh capital, after authorities ordered a new lockdown to contain the spread of coronavirus amid a rise in infections of the Delta variant that was first identified in India.

The surge is believed to have seeped into Bangladesh through the neighbours' extensive land border. Bangladesh is reporting more than 5,000 cases a day and on Sunday recorded its highest official Covid-19 death toll of 119.

Public health experts warn that neglected health systems across swaths of the country have been overwhelmed. "There is an overflow of people seeking admission... There is huge pressure," said one.

Report page 3



Munir Uz Zaman/AFP via Getty Images

Bundesbank boss tells ECB to cut stimulus amid fears over inflation

Call for reduction of virus-led bond purchases Special concern at rising energy prices

MARTIN ARNOLD — FRANKFURT

The head of Germany's central bank has called for the European Central Bank's pandemic-related bond purchases to be "reduced" and warned that inflationary pressures are mounting in the eurozone.

Jens Weidmann said that there were "upside risks" to inflation, adding that the ECB's stimulus programme to ease the economic impact of the pandemic should end "as soon as the emergency situation has been overcome".

"Inflation is not dead," said Weidmann, one of the more hawkish members of the ECB governing council, comparing inflation to the Galapagos giant tortoise, which was wrongly classed as extinct for 100 years.

Eurozone inflation rose to 2 per cent

in May, the first time that the rate had surpassed the ECB's target in more than two years, although economists expect that data tomorrow will show it dipped slightly in June. While the central bank has predicted that price growth will fade next year, Weidmann stressed the need to "remain vigilant".

"In my estimation, the risks around the price outlook have shifted," he said, warning of "upside risks to price developments being predominant in the euro area". His remarks in a speech yesterday set up a potential clash with other members of the central bank's governing council. Policymakers will meet next month and are widely expected to hold off on announcing a decision until their meeting in September.

In contrast to Weidmann, Fabio

Panetta, an ECB executive board member, said yesterday: "We do not seem to be on track to run the economy hot," adding that "slack in the economy is likely to remain large for some time".

Weidmann flagged energy prices as a particular cause for concern. Inflation would continue to rise if oil prices did not drop back as expected, he warned. "In addition, politicians could take additional climate protection measures and thus increase energy prices," he said.

A German carbon tax helped lift inflation in Europe's largest economy to 2.4 per cent in May, its highest in more than two years. Weidmann said inflation could hit 4 per cent in Germany this year. "Thanks to the vaccination progress, the economy in the euro area is now on the way out of the crisis," the



Jens Weidmann, the head of Germany's central bank, said: 'In my estimation, the risks around the price outlook have shifted'

Bundesbank boss said, with "implications" for the ECB's pandemic emergency purchase programme.

The ECB stepped up the pace of Pepp in March and has just over €700bn of its €1.85tn pot left to spend in a scheme set to last until at least March 2022. Bond-buying will stop when the ECB judges that the coronavirus crisis is over.

Weidmann said that the Pepp should end when all "noteworthy" containment measures had been lifted and the economic recovery was "solid", adding that the eurozone was expected to reach its pre-pandemic level of output by the first quarter of 2022.

"In order not to have to end the Pepp suddenly, however, the net purchases could be reduced step by step in advance," he said.



Researchers turn focus to 'super shot' Covid vaccines

As global Covid-19 jab campaigns race to stay ahead of new mutants, interest is growing in the work of scientists who are trying to ease fears of another pandemic by developing a single shot that protects against all coronaviruses. England's chief medical officer has said that within five years polyvalent jabs, which give this protection, 'will hold the line to a very large degree against even new variants'. But the road to such vaccines is beset by challenges.

Analysis ► PAGE 3

Chinese women add to demographic struggle with fight to work beyond 50

SUN YU — BEIJING

China's female professionals are fighting the world's lowest retirement age, adding to the challenge for Beijing as it grapples with an ageing workforce and youth unemployment.

Court records reveal more than 1,000 cases since 2019 of Chinese women suing employers for making them leave work at 50. In the decade before 2019, there were fewer than 800 such cases.

China's labour rules require women in certain professions to retire earlier than others — professionals can stay on to 55 — but the law is vague in specifying which groups fall under the policy. In the US and UK, retirement ages for men and women are set in the mid-60s.

The surge in retirement disputes comes as China faces a demographic time bomb, with the population ageing

and its birth rate declining. At the same time, the government is striving to meet economic growth targets and find employment for the young.

"It is true that our retirement rules have led to a waste of human capital," said a Beijing government adviser who asked not to be identified. "But the authorities also don't want old people to compete with young ones for jobs that are still in short supply."

China established its retirement system in the early 1950s. The arrangement, said analysts, was then a good match for a country in which people rarely lived past the age of 50 and women had six children on average.

Since then, life expectancy for women has risen to almost 80, and births have plummeted, despite relaxation of family planning policies. China's population grew at its slowest rate in decades in the

10 years to 2020. Those factors, combined with improved education and rising incomes, have prompted more women to concentrate on their careers.

In the eastern province of Jiangsu, Wang Yun, 51, failed this year in an attempt to force her employer, a retailer, to allow her to carry on working as a marketing manager beyond 50. "I have both the strength and willingness to keep my job," said Wang. "Too bad the court wouldn't listen to me."

The country's youth unemployment levels are another obstacle to changing the retirement age. Joblessness for those under 24 is more than 13 per cent, compared with an average of 5 per cent.

"The Chinese economy doesn't allow both the young and the old to be fully employed," said an adviser to the ministry of human resources and social security, which sets retirement policy.

Briefing

► **UK watchdog probes audit of Greensill**
The British accounting regulator has launched a probe into the audit of Greensill, a new front in the investigation of the supply-chain finance group that collapsed in a political and financial scandal. — PAGE 5

► **Traditional parties score wins in France**
Centre-right and leftwing politicians won convincingly in France's regional elections, brushing off an attempt by Marine Le Pen's far-right party to win its first region. — PAGE 2; GIDEON RACHMAN, PAGE 15

► **Blinken defends hits on Mideast groups**
The secretary of state defended air strikes on the sites of two Iran-backed militias on the Syria-Iraq border, the US administration's second such action in four months. — PAGE 4



► **Hitachi looks to US to drive expansion**
Hitachi expects a wave of infrastructure spending and a return of manufacturing under Joe Biden, as the Japanese conglomerate bets on the US market to push its next phase of growth. — PAGE 6

► **Samsung emissions hurt green claims**
The South Korean group's greenhouse gas emissions, which in 2020 rose 5 per cent year on year, and its slow reduction of fossil fuel use is undermining its sustainability claims, say environmentalists. — PAGE 5

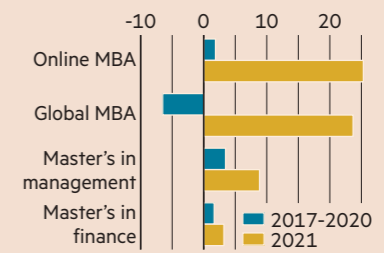
► **Glencore bets big on Colombian mine**
The London-listed miner and commodity trader is buying out its partners in one of the world's biggest open-pit thermal coal mines, the latest deal in a sector being reshaped by fossil fuel issues. — PAGE 8

► **US Fed warns on rising property prices**
A top Fed official has warned that the US cannot afford a "boom and bust cycle" in the housing market that would threaten financial stability, in a sign of concern over rising property prices. — PAGE 4

Datawatch

A surge of interest in MBAs

Annual change in enrolment* (%)



*Based on analysis of data from more than 380 programmes in more than 30 countries. Source: FT Business Education Rankings

Enrolment on MBA courses has risen about 25 per cent in 2021 from the year before. The surge in applications has been put down, in part, to students wanting to sharpen their skills for a tough post-pandemic jobs market.

Subscribe in print and online

www.ft.com/subsusa
Tel: 1 800 628 8088
For the latest news go to
www.ft.com

© THE FINANCIAL TIMES LTD 2021
No: 40,746 ★

Printed in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, Dublin, Frankfurt, Milan, Madrid, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Singapore, Seoul, Dubai

World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				INTEREST RATES					
	Jun 28	prev	%chg	Jun 28		prev		Jun 28		prev		chg	
S&P 500	4281.27	4280.70	0.01	\$ per €	1.193	1.195	€ per \$	0.720	0.719	US Gov 10 yr	146.60	1.47	-0.07
Nasdaq Composite	14459.69	14360.39	0.69	\$ per £	1.389	1.391	£ per €	1.164	1.164	UK Gov 10 yr	0.72	0.72	-0.06
Dow Jones Ind	34264.14	34433.84	-0.49	€ per ¥	0.859	0.859	¥ per €	131.937	132.387	Ger Gov 10 yr	-0.19	-0.04	-0.04
FTSEurofirst 300	1756.92	1767.43	-0.59	¥ per \$	110.625	110.775	£ index	81.884	81.911	Jpn Gov 10 yr	116.94	0.06	0.01
Euro Stoxx 50	4089.05	4120.66	-0.77	¥ per £	153.631	154.133	Sfr per £	1.277	1.275	US Gov 30 yr	110.79	2.09	-0.06
FTSE 100	7072.97	7136.07	-0.88	Sfr per €	1.096	1.095	€ per \$	0.839	0.837	Ger Gov 2 yr	105.79	-0.65	0.00
FTSE All-Share	4035.43	4067.79	-0.80	COMMODITIES									
CAC 40	6558.02	6622.87	-0.98	Jun 28		prev		%chg					
Xetra Dax	15654.18	15607.97	-0.34	Oil WTI \$	73.04	74.05	-1.36						
Nikkei	29048.02	29066.18	-0.06	Oil Brent \$	74.95	76.18	-1.61						
Hang Seng	29268.30	29288.22	-0.07	Gold \$	1786.65	1784.85	0.10						
MSCI World \$	3024.94	3013.36	0.38										
MSCI EM \$	1379.59	1367.39	0.89										
MSCI ACWI \$	721.91	718.68	0.45										

Prices are latest for edition. Data provided by Morningstar

What if used food packaging never became litter?

Go nature. Go carton.

Through collection and recycling of materials, we can all help reduce waste, save resources, and lessen our impact on nature. Yet, only 13.5% of global waste is recycled. What if all used food packaging were collected for recycling and kept out of the environment? Today, Tetra Pak® carton packages are collected and recycled in many places across the world. But we won't stop there. Our aim is to create cartons made solely from renewable or recycled materials, that are fully supported by collection, sorting and recycling infrastructure everywhere. It's all part of our journey to deliver the world's most sustainable food package.

Learn more at gonature.tetrapak.com

Tetra Pak®
PROTECTS WHAT'S GOOD

A Nikkei Company

INTERNATIONAL

Elections

Old parties triumph in French regions

Macron and Le Pen lose out in vote marked by record low turnout

VICTOR MALLET — PARIS

Centre-right and leftwing politicians won convincing victories in the final round of France's regional elections on Sunday, brushing off an attempt by Marine Le Pen's far-right Rassemblement National to win its first region and confirming the weakness of President Emmanuel Macron's governing party La République en Marche.

Xavier Bertrand, the centre-right Les Républicains leader who saw off a predicted far-right challenge to be re-elected in the region of Hauts-de-France, wasted no time in reaffirming his ambition to stand against Macron and Le Pen in next year's presidential elections.

"This result gives me the strength to go and seek the support of all the

French," he said in Saint-Quentin. Recalling his previous regional victory in 2015, he said: "History will relate that twice here in the territory of Hauts-de-France the Front National [the old name for the RN] has been stopped and we have pushed them back."

In an election marked by a record low turnout of an estimated 35 per cent in the second round, French voters re-elected the incumbent regional governments run by centre-right and Socialist politicians whose parties were crushed at the national level by Macron and his party in the 2017 presidential and legislative elections.

"The extremes have retreated a long way in our region because we leave them no space to operate," said Laurent Wauquiez of LR, who was re-elected in Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes in the south-east. Regional governments have limited powers, mainly over transport policy and education, but politicians of the established parties said the results had

given them new hope and undermined the notion that next year's French presidential race would inevitably be a two-way fight between Macron in the centre and Le Pen on the far right.

Macron is expected to try to revive his party — which propelled him into the Elysée Palace four years ago on the back of a slogan that his movement was "neither right nor left" but which never established a strong presence in local politics — and is also likely to announce a government reshuffle in the weeks ahead, according to senior officials.

The Socialists and their allies, most of whom performed poorly against Macron's and Le Pen's parties in the European elections in 2019, will draw comfort from the results of an election that confirmed their hold on regions such as Brittany in the west and Occitanie in the south.

French voters, however, now lean heavily to the right in national elections, and politicians who spoke in their

'The extremes have retreated a long way in our region because we leave them no space to operate'

regions after hearing the initial results repeatedly emphasised their attention to issues such as law and order.

It was LR, a political family that has provided most French presidents in Charles de Gaulle's Fifth Republic, that emerged strongest from the regional election, although to win against Macron and Le Pen it will probably need to unite around a single candidate.

Bertrand, Wauquiez and Valérie Pécresse, re-elected as president of the Ile-de-France region around Paris, all have ambitions to replace Macron.

Marine Le Pen's RN had hoped to win at least the southern region of Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur, but in the end the centre-right candidate Renaud Muselier won by 57 per cent against 43 for the RN's Thierry Mariani. A Green candidate had withdrawn from the second round and threw the weight of his Green-left alliance behind Muselier to keep the extreme right from power.

Gideon Rachman see Opinion

GLOBAL INSIGHT

EUROPE

Martin Sandbu



Berlin's future budget and fiscal policy will ripple across continent

Germany's budget and medium-term spending plan, announced last Wednesday, come at a doubly delicate moment. Both within Germany and at EU level, what post-pandemic fiscal policy should look like is becoming an increasingly pressing question.

Berlin's budget plans send a signal of how Europe's biggest economy will deal with that question, even though they are unlikely to survive this autumn's elections in their current form.

"This is for sure not the final word . . . a new government will want to leave their own mark on the budget for 2022," said Katharina Utermöhl, senior economist for Europe at Allianz. But the budget "highlights the difficulty of switching from a fiscal version of 'whatever it takes' to fiscal business as usual", she added.

Under the plans, which include a 2022 budget and tax and spending outlines for 2023-2025, the emergency suspension of Germany's debt brake — the strict limit on new borrowing inscribed in the constitution — continues into next year. "We have to do this to have a sensible fiscal policy," said Philippa Sigl-Glöckner, director of the think-tank DeZernat Zukunft and a former finance ministry official.

The suspension allows the government to borrow about €100bn next year. But in 2023, the deficit is projected to fall to less than €10bn to respect the debt brake. This would happen just when "growth projections tail off and unemployment remains higher than before the pandemic", warned Sigl-Glöckner.

The planned tightening may not be quite as drastic as the headline numbers suggest. The debt brake rule does not count borrowing that is classified as drawing down a notional "reserve" of previously budgeted but unspent money. Berlin's plans to spread such reserve drawdowns over the next few years means the real macroeconomic consolidation is correspondingly softer.

Yet despite this, the rule's central place in policy planning and rhetoric meant that with concern over debt overshadowing how to invest in the carbon transition, "you don't focus on what's important", said Sigl-Glöckner.

And things would be "painful" from 2023 on, warned Utermöhl, the country's delay to budget consolidation kicks in then, and gets much more demanding from 2026.

What does this mean for the eurozone? According to Utermöhl, the country's delay to budget consolidation "helps in the short term by keeping a lid on fiscal divergence" between states such as Italy, which may go on a "fiscal splurge", and Germany, which could "set the tone for eurozone fiscal policy" if it started to normalise.

She also points out implications for monetary policy. Apart from emergency pandemic debt purchases, the European Central Bank has bound itself to hold only a limited share of each country's debt. A sharp fall in German debt issuance "could see the European Central Bank run into debt limits" in its regular asset purchase programme.

Sigl-Glöckner is also concerned about the signal Germany's direction sends about the looming debate over the EU's fiscal rules that limit deficit spending by member states — which are also suspended through next year. "If Germany is telling you that by 2023 it's 'back to the rules', you'd better start consolidating," she said.

The risk, however, was for a "hard landing" in 2023, said Utermöhl, both "for fiscal policy . . . and for the [tax and spending] promises that will have been made" in the election campaign.

Despite all these warnings, Germany's policymakers have boxed themselves in by the politics of rules. "Most political actors still think you don't win an election when you openly criticise the debt brake," Sigl-Glöckner said.

But whether the election defies Germany's conventional wisdom or solidifies it, the consequences will matter well beyond its borders.

martin.sandbu@ft.com

Vatican visit Blinken meets Pope Francis

Antony Blinken, US secretary of state, pictured left, is given a tour of the Sistine Chapel at the Vatican's Apostolic Palace yesterday before a meeting with Pope Francis.

The meeting came in the wake of a decision by US Catholic bishops that could lead them to deny communion to President Joe Biden.

But it was not clear if the topic came up as Blinken became the highest-ranking US administration official to visit since Biden's inauguration in January.

The state department described the meeting as "extremely warm and very wide ranging".

It said Blinken and the Pope discussed China, as well as refugees, climate change, Lebanon, Syria and Ethiopia. Reuters, Vatican City



Grzegorz Galazka/Mondadori Portfolio/Zuma/DPA

Scandinavia

Sweden prime minister resigns but warns against snap poll

RICHARD MILNE
NORDIC AND BALTIC CORRESPONDENT

Sweden's centre-left government resigned yesterday but prime minister Stefan Lofven declined to call snap elections, saying he would try to form a new coalition to break a parliamentary gridlock caused by the rise of a nationalist party.

"With one year left until regular elections, and with regards to the extraordinary situation that the country finds itself in with the ongoing pandemic with the special challenges that would involve, snap elections are not what is best for Sweden," Lofven told a press conference yesterday.

He said the decision to resign had been "the toughest" he had ever had to take.

The prime minister's resignation means that the speaker of Sweden's parliament now has four attempts to try to find a new government. Sweden's traditional left-right politics have been shaken by the emergence of the nationalist Sweden Democrats, who first entered parliament in 2010 and now are the third-largest party.

Political experts say it is far from certain that a new government can be formed. Lofven took four months in 2018 to form a minority coalition between his Social Democrats and the Greens, which was supported in parliament by two centre-right parties, Centre and the Liberals, as well as the ex-communist Left party.

The current political crisis was sparked by the Left party joining forces

'With the pandemic, with the special challenges that would involve, snap elections are not what is best for Sweden'

with the Sweden Democrats and other opposition groups, leading to the first successful no-confidence vote against a sitting Swedish prime minister.

The Centre party has said it is willing to negotiate with Lofven but not with the Left or Sweden Democrats. Centre has dropped its demand for reform of rent controls, the issue that led to Left voting against the government.

But the main centre-right opposition party, the Moderates, could struggle to form a coalition as even with the support of the Sweden Democrats and the Liberals it is unlikely to gain a majority.

"Now the speaker of the parliament has to sound out alternative options, but there is no obvious way forward to a new government," former centre-right prime minister Carl Bildt wrote on Twitter.

One possibility, used before in neighbouring Finland as well as Germany and Iceland, would be a grand coalition between the Social Democrats and centre-right parties.

Lofven told the Financial Times yesterday: "I have not excluded that. If the country enters a situation that requires it, then yes I'm open. But I can't see it right now."

He said snap elections would take four months to organise and even then there was no guarantee they would give a clearer parliamentary picture. Given that two possible scenarios from health authorities are for an increase in Covid cases from August, Lofven said that it would be better to try to form a coalition from the current parliament first rather than "handing it over" to voters.

England's one-sided football rivalry with Germany loses its bite

Simon Kuper



Don't be fooled by the chants of "Two world wars and one World Cup, doo-dah!", or by English fans stretching out their arms in imitation of Royal Air Force bomber planes.

The truth is that England's one-sided football rivalry with Germany has lost what teeth it had. For most English fans, the latest instalment, today's second-round Euro 2020 match at Wembley, should be a friendly affair. That's largely because English people now define themselves more against each other than against the Germans.

The rivalry had a 30-year heyday, starting with the England-West Germany World Cup final of 1966. Before then, England's football team had never been central to national identity. Previous British heroes had been soldiers, royals, cricketers or masochists who inflicted pain on themselves for no apparent reason: Captain Scott who

died at the South Pole, Edmund Hillary (a New Zealander) who climbed Everest, or Roger Bannister who ran the four-minute mile.

The 1966 final was the first big football match of the era of near-universal television ownership. Its 32.2m domestic viewers remain the largest audience for any British television programme. Yet England's victory produced little hysteria. Jimmy Greaves, England's unlucky reserve, recalled: "Everybody cheered, a few thousand came out to say well done, and within a week everybody had disappeared."

A population that had lived through one or both world wars understood that football was only a game. But then came the trilogy of great English defeats to Germany: at the World Cups of 1970 and 1990, and finally at Euro 96. The results symbolised an era in which — unfairly, in the view of many

Tough penalty: England's Gareth Southgate after Euro 96 defeat to Germany

Britons — Germany won the peace. Even in this period, though, English hostility had a pantomime element. "Two world wars and one World Cup," is a self-consciously ridiculous chant, at least to most people who chant it. It is meant, above all, to spice up a football match.

What hostility the English felt peaked on July 4 1990. In the World Cup semi-final in Turin, the West Germans lived up to stereotype: charmless, invincible, and mechanically proficient at penalty shoot-outs. German reunification was scheduled three months later. Margaret Thatcher, British prime minister, feared the new country would become an aggressive superpower. West Germany coach Franz Beckenbauer boasted the country would be unbeatable at football.

Neither scenario came true. United Germany became a gentle power, while its football team became fallible. Its neighbours relaxed. English hostility waned, just as Dutch-German and Franco-German football encounters also lost their edge.

By 2010, when Germany beat

England at the World Cup again, the ritual defeat was hardly traumatic at all. British people have learned to love the Germans.

This is particularly true of the UK's liberal left, which reveres Germany's quietly professional leader, its manufacturing exports and its welcome to refugees in 2015. Fifty-eight per cent of Britons have a positive opinion of Germany, and only 10 per cent a negative opinion, report pollsters YouGov.

There's a broader reason for the dimming of passions. After five decades of televised football, international matches have become repetitions of each other.

And for many English fans, the enemy now is within. England's biggest needle match of recent years was the Remain-Leave derby of June 23 2016, in which the underdog Leavers won.

The referendum kicked off a cultural civil war that will continue at Wembley, where English nationalists will boo and English liberals applaud England's players for kneeling in support of Black Lives Matter.

The Germans have gone from bogeymen to guests trapped in the middle of an embarrassing domestic dispute.

MAKE A SMART INVESTMENT
Subscribe to the FT today at [FT.com/subscription](https://www.ft.com/subscription)



FINANCIAL TIMES
330 Hudson Street,
New York, NY 10013

Subscriptions and Customer Service
Tel: +1 800 628 8088
uscirculation@ft.com, www.ft.com/subsusa

Advertising
Tel: +1 917 551 5040
usads@ft.com

Letters to the editor
letters.editor@ft.com

Executive appointments
www.exec-appointments.com

Printed by
Blue Island Newspaper Printing, Harvey, IL
Evergreen Printing Company, Bellmawr, NJ
Bay Area Production Services, Fremont, CA

Published daily except Sundays, New Year's Day,

Good Friday, Independence Day, Thanksgiving, the day after Thanksgiving, Christmas Day and the day after Christmas Day.

US subscription rates, 1 year \$406. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY and at additional mailing offices. Post-Master. Send address changes to FT, Publications Inc., PO Box 469, Newburgh, NY 12551; USPS number, 190640; ISSN# 0884-6782.

© Copyright The Financial Times Limited 2021. All rights reserved. Reproduction of the contents of this newspaper in any manner is not permitted without the publisher's prior consent. "Financial Times" and "FT" are registered trade marks of The Financial Times Limited. The Financial Times and its journalism are subject to a self-regulation regime under the FT Editorial Code of Practice: www.ft.com/editorialcode

Reprints are available of any FT article with your company logo or contact details inserted if required (minimum order 100 copies). One-off copyright licences for reproduction of FT articles are also available.

For both services phone +44 20 7873 4816, or alternatively, email syndication@ft.com

INTERNATIONAL

Scientists search for super shot to see off variants past, present and future

While vaccine drive continues worldwide, researchers turn attention to preventing next pandemic

SARAH NEVILLE — LONDON

As global vaccination campaigns race to stay ahead of Covid-19 variants, pioneering scientists have set out to ease fears of another pandemic by developing a single shot to protect against coronaviruses past, present and future.

Melanie Saville, director of vaccine research and development at the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations, is among those leading the charge, having called for the creation of a vaccine that would be broadly protective against all betacoronaviruses and potentially any strain “that might hop from animals to humans in the future”. “The strategy moving forward is around two key questions,” she said. “What do we need to do to end this pandemic and then what do we need to do to prevent the next pandemic?”

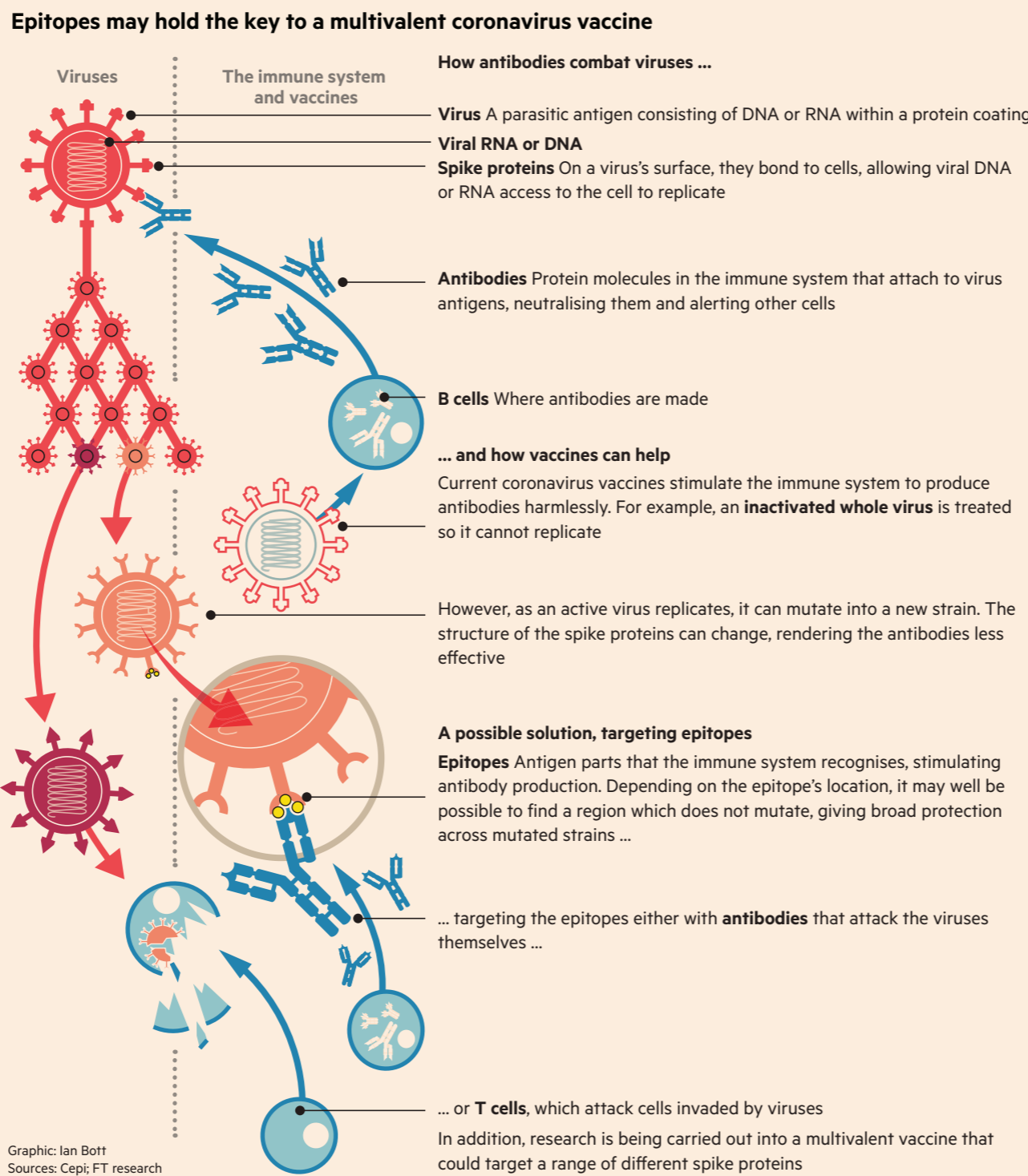
Sars-Cov-2, which has killed almost 4m people in the past 18 months, is at least the third so-called betacoronavirus that has spread among humans in the past 20 years. The family of viruses, common in bats and rodents, includes Sars-CoV-1, which killed more than 700 people in 2003, mainly in China and Hong Kong, and Mers-CoV, which was first identified in Saudi Arabia and has caused more than 850 deaths since 2012. Given that Covid-19 is unlikely to be the last coronavirus to infect humans, the development of a jab capable of protecting against all such diseases has become a focus for some scientists. And as Covid-19 has continued to mutate faster than originally expected — most recently with the rapid spread of the Delta variant, first identified in India — interest in their work has increased.

Within five years, “polyvalent vaccines” that protect against varieties of coronaviruses “will hold the line to a very large degree against even new variants”, Professor Chris Whitty, England’s chief medical officer, told UK health-care staff this month.

But the road to a so-called polyvalent or multivalent vaccine is fraught with challenges. Researchers have spent decades unsuccessfully seeking a vaccine for HIV — a disease that frequently throws up new strains — and the flu jab still needs to be updated annually.

Current Covid-19 vaccines, many of which have proved highly effective against the original Sars-Cov-2 strain and its subsequent variants, have focused on generating antibodies to neutralise the spike protein the virus uses to enter human cells. The difficulty with that approach, Saville explained, can be that “the virus evolves to evade that immune response so . . . you need to constantly update your vaccine”.

Multivalent vaccines, in contrast, often target pieces of protein in the virus that stimulate the immune system, known as epitopes, and specifically attack those epitopes in parts of the virus that do not mutate, even under “evolutionary pressure”, according to Saville. Many such shots also seek to stimulate the production — in addition



to antibodies — of T-cells, which, it has gradually emerged, are a crucial part of the immune response to Covid-19.

Paul Higham, chief executive of Valo Therapeutics, said that by targeting epitopes with “very, very low” mutation rates, its multivalent vaccine had been able to generate a T-cell response that

could work for Covid-19, Sars, Mers and “future coronaviruses”. Higham hoped the Helsinki and Oxford-based company would have the vaccine ready for clinical trials by the end of the year, adding that it could be available for public use “by sometime in 2022”.

But developing vaccines capable of fighting multiple pathogens is hard. “The further apart the viruses are in terms of their composition, in terms of their sequence, the harder it is to find antibodies that will act against [them],” said Dennis Burton, at the Scripps Research Institute in California, who has spent years chasing an HIV vaccine. “For example, Sars-1 and Sars-2 are quite similar and we find lots of antibodies that will act against both viruses.” But to expand a shot to also target Mers, let alone future, more diverse coronaviruses, was far more difficult, he said.

Saville believes that finding the epitopes able to give protection against diverse coronaviruses will require the

Jabbing on: the Pfizer vaccine is administered in north London. Covid-19 is unlikely to be the last coronavirus to infect humans

Daniel Leal-Olivas/AFP/Getty



use of artificial intelligence — something increasingly deployed in drug discovery to accelerate research and development.

John Lewis, chief executive at Entos Pharmaceuticals, said his company had taken “a machine learning approach” for its multivalent vaccine. It partnered with a specialist AI company with software that allowed it to identify “34 different epitopes from different coronavirus proteins” that would produce the most potent human T-cell response.

Entos, based in Edmonton, Canada, hopes to begin human trials within the next two months.

OSE Immunotherapeutics, a French biotech company, has used an AI algorithm that it previously deployed in developing a cancer vaccine. The technology allowed it to identify 12 epitopes targeting 11 proteins, most of them within the virus, rather than on its surface. “As they’re within the virus they do not mutate or they mutate very little,” said Alexis Peyroles, chief executive, adding that the same kind of proteins could be found in both Sars-1 and Mers.

Phase 1 human trials have begun, with results expected in September. OSE is already “loosely planning” phase 2, helped by financial support from BPI France, the French innovation bank, and a possible phase 3 trial in 2022.

Peyroles said the vaccine might be particularly effective for people with suppressed immune systems who did not produce protective antibodies in response to the current vaccines. But its wider use would be as a pan-coronavirus booster for everyone, easily adapted to take account of new forms of the disease as they emerged. “You would have a base that would remain and then add or remove new epitopes based on the new coronavirus,” he said.

VBI Vaccines, based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, has taken a different approach. Like the current crop of Covid-19 vaccines, VBI’s jab targets the spike protein but has been able to generate a broader immune response.

“When we immunised animals we made antibodies that could protect against Covid-19, Sars and Mers — that’s like making antibodies that can see red, yellow and blue,” said David Anderson, chief scientific officer.

“But the immune system is very flexible and you can teach it to see something that’s a little bit between the red and the yellow, or the yellow and the blue, spike proteins. So now they’re seeing a shade of orange or green, which shows that you’ve essentially broadened the immune response. The idea is that these antibodies may now go after variants that will continue to mutate and emerge over time.”

Jeff Baxter, VBI’s chief executive, said it could be with the regulators for consideration in 12 to 14 months. “Science doesn’t always go as you expect, and it constantly evolves as we learn more,” he said. “But it’s very exciting to think that maybe in two years’ time everyone could be getting a booster of a multivalent pan-coronavirus vaccine.”

Delta strain

Bangladeshi migrant workers flee Dhaka before lockdown

BENJAMIN PARKIN — NEW DELHI

Thousands of migrant workers are fleeing Dhaka, Bangladesh’s capital, to escape an imminent lockdown and a surge in Covid-19 cases linked to the Delta variant, which is threatening to overwhelm health systems.

Authorities imposed curbs, including a ban on public transport yesterday, ahead of a “complete” nationwide lockdown for seven days from Thursday that will bar all but essential activity. Security forces will be deployed to enforce the rules.

A wave of infections fuelled by the Delta variant has wreaked havoc in south Asia since it erupted in India in April. The latest surge is believed to have seeped into Bangladesh through the neighbours’ extensive land border.

Bangladesh is reporting more than 5,000 cases a day and on Sunday recorded its highest official Covid-19 death toll of 119. The national test positivity rate is 22 per cent, according to the Dhaka Tribune.

But experts question the official figures, which they say fail to capture the full extent of the surge. Public health experts warn that neglected health systems across swaths of the country have already been overwhelmed.

“Not all district hospitals have ICUs [intensive care units],” said Mushtaque Chowdhury, convener of civil society group Bangladesh Health Watch and a public health professor at Columbia University, forcing sick patients to travel long distances for treatment. “There is an overflow of people seeking admission . . . There is huge pressure.”

While Bangladesh had introduced other lockdowns, Chowdhury said they had been ineffectually enforced. “There is no choice [this time]. We have to implement this very strictly and enforce it if we are to contain the disease, which is just getting worse and worse.”

India faced a catastrophic wave of infections in April and May linked to the Delta variant. While cases have receded, it is still recording about 50,000 new infections a day. Nepal was also plunged into crisis by a surge in cases as migrants returned from India.

Bangladesh’s National Technical Advisory Committee on Covid-19 last week warned that health systems were at grave risk without robust measures to halt transmission of infections.

Complicating matters is Bangladesh’s sluggish vaccination drive, with only about 3 per cent of the population fully immunised. The country was initially dependent on Indian-made Oxford/AstraZeneca jabs and was forced to find alternatives after its neighbour stopped exporting shots. It is now procuring jabs from China and Russia, as well as through the World Health Organization’s Covax programme.

But the prospect of tough lockdown restrictions in a country where millions live in poverty has prompted alarm about the potentially dire economic and humanitarian consequences.

Covid-19. Belated response

Third wave causes Putin to backtrack from ‘victory’

Surge in cases, scepticism of vaccines and mistrust of state lead Moscow to tighten curbs

MAX SEDDON — MOSCOW

Russia has introduced tough restrictions including regional lockdowns and compulsory vaccinations in a belated response to a third coronavirus wave sweeping the country.

President Vladimir Putin has rowed back from his triumphalist claims about Russia’s “victory” over the pandemic and admitted that the situation had “taken a turn for the worse” last week as coronavirus cases rocketed.

Russia recorded 20,538 coronavirus cases on Sunday, among its highest since January and more than double the average just a month earlier. Moscow recorded 114 coronavirus deaths on Sunday, a record during the pandemic.

Despite the vaccine being free and available to all since December, only 16.7m of Russia’s 145m population, or about 13 per cent, have had two shots in a country where mistrust of the state and its medical system is high.

Moscow has responded by requiring most people aged 18 to 60 to be vaccinated and forcing anyone who wants to visit a restaurant from next week to show a QR code proving they have had

the vaccine, been sick with Covid-19 in the past six months or had a negative PCR result in the past three days.

Although Russia has said as much as 90 per cent of the rise in cases is because of the more aggressive Delta variant that emerged in India, the jump also comes from a lackadaisical attitude to health restrictions among officials and the public alike, according to Vasily Vlasov, a professor of epidemiology at Moscow’s Higher School of Economics.

“They stopped trying to prevent the infection from spreading. Every public place opened up, all cinemas, theatres and concert halls. People stopped wearing masks and as a result, that created highly favourable conditions for [the virus] to grow,” Vlasov said.

With parliamentary elections due in September and Russians highly reluctant to face another lockdown, the Kremlin has put its faith in three domestically produced vaccines and set a target of inoculating 60 per cent of the population by the autumn.

The developers of Sputnik V, Russia’s main vaccine, have admitted it may, like others, be less effective against the Delta strain and rowed back on claims made in April that it could provide patients with immunity “for the rest of their lives”. Health officials now want people to get shots twice a year when infection rates rise.

As many as 62 per cent of Russians do

not plan to get vaccinated, according to a poll by the independent Levada Center in May, while 55 per cent are not afraid of catching the disease.

Even though a quarter of the population may now have immunity, Russians’ reluctance to be vaccinated means the country needs to inoculate an additional 40 per cent of its population by autumn, a goal impossible at current rates,

‘They stopped trying to prevent the infection from spreading. Every public place opened up’

according to independent demographer Alexei Raksha. The infection rates may not peak until the first half of July, meaning that Russia will not see the true cost of the third wave until later next month when “the death rate will be absolutely awful”, Raksha added.

With vaccination as unpopular as last year’s lockdowns, the Kremlin has delegated responsibility to local officials led by Moscow mayor Sergei Sobyenin, who is in turn delegating to employers.

“To fundamentally solve this problem, we need to get vaccinated or go into lockdown,” Sobyenin told state TV on Saturday.

Moscow now requires all public employees and service workers to be

vaccinated, with penalties for employers who fail to meet a 60 per cent target by August 15 and the threat of furlough for staff who refuse.

“It’s on a voluntary basis, because you can get a different job,” Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov said on Thursday.

Several other regions have followed suit, introducing forms of compulsory vaccination in 18 provinces, a ban on the unvaccinated visiting Black Sea resorts and a full lockdown in Buryatia near Lake Baikal.

But Russia’s patchwork response means mass events in some cities have gone ahead, notably the 2020 football matches and a school leavers’ festival in St Petersburg.

Officials claim the threat of unemployment has encouraged Muscovites to get vaccinated at four or five times the previous rate. Several regions have said they temporarily ran out of vaccine supplies amid increased demand.

Restaurant owners who scrambled to vaccinate their staff, meanwhile, are now cutting back on supply orders in anticipation of an expected decline in footfall of up to 90 per cent.

“It’s basically another lockdown,” said Takhir Kholikberdiev, who owns a chain of steak and barbecue restaurants in Moscow. “Are some weirdos going to get tested to go to a restaurant? [. . .] If a guy asks a girl on a date, who pays for her PCR?”

Coronavirus

Mixing AstraZeneca and Pfizer jabs gives strong immunity

DONATO PAOLO MANCINI — LONDON
NIKOU ASGARI — NEW YORK

Mixing and matching the Oxford/AstraZeneca and BioNTech/Pfizer Covid-19 shots generates robust immune responses, a study has found.

Researchers at Oxford university compared four dosing schedules involving the Pfizer and AstraZeneca shots: two using the same at four weeks, and two mixing them four weeks apart, with comparable results.

Professor Matthew Snape, chief investigator on the trial, said the results were “invaluable” as they could allow for flexibility in vaccination campaigns worldwide, and that they provided “really useful information” on the structure of any potential booster campaigns, if any are needed, for later this year. A separate study, run by the university of Southampton, is investigating that.

The UK’s deputy chief medical officer, Professor Jonathan Van-Tam, said the results showed mixed dosing gave protective immunity after four weeks. But he noted there was currently no need to change the UK’s vaccine policy as the country’s supply position was “stable”. Currently, the vast majority of UK patients get two doses of the same shot.

The trials did not aim to assess efficacy, which is a measure of how many

people contract Covid-19 when vaccinated against those who are not.

Oxford also said yesterday its vaccine worked even better when second doses were delayed beyond the usual 12 weeks, or up to 11 months. It also said a third dose given at least six months after the second one gave a “substantial” increase in antibodies and a boost to immune responses, including against variants.

Separately, the Moderna and BioNTech/Pfizer vaccines may provide long-lasting immunity, according to a study by researchers at Washington University, putting into doubt the need for regular booster shots.

While pharmaceutical companies race to create booster doses that will protect against mutations of the virus, the researchers found that the existing mRNA vaccines produced “persistent” immunity, with a stronger response in people who had previously been infected with coronavirus and later received full vaccination.

The researchers found the number of memory cells that recognised the virus did not drop 15 weeks after the second dose of the BioNTech/Pfizer jab in 14 trial participants. They found that vaccination elicited “robust humoral immunity” — immunity resulting from memory B cells that may last for years.

INTERNATIONAL

Middle East

US defends strikes on Iran-backed militia

Attacks on facilities at Syria-Iraq border risk stoking tensions in region

AIME WILLIAMS — WASHINGTON
CHLOE CORNISH — BEIRUT

The United States yesterday defended weekend air strikes on the facilities of two Iran-backed militia groups on the border between Syria and Iraq, the second such attack by the Biden administration in four months.

"We took necessary, appropriate, deliberate action that is designed to limit the risk of escalation, but also to send a clear and unambiguous deterrent

message," US secretary of state Antony Blinken told reporters in Rome.

At least three people were killed in the strikes, the militias said. The attacks risk stoking tensions in the region just over a week after Ebrahim Raisi, a hardliner, won Iran's presidential election.

John Kirby, Pentagon press secretary, said operational and weapons storage facilities used to launch drone strikes against US troops and facilities were targeted in Syria and Iraq. He added the air strikes were "defensive" and a response to an "ongoing series of attacks by Iran-backed groups targeting US interests in Iraq".

The Iraqi Resistance Co-ordination, an umbrella group which claims to

represent pro-Tehran militias, said that three fighters were killed in the strikes. A spokesperson for Kata'ib Sayid al-Shuhada, one of the militias, pledged "open war" with America. Local news reports put the death toll at between four and six.

Iraq's military also condemned the US attack, calling it "a blatant and unacceptable violation of Iraqi sovereignty", and adding that the country "renews its refusal to be an arena for score-settling".

President Joe Biden first ordered strikes against Iranian-backed militias on the Iraq-Syria border in February after a rocket attack in the northern Iraqi city of Erbil killed a civilian contractor and injured several others,

including a member of the US military. Iraq is home to myriad militant groups that are backed by Iran and regularly launch rocket and drone attacks against Iraqi bases hosting US troops and American facilities in the country.

The attacks have increased in frequency since the Trump administration assassinated Qassem Soleimani, Iran's most powerful commander, and Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis, a senior Iraqi militia leader, in a US drone strike near Baghdad airport in January 2020.

Saeed Khatibzadeh, Iran's foreign ministry spokesman, told reporters yesterday that the Biden administration was following the "failed" policies of its previous president and "disrupting secu-

rity in the region", warning it would be "one of the victims of such disruptions".

After Soleimani's death, Iran vowed to drive US forces out of the region. There are about 2,500 American troops in Iraq, where US and Iran rivalries play out.

The election of Raisi, a conservative cleric and judiciary chief, gave regime hardliners control of all branches of the Islamic republic for the first time in almost a decade. The attack comes at a sensitive time as the Biden administration and world powers seek to secure an agreement with Iran that will lead to the US rejoining the 2015 nuclear accord Tehran signed with world powers.

Additional reporting by Monavar Khalaj in Tehran

Property prices

Fed official warns of 'boom and bust cycle' in housing

JAMES POLITI — WASHINGTON
COLBY SMITH — NEW YORK

A senior Federal Reserve official has warned the US cannot afford a "boom and bust cycle" in the housing market that would threaten financial stability, in a sign of growing concern over rising property prices at the central bank.

"It's very important for us to get back to our 2 per cent inflation target but the goal is for that to be sustainable," Eric Rosengren, the president of the Boston Fed, told the Financial Times. "And for that to be sustainable, we can't have a boom and bust cycle in something like real estate.

"I'm not predicting that we'll necessarily have a bust. But I do think it's worth paying close attention to what's happening in the housing market," he said.

Data released by the National Association of Realtors last week showed the median price for sales of existing homes was up 23.6 per cent year on year in May, topping \$350,000 for the first time.

Rosengren said that in the Boston area, it had become common for cash buyers to prevail in bidding contests, and that some have been declining home inspections to gain an edge with sellers.

"You don't want too much exuberance in the housing market," Rosengren said. "I would just highlight that boom and bust cycles in the real estate market have occurred in the United States multiple times, and around the world, and frequently as a source of financial stability concerns."

He said the housing market should be a factor as the central bank considers slowing or removing some of the hefty monetary support for the economy introduced during the coronavirus pandemic. The Fed has been purchasing \$40bn in agency mortgage-backed securities per month alongside \$80bn in monthly Treasury debt as part of its asset purchase programme.

Fed officials are now beginning to discuss trimming that bond buying. And Rosengren said that "when it is appropriate" to begin that process, mortgage-backed securities purchases should be reduced at the same rate as Treasury purchases. That would mean the direct support to housing finance would wind down more quickly. He added: "That would imply that we would stop purchasing MBS well before we stopped purchasing Treasury securities."

James Bullard, president of the St Louis Fed, is among those who have called for the Fed to re-evaluate its support for the housing market amid what he noted were broader concerns about a nascent bubble.

The Fed has said that it would begin reducing its asset purchases only once it had made "substantial further progress" towards its goals of 2 per cent average inflation and full employment.

Given the rapid recovery, Rosengren said "the conditions for thinking about whether we've attained substantial further progress will probably be met before the beginning of next year".

The latest economic projections by the Fed showed central bank officials increasing interest rates from their current rock-bottom level in 2023, earlier than previously forecast.

Energy policy. Infrastructure

Biden's climate credibility 'on the line'

Burning question: actress Jane Fonda and indigenous community members at a rally against Enbridge's Line 3 oil pipeline in Minnesota this month



President is stuck between campaign against fossil fuel pipes and energy security fears

MYLES MCCORMICK — NEW YORK

At a demonstration this month against a pipeline pumping heavy Canadian oil to the US, actress and activist Jane Fonda held up a placard with a picture of Joe Biden. It read: "President Biden, which side are you on?"

The message, from protests against the expansion of Enbridge's Line 3 project in Minnesota, succinctly captures a growing problem for Biden.

The president has come under pressure from campaigners to halt new fossil fuel infrastructure, but he is reluctant to be too heavy-handed.

On his first day in office, Biden threw out a permit for the Keystone XL pipeline, a totemic \$8bn project that would also have carried Canadian crude to Gulf Coast refineries, leading to it being abandoned this month.

But on other projects he has been less decisive. Activists had hoped he would direct the US Army Corps of Engineers to reverse its position on permits for both the Line 3 project and the Dakota

Access pipeline (DAPL), which transports oil south from North Dakota's Bakken shale. In both cases, his administration demurred, leaving the matter for the courts to decide.

He has also steered clear of a dispute between Canada and Michigan over another Enbridge pipeline, Line 5, where the Calgary-based company defied an order from the state's governor to shut it down. This approach has enraged campaigners.

"Biden's climate credibility is on the line," said Bill McKibben, co-founder of 350.org, a climate pressure group. "I think at this point it's pretty clear that only the federal government can do what needs to be done on Line 3, on DAPL and on others, too."

The president ran for office on a platform of tackling climate change. But despite some of the steps he has taken — such as rejoining the Paris climate accord, proposing unprecedented federal support for clean energy and pausing new drilling leases on federal lands — activists want him to take a harder line against an industry he promised to "transition away" from.

Pipelines have become a flashpoint between climate activists and the oil and natural gas industry. The former argue new projects encourage greater

production of fossil fuels for decades to come, when the world should be shifting to cleaner energy. The latter maintains these projects remain essential for the steady supply of affordable fuel. US oil demand averages 20m barrels a day.

The success of the campaign against TC Energy's Keystone XL pipeline has spurred many more.

"The idea was: you can't organise people around hundreds of coal plants, but

'I think we are going to see the permit process become increasingly stricter and more robust'

you could pick one really high-ticket thing that you could try to kill," said Amy Myers Jaffe, managing director of the Climate Policy Lab at Tufts University's Fletcher School.

Some campaigns have proven effective. The Atlantic Coast pipeline, which would have carried natural gas from wells in West Virginia to utilities on the east coast, was ditched last year after legal challenges sent costs soaring. DAPL entered service in 2017, despite intense protests, but its future hangs on a new environmental review after it

US pipeline projects face mounting opposition



narrowly avoided a court-ordered shut-down last year.

A court last week handed another win to environmentalists, who had taken a novel approach. The Environmental Defense Fund argued that the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) had failed to establish necessary market demand for the Spire STL gas pipeline in the Midwest, as the company had relied on contracts with an affiliate to demonstrate need. The court agreed.

"It's one more arrow in the quiver of opponents," said Paul Patterson, an analyst at Glenrock Associates. "Environmentalists seem to be going after the economics more."

FERC chair Richard Glick, who opposed the initial certification, said the ruling underlined the necessity for the commission to revisit how it evaluated interstate gas pipelines with a "legally durable approach to assessing need".

Pipeline executives say too much attention is given to certain cases, while building continues behind the scenes.

"Most people are focused merely on the shiny object," said John Stoodly, vice-president of the Association of Oil Pipe Lines, an industry group. "There is a large amount of pipeline development and construction that goes on in the US every day." Between 2015 and 2019,

16,000 miles of oil pipelines and 44,000 miles of gas pipelines were built, according to the US transportation department — increases of 8 per cent and 3 per cent, respectively.

Biden has tightened some environmental requirements affecting new pipelines. The Environmental Protection Agency has said it will empower states to deny water quality permits to infrastructure projects — giving them an effective veto — after the Trump administration diluted their authority on this.

On Line 5, the Army Corps of Engineers said last week it would conduct a more rigorous environmental review, which Enbridge said would delay plans to upgrade the line.

Christi Tezak, an analyst at ClearView Energy Partners, said: "I think we are going to see the permit process become increasingly stricter and more robust on the front end, so that the risk shifts back to where it was prior to the Trump administration."

But Biden is walking a fine line. Previous administrations had faced similar dilemmas between environmental interests and energy security, said Jaffe. "So far, no one has done it well," she said. The administration is "trying to address it well and addressing it well probably means everyone's going to be unhappy".

Primary elections

Republican candidates at pains to prove loyalty to Trump

LAUREN FEDOR — CLEVELAND, OHIO

Donald Trump made his return to the national political stage on Saturday at a county fairground in the small town of Wellington, Ohio, where residents had lined the streets and decorated their homes in red, white and blue to celebrate the former US president's arrival.

"Lorain county is absolutely in Donald Trump's wheelhouse. That is a place where they love him," said Doug Deeken, chair of the Republican party in nearby Wayne county. "Whether they are historical Dems or historical Republicans or historical people that did not give a crap and never voted hardly before, they like him."

Political operatives said Trump's decision to hold his first post-White House rally in Lorain county — a region west of Cleveland that includes old steel mill towns and rural farmland — was an obvious choice given local white working-class voters' affinity for the former president. Despite losing the national election, he won the Midwestern state of Ohio in November by 8 points over Joe Biden; he was the first Republican to win Lorain county since Ronald Reagan in 1984.

Thousands of his fans swarmed the

fairground, keen to tell reporters the 2020 election had been stolen from Trump, who they implored to run again for the White House in 2024.

The one-time reality-TV star, who has not ruled out another White House bid and enjoys overwhelming popularity in most national polls of Republican voters, revelled in the crowd's cheers of "Trump won!" and "four more years".

But he also had another reason to fly into north-east Ohio: revenge.

Trump shared the stage in Wellington with Max Miller, a former White House aide, in a Republican primary challenge against Anthony Gonzalez, the incumbent congressman who was one of 10 House Republicans who voted to impeach him for inciting the deadly January 6 insurrection on the US Capitol. Trump was acquitted in a Senate trial after just seven Republicans in the upper chamber voted to convict him.

"Max's opponent is a guy named Anthony Gonzalez," Trump said to boos from the crowd. "He's a disgrace, he is a fake Republican and a disgrace to your state. He is not the candidate you want representing the Republican party."

Trump's comments underscored the sharp divisions in a Republican party

wrestling with how to move forward under a Biden administration — and signalled the role the former president intends to play in next year's midterms, when Republicans will look to take back control of both chambers of Congress.

He has endorsed several conservative candidates who are loyal to him, moves allies say will energise the Republican

Donald Trump surveys supporters during his first post-presidency campaign rally in Wellington, Ohio



base and critics warn could alienate moderate voters who want to move on from the tumult of the Trump era.

The support of more centrist voters is seen as critical in statewide races across the country, including in Ohio, where Republican governor Mike DeWine will seek re-election next year and a large field of Republicans is vying for the party's nomination to replace retiring senator Rob Portman. Neither DeWine nor Portman appeared at Trump's side on Saturday, citing personal obligations.

"There are Republicans who would

prefer he would be a kingmaker and not king himself for the future," said Bryan Williams, a former chair of the Ohio Republican party. But he added: "It is not a very big number of the people that think Trump should step off the stage."

Alex Roth, a Republican consultant on campaigns in north-east Ohio, said most party candidates were at pains to demonstrate their affinity for Trump.

"Republicans running in primaries right now are running to show their loyalty to [him], and it is shaping the way we are running our campaigns," he said.

The desire to curry favour with Trump was palpable on Saturday night, with all of the Republican contenders for Portman's Senate seat in attendance. He has yet to endorse a candidate in that race but at one point during his freewheeling, 90-minute speech, the former president asked the crowds to cheer for the candidate they wanted him to support.

He is not without critics in the Ohio party establishment. John Kasich, former Republican governor and one-time presidential candidate, endorsed Biden in last year's election. But few Republicans in Ohio will go on record criticising Trump, illustrating the long shadow he still casts on the party and its future.

Tourism

Spain tightens curbs on British arrivals amid variant concerns

PETER WISE — LISBON
PRIMROSE RIORDAN — HONG KONG

British citizens arriving in Spain will have to present a negative Covid-19 test or proof of vaccination from Friday onwards, the Madrid government said, amid concerns about rising Delta variant cases in the UK.

"British citizens will require a certification of full vaccination or a negative PCR (72hrs) [test] to enter Spain," said Arancha González Laya, foreign minister, on Twitter.

Spain lifted the requirement for British citizens to show a negative PCR test more than a month ago, saying the exemption would remain in place as long as the infection rate in Britain continued to decline.

Pedro Sánchez, Spain's prime minister, said that the cumulative incidence rate of Covid-19 in the UK had been "progressing negatively" over the past few weeks. "That is why we have to take an additional precaution with respect to the arrival of British tourists in our country," he told Cadena Ser radio.

The UK yesterday reported 22,868 new daily infections, the highest number since January.

Sánchez highlighted the application of the new restrictions to Mallorca, Ibiza and neighbouring islands, a region that, from tomorrow, will be added to the UK's "green list" of countries from which returning passengers do not have to go into quarantine. The rest of Spain will remain on the UK's "amber list", which requires passengers to self-isolate on return to the UK.

Malta said people from the UK would not be permitted to travel there if they were not fully vaccinated, while Hong Kong said it would prohibit UK travellers from entering the Chinese territory. Flights from the UK to Hong Kong are to be banned from tomorrow, while transiting travellers who have spent more than two hours in the country before boarding will be denied entry.

Under new Maltese rules from tomorrow, travel to the country from the UK will be restricted to individuals who have been fully vaccinated for more than 14 days.

Bank risk The only tool we have for maintaining resilience is to ensure lenders have enough equity capital at all times → OPINION

Companies & Markets

UK watchdog embarks on probe of 2019 Greensill audit

- ◆ Saffery to 'co-operate fully' with FRC
- ◆ PwC faces Wyelands investigation

MICHAEL O'DWYER AND OLIVER RALPH
LONDON

The UK accounting regulator has launched a probe into the audit of Greensill Capital, opening a new front in the investigation of the supply chain finance group that collapsed in a political and financial scandal.

The Financial Reporting Council said yesterday it had begun an investigation into accountant Saffery Champness over its audit of the financial statements of Greensill Capital for 2019.

Alongside Saffery, the watchdog said it was also investigating PwC over its 2019 audit of Wyelands Bank, owned by UK industrialist Sanjeev Gupta, and one of Greensill's largest clients.

The investigations are the latest regu-

As Greensill's demise shook Gupta's empire, Wyelands was ordered in March to repay deposits

latory fallout from Greensill's failure, which has left GFG Alliance, the loose collection of businesses owned by Gupta and his family, fighting for survival. Greensill failed in March after insurers refused to renew cover for the group, which counted Japan's SoftBank as a backer and former UK prime minister David Cameron as an adviser.

The FRC did not give details of the Greensill and Wyelands probes.

As well as Greensill, GFG companies turned to Wyelands for funding. The Financial Times last year revealed that Wyelands helped fund Gupta's wider business empire through a network of companies controlled by associates.

The UK's Serious Fraud Office in May said it had launched an investigation into suspected fraud and money laundering at GFG companies, including

their financing arrangements with Greensill. GFG has said it is co-operating and denied any wrongdoing.

Saffery had audited Greensill since the financial year ended December 2014. Seven large accounting firms previously refused to tender for the audit of Greensill after it had agreed with Saffery that the growing scale and complexity of its balance sheet meant it had outgrown the mid-sized auditor's services, the FT reported in October.

Leading accounting firms such as Deloitte, KPMG and BDO declined to tender to replace Saffery as Greensill's auditor because of conflicts of interest or reputational concerns.

Saffery said it would co-operate fully with the FRC. "We are committed to upholding the high professional standards our clients rightly expect," it said.

As Greensill's demise shook Gupta's business empire, Wyelands was ordered by the Bank of England in March to repay customer deposits amid rising concerns over its financial position.

Andrew Bailey, governor of the Bank of England, said last month that the SFO began examining Wyelands after concerns surfaced at the end of 2018 and that the National Crime Agency had also been involved.

PwC resigned as auditor of Wyelands Bank in November 2019, citing a potential conflict of interest. Mazars took over as auditor for the financial year ended April 2020 for which it reported losses of £69.5m. In Wyelands's most recent accounts, Mazars identified control deficiencies in the identification of related party transactions.

Wyelands said last month that it was likely to be wound up unless a buyer could be found.

PwC said that "it's understandable that there is regulatory scrutiny in situations like this. We will co-operate fully with the FRC in its inquiries."

Checking out Burberry chief Gobbetti departs after five years to join Salvatore Ferragamo



In fashion: Marco Gobbetti was brought in to push Burberry's signature check brand upmarket — Henry Nicholls/Reuters

PATRICIA NILSSON

Burberry chief executive Marco Gobbetti has quit the British luxury group after five years to join Italian rival Salvatore Ferragamo.

The company announced yesterday that Gobbetti, who has led a push to make the brand more upmarket and attract younger luxury shoppers, would leave at the end of this year.

"With Burberry re-energised and firmly set on a path to strong growth, I feel that now is the right time for me to step down," Gobbetti said.

Ferragamo said Gobbetti, 62, would join the Florence-based company known for its leather shoes and silk ties "as soon as he is released from his contractual obligations".

Burberry's share price, which had been edging up to pre-pandemic levels, dropped more than 8 per cent yesterday morning, while stocks in Ferragamo were largely flat. During Gob-

betti's tenure, Burberry's stock price has risen more than 30 per cent.

Luca Solca, analyst at Bernstein, said Burberry was "in a far better position" today than when Gobbetti took over the group known for its signature tartan check and trenchcoat.

"Yet, the magnitude of the issues at hand didn't offer a chance for the runway success that some had hoped for."

Gerry Murphy, Burberry chair, said the board was "naturally disappointed by Marco's decision but we understand and fully respect his desire to return to Italy after nearly 20 years abroad".

Share awards that remain unvested by the time Gobbetti leaves will lapse in full. Gobbetti was paid £2.25m last year, including share awards.

Both brands have struggled to attract new, young and digital-savvy luxury shoppers.

Limits on international travel have hit luxury groups, which increasingly

rely on wealthy tourists from China and other Asian countries. Before the pandemic, about half of Burberry's sales in Europe and the Middle East were tied to tourism, with the figure at almost two-thirds for the UK.

Sales at Milan-listed Ferragamo were falling steadily before the pandemic. The family that controls the label shelved plans in January to sell a minority stake and switched focus to rejigging management to steer a turnaround. Micaela Le Divelec, the outgoing chief executive who used to work for Gucci, was appointed in 2019.

Gobbetti succeeded Christopher Bailey at Burberry in 2017. Before that he was chief executive at Moschino and spent 13 years at the French group LVMH, where he headed the Givenchy and Céline brands. His departure is likely to fuel speculation that Burberry's creative director Riccardo Tisci, who followed Gobbetti to the company, might also join Ferragamo.

Samsung's emissions cast cloud over ESG claims

EDWARD WHITE — SEOUL

Samsung Electronics' rising carbon emissions and slow reduction of fossil fuel use is undermining the group's sustainability claims, according to environmentalists.

The criticism comes as companies are under increasing scrutiny over climate change and concerns about greenwashing, whereby organisations overstate their environmental commitments and achievements. "Everybody has ESG initiatives, everyone's talking... but we don't see real tangible changes," said Youn Sejong, director of Solutions for Our Climate, a Seoul-based non-governmental organisation.

Samsung is one of the biggest producers of computer chips, smartphones, electronic displays and appliances. The South Korean group has reported that its greenhouse gas emissions rose 5 per cent year on year in 2020.

The company also relies on fossil fuels for more than 80 per cent of its electricity, according to Greenpeace, the environmental campaign group.

The data have prompted questions over Samsung's climate change efforts despite the group touting claims that its sites in the US, Europe and China now use only renewable energy.

Samsung declined to comment. The challenge facing Samsung is highlighted by South Korea and Vietnam, two of its biggest manufacturing bases, where energy systems rely on coal.

Samsung has been pushing Seoul and Hanoi to speed up energy market deregulation aimed at inviting renewable energy investments. It wants to be able to buy power from independent renewable energy generators, bypassing state-owned energy groups.

But activists said it could apply more pressure given its political clout. In South Korea and Vietnam, it is the single biggest corporate employer and contributor to gross domestic product.

Further undermining the company's claims, Samsung affiliates — along with units of carmaker Hyundai, Kepco and other South Korean companies — have for years been at the forefront of coal power development in Vietnam.

"On one side they say they want more renewables for their electronics factory, and the other side, they're building this unnecessary coal power plant... We all know that Samsung headquarters actually does co-ordinate between those decisions," Youn said.

Courts struggle to keep up with canny Wall St in credit disputes

INSIDE BUSINESS

FINANCE

Sujeet Indap



In another episode from this year, a federal judge allowed a group of hedge funds to keep \$500m that had been mistakenly repaid to them by Citigroup, the bank that had been administering the loan in question, which had been borrowed by cosmetics company Revlon.

In a paper, former corporate lawyer and Duke University law professor Elisabeth de Fontenay argues that the Citigroup saga distils many of the pathologies of the credit investing ecosystem.

In another era, lenders would have returned the money. Here, the funds that kept the money were furious over a balance sheet restructuring that Revlon and Citigroup had executed months earlier that had sent the value of their debt plunging.

The mistaken repayment was a chance to either get their money back or at least pressure Citigroup over the disputed restructuring.

Judge Jesse Furman of the Southern District of New York, who ruled in favour of the hedge funds, had relied on a ruling from three decades ago, well before the current development of the modern credit market.

De Fontenay writes: "At various points in its reasoning, the Citibank court relies on sources that transactional lawyers would never imagine to be relevant to the agreements that they helped draft."

She went on to write that the decision, from a non-specialised judge, had offered neither consideration of marketplace expectations nor what the correct public policy interest might be.

Such reasoning in legal opinions is

intentional as they rely on so-called common law, legal precedents and generic doctrines to guide rulings on specific disputes.

Other recent disputes in credit markets have involved "asset-stripping", where private equity firms, sometimes in concert with a subset of creditor hedge funds, shift assets out of the reach of other creditors. Such transactions have become increasingly brazen in the past five years.

Kamensky had helped secure a \$172m settlement from Neiman's private equity owners over allegations of such fraudulent conveyance. He committed his crime by trying to snatch a lion's share of that pot while he represented all unsecured creditors on an official committee in the bankruptcy.

His misdeeds all happened within a few hours last summer and, according to court documents, he attributed his lapse to "stress" and the strains of the pandemic.

He argued, provocatively, that his wrongdoing could have been resolved in the civil bankruptcy proceedings and that criminal charges for his breach of duty were essentially unprecedented. (Kamensky's admissions of guilt and cover-up attempts caught on tape were unhelpful in pleas for mercy.)

De Fontenay speculates about more complex legal contracts or new forums to govern these modern disputes, but remains sceptical that they would be improvements.

As to why this market has broken down, she blames the "decline in norms and relationships among investors and their lawyers".

Perhaps someone going to jail is the wake-up call the market needs to police itself.

sujeet.indap@ft.com

Businesses For Sale

Sale of ownership interest in the Meteor Downs South Coal Mine JV located in the Bowen Basin Queensland Australia

McGrathNicol announces that Jamie Harris, Anthony Connelly and Keith Crawford were appointed as Receivers over a 50% ownership interest in the Meteor Downs South Joint Venture held by Endocoal Limited (Controller Appointed) (Receivers and Managers Appointed).

The Receivers seek urgent expressions of interest for the sale of the joint venture interest. Expressions of interest are sought by no later than **Tuesday 3 August 2021**. Interested parties can contact:

McGrathNicol – Jacinta Robinson
T +61 7 3333 9813 E jrobinson@mcgrathnicol.com www.mcgrathnicol.com

FT FINANCIAL TIMES

Moral Money

Your guide to better business and finance

How is the pandemic affecting the world of ESG, impact investing and sustainable business? Read FT Moral Money, your essential, trusted guide to the investment and business revolution you can't afford to ignore.

Sign up now at ft.com/moralmoney

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Industrials

Hitachi counts on robust US growth

Wave of infrastructure spending and return of manufacturing expected

KANA INAGAKI — TOKYO

Hitachi expects a wave of infrastructure spending and a return of manufacturing under the Biden administration, as the industrial conglomerate bets on the US market to drive its next phase of growth.

Keiji Kojima, president, said Hitachi would hire more digital talent from India to compete in the US after a \$9.5bn

deal to buy GlobalLogic, a Silicon Valley-based software engineering group.

Kojima, appointed last week, said: "As a whole, we believe the biggest opportunity lies in North America. We believe a large part of industries, including manufacturing, will return to North America."

Hitachi's US focus comes after years of efforts to transform the group into an IT and infrastructure specialist by merging and restructuring subsidiaries.

With the asset restructuring programme nearly complete, Kojima said "the next 10 years will be a decade of growth" as the group aims to expand its

software business Lumada. The company will increase investment in the US, as Joe Biden rolls out his \$2tn infrastructure plan. Biden has pushed for support for the manufacturing industry to help semiconductor groups produce more goods in the US.

Hitachi said in May that its fully owned subsidiary Hitachi High-Tech would establish a semiconductor research facility in Oregon, where all of its US chip tech would be centralised.

The group has not disclosed how much it will spend on the facility, but Kojima said it would have a "tight partnership" with US semiconductor com-

panies, as the Biden administration increases spending to strengthen its supply chain.

North America is Hitachi's largest market outside Japan, accounting for 13 per cent of its annual revenue.

Before acquiring GlobalLogic, Hitachi bought JR Automation, a Michigan-based industrial robotics integrator, for \$1.4bn in 2019. The group has said it wants to increase revenue from its companies in this industry segment in North America to ¥200bn (\$1.8bn) in the current financial year, a rise from ¥73bn three years ago.

Analysts said Kojima's challenge

would be to oversee integration of GlobalLogic, an expensive endeavour to expand Hitachi's software business while digitising its hardware assets. The group's operating profit margin of 6 per cent also remains low compared with peers such as Siemens and ABB.

"We still have a lot of product businesses, so we need to innovate Hitachi's products by using the digital resources of GlobalLogic," said Kojima, who oversaw the creation of Lumada.

He said the group might carry out additional acquisitions in railway and healthcare businesses to fill gaps in digital capability.

Banks

Deutsche pays Spanish wine exporter €10m over forex scandal

STEPHEN MORRIS — LONDON
OLAF STORBECK — FRANKFURT

Deutsche Bank paid more than €10m to Europe's largest wine exporter to settle a dispute over the alleged mis-selling of foreign exchange derivatives, as the lender nears the end of an internal investigation that has already led to the departure of two senior executives.

Late last year, Deutsche sent a senior delegation to Madrid from Frankfurt to negotiate the settlement, which compensated J García-Carrión for cumulative cash losses caused by the exotic instruments over a six-year period, people familiar with the matter told the Financial Times.

As part of the deal, which has not been previously reported, the bank also apologised for the behaviour of its traders and salespeople. The decision to settle could add pressure on peers Goldman Sachs and BNP Paribas, which face similar accusations from JGC.

Deutsche declined to comment. JGC declined to comment.

The decision was taken as an internal investigation at the German lender known as Project Teal continues. It was launched after clients complained that they had been sold sophisticated derivatives products they did not understand, potentially in contravention of EU rules designed to protect businesses from risky lending.

The FT reported this month that the departures of senior managers Louise Kitchen, head of Deutsche's asset wind-down unit, and Jonathan Tinker, co-head of global foreign exchange, were linked to the scandal.

Two traders who were operationally in charge of the problematic activities have already left the bank.

The German lender has settled several other complaints in private and avoided going to court, according to people with knowledge of the situation. When the FT first reported on Deutsche's investigation into the allegations in January, the bank said that the potential misconduct affected "a limited number of clients".

Spiralling losses on some of the forex swaps — which were pitched by Deutsche's salespeople as a cheaper way to hedge currency exposure than traditional exchange-rate insurance — pushed some clients into acute financial problems.

JGC has also alleged that France's BNP improperly conducted billions of euros worth of currency transactions that led to tens of millions in losses.

The FT revealed this month that an internal investigation at JGC had found that BNP conducted more than 8,400 foreign exchange transactions with the company over a five-year period, causing €75m of cash losses.

The 130-year-old Jumilla-based wine producer — best known for its boxed wine and juice brand, Don Simón — is considering legal action after the French bank refused to provide compensation for the losses. BNP has said it complied with all regulatory obligations.

Separately, JGC is in a legal battle with Goldman Sachs in the High Court in London for a partial refund of \$6.2m of losses linked to exotic currency derivatives. Goldman has maintained that the products were not overly complex for a multinational company with hedging needs and the risks were made clear.

The Spanish company has said many of the loss-making trades were inappropriately made with one of its former senior managers.

It has brought a case in Madrid, accusing the person of conducting the deals in secret and covering them up internally by falsifying documents and misleading auditors.

Financials. China credit

Stakes rise over bad debt manager Huarong's fate

Deepening turmoil piles

pressure on Beijing to resolve state-owned group's future

THOMAS HALE — HONG KONG
EDWARD WHITE — SEOUL

Six months after its chair Lai Xiaomin was found guilty of corruption and executed, the fate of Huarong Asset Management, China's biggest bad debt manager, is no clearer and the stakes for Beijing are rising.

One of four state-owned asset management companies established in 1999 to clean up the banking sector's debts following the Asian financial crisis, the turmoil at Huarong has deepened since the death of Lai.

The failure to release 2020 accounts and uncertainty over the Rmb1.7tn (\$261bn) of assets on its balance sheet have triggered wild swings in the \$22bn of dollar-denominated bonds the group sold to international investors.

The prospect of \$100bn of Chinese corporate debt coming due this year is injecting further urgency into resolving the future of a group that over the past decade left its roots as a staid manager of bad debts far behind.

"We don't expect it, but if the Huarong situation results in a default, then what does that say about government support for other government-owned entities?" said Charles Chang, a director at rating agency S&P. "If it turns out that a default or restructuring occurs, we will need to take a look at all [of them]."

Concerns over Beijing's approach to the companies it set up to handle bad debts and distressed loans were amplified this month after authorities opened an investigation into Hu Xiaogang, vice-president of China Great Wall Asset Management and a former executive at China Orient Asset Management.

Great Wall and Orient, along with Cinda and Huarong, make up the quartet of bad debt managers. As with bad banks set up in Spain and Ireland following the eurozone crisis, their aim was to take on troubled loans from the banking system — a still important function in China's financial system.

But rather than shrinking in size as memories of the Asian crisis faded, the asset managers embarked on a free-wheeling expansion which saw the four raise more than \$100bn from debt markets between 2013 and 2018.

All set their sights beyond China, but Huarong was by far the most aggressive. In 2015 alone, its international assets ballooned more than 300 per cent, according to S&P. In that year, it listed part of its business in Hong Kong following strategic investments from Goldman Sachs and Warburg Pincus.

The firepower for Huarong's overseas activity, which the company has since blamed on Lai, came in large part from



Huarong's Beijing headquarters. Below, Lai Xiaomin, then chair, at a 2016 event five years before his execution

Yan Cong/Bloomberg
Anthony Kwan/Bloomberg

the \$22bn of dollar-denominated debt raised by its international arm.

"During the tenure of the former chair, Huarong expanded into many business lines unrelated to its core mandate of distressed debt management," said Jason Tan, an analyst at CreditSights. This "ultimately led to the downfall of the chair and a reckoning for the company".

Huarong's overseas investments helped Chinese companies access credit beyond the mainland. One example was its 2016 purchase of dollar debt sold by China Aluminum, one of the largest producers of the metal, which is not financially troubled. Chinese groups often issue dollar-denominated bonds via Hong Kong, outside the domestic financial markets, to tap demand from international investors.

It also bought bonds sold by Country Garden, a private real estate developer that has become one of China's best-known companies in a sector under

pressure from Beijing to reduce its debts. In 2017, Huarong also helped developer Zhonghong Holdings purchase a \$449m stake in US amusement park operator Seaworld Entertainment.

In a period of seemingly unchecked growth which saw its assets rise sevenfold between 2012 and 2018, Huarong established its own banking, brokerage, insurance and leasing arms, alongside a drive into property development.

Ronald Thompson, a managing director of Alvarez & Marsal Asia, said the bad debt managers morphed into "financial supermarkets" at a time when the country's financial system was growing rapidly.

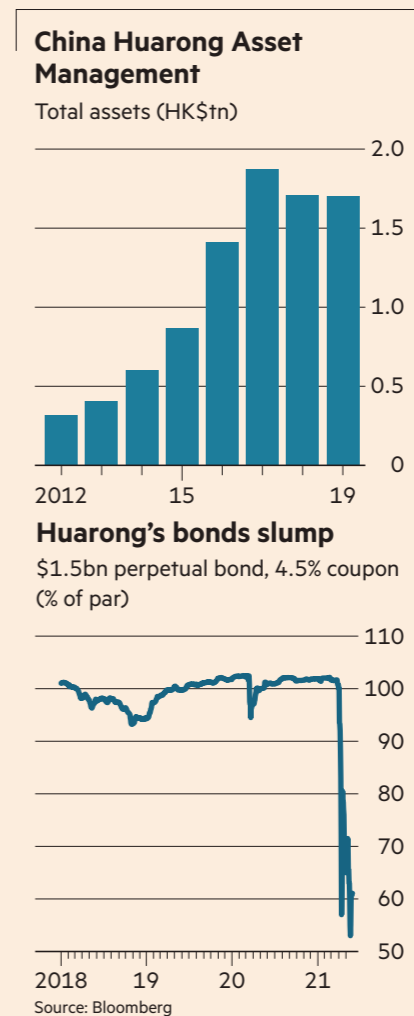
Huarong's own expansion beyond its initial remit was fuelled in part because taking on a company's problem debts eventually led to its taking ownership stakes in the businesses.

"Where [in] the US, we would have high-yield lenders, we would have high-yield bonds, we would have private equity players, the asset management companies have partially filled that role in China," said Thompson.

Huarong said that since 2018 it had "resolutely implemented policies and decisions of the CPC Central Committee, the State Council and regulatory authorities", and that it had "refocused on its core business of distressed asset management".

As Huarong's dollar debts trade at distressed levels, the pressing question for investors and regulators is where the reckless growth has left the group's bal-

The pressing question for investors and regulators is where the reckless growth has left its balance sheet



ance sheet. The company, which is headquartered in Beijing, had only half its assets in its "distressed" segment, according to its 2020 interim report, the latest available data. The report refers to other assets including loans and debts to businesses within China.

Huarong International Holdings, the arm which issued the dollar debts, had total assets of HK\$198bn (\$25.6bn) in the first half of 2020, down a third from 2017, according to CreditSights. They included equities, convertible bonds, structured products and over-the-counter derivatives.

Although far less glitzy, Huarong's overseas ambitions — and their unwinding — carries echoes of HNA, Anbang and Dalian Wanda, a trio of privately owned Chinese conglomerates that were given licence to hunt for trophy assets around the world before a government crackdown in 2018.

HNA has taken years to wind down, with creditors only applying for bankruptcy in January after a court said the once high-flying group was unable to pay its debts.

While Huarong is expected to play a crucial role within the Chinese mainland, particularly if domestic credit conditions tighten further, the next move lies with Beijing.

"They are probably trying to figure out what is the hole," said one investor in Hong Kong. "Once they've figured out how big is the hole, they can make a decision about whether they'd like to bridge that gap or not."

Oil & gas

Court rejects Hurricane debt restructuring

NATHALIE THOMAS — EDINBURGH

Hurricane Energy, the oil and gas producer once considered a bright hope for the UK North Sea, has failed to push through a restructuring that would have virtually wiped out shareholders.

The High Court in London ruled yesterday that it would not sanction the plan, which would have handed control to Hurricane's bondholders in exchange for forgiving \$50m of debt and extending the maturity date on a further \$180m of bonds due in July next year.

The plan had been extremely unpopular with shareholders, including activist Crystal Amber, Hurricane's second-largest investor with a stake of more than 11 per cent. But management led

by chief executive Antony Maris had argued it was a "necessary step" to secure Hurricane's future following production disappointments, warning that it would not be in a position to repay its \$230m of bonds next year.

The Aim-listed company had hoped to open a new frontier in UK waters by producing oil from "fractured basement" rock formations.

However, Hurricane admitted last year that it was unable to sustain intended production rates from its flagship Lancaster field west of the Shetland Islands and parted ways with former chief executive Robert Trice.

A hearing on the proposed restructuring, which would have left shareholders with just 5 per cent of the company's

equity, was held at the High Court last week. In a lengthy judgment handed down yesterday, Mr Justice Zacaroli said that "despite the fact that there is projected to be a shortfall between available cash and the sum required to redeem the bonds at maturity", there was a "reasonable possibility... it could be bridged". There was "no other sufficient ground of urgency" for the bonds to be restructured now.

Hurricane said it was "considering all options, including an appeal".

Crystal Amber has proposed to remove Hurricane Energy's chair and non-executive directors and replace them with two of its own candidates at an extraordinary general meeting on July 5.

Automobiles

Poorer EU nations lack car charging points

PETER CAMPBELL — LONDON

Almost three quarters of Europe's car charging points are located in just three EU countries, according to findings by the industry trade body that highlights the "imbalance" of the region's electric vehicle network.

ACEA, which represents Europe's car-makers, warned that poorer nations with fewer charging points risk being left behind by Brussels-issued bloc-wide rules that will drive higher electric car sales later this decade.

Its findings show the Netherlands has 66,665 charging points, or 30 per cent of the EU's network, while France and Germany each have around 45,000. The three between them have 70 per cent of

the network. Romania, in contrast, has just 493 points, while Lithuania has 174.

The body warned that "a two-track infrastructure rollout is developing along the dividing lines between richer EU member states in western Europe and countries with a lower GDP in eastern, central and southern Europe".

The European Commission will next month issue its latest rules for carbon reduction across the car industry, and is widely expected to tighten the current requirements significantly.

Carmakers including Volkswagen and Peugeot-owner Stellantis have pumped billions into investing in new electric cars to meet the existing rules, which came into force last year. The industry is already expecting to increase produc-

tion significantly over the decade in order to keep pace with rising consumer demand and with new emissions rules.

As rules stand, carmakers must lower CO2 emissions from their fleets by 37.5 per cent by 2030 or face fines. The new requirement is expected to be as high as 50 per cent, which would dramatically increase the number of electric vehicles sold across Europe. If the target is increased to 50 per cent, a figure supported by environmental groups, then the region needs around 6m public charging points, according to the Commission's own calculations. This compares with 225,000 currently available.

ACEA wants any change in electric vehicle rules to include country-specific charging point targets.

COMPANIES & MARKETS

TDR raises the bar with £6.8bn Asda move

Firm has had a low profile but UK's biggest leveraged buyout since KKR took over Alliance Boots is set to change that

KAYE WIGGINS AND ROBERT SMITH

The Coach Makers Arms is owned by a daisy-chain of entities that leads to the offshore tax haven of Jersey and ends a stone's throw from its front door near London's Oxford Street.

The structure was arranged by private equity firm TDR Capital, whose executives decided in 2017 to buy their local watering hole across the street.

Now TDR is using a similarly complex model for its biggest deal: the £6.8bn debt-fuelled acquisition of supermarket chain Asda from Walmart, which the Competition and Markets Authority cleared earlier this month.

It is the UK's largest leveraged buyout since KKR took over Alliance Boots 14 years ago. It puts the future of Asda's 145,000 staff, and a crucial component of the country's food supply, in the hands of investors about which little is known.

Led by former bankers Manjit Dale and Stephen Robertson, TDR was set up as Tudor Dale Robertson, with capital from US hedge fund billionaire Paul Tudor Jones.

Dale, a dominant figure at the firm, who smokes heated tobacco sticks during meetings, worked with Robertson at Bankers Trust in London in 1995, four years before it was acquired by Deutsche Bank. Their deals included setting up Punch Taverns in 1998 and selling the chain to buyout group TPG the following year.

In 2002, Dale and Robertson, then 37 and 42, struck out on their own. A former colleague who had moved to Tudor Investment Corporation brokered an introduction to his new employer and Tudor committed about £155m for the pair's €550m first fund.

Over two decades, a few things have changed – notably the amount of money investors are willing to provide. TDR's latest fund, its fourth, manages €3.5bn. Jones's company is no longer formally involved but is entitled to €1m per year from TDR forever, the result of a handshake deal in the early 2000s. Jones and his investment firm declined to comment.

But what has stayed remarkably consistent is a small team investing large sums of their own money and concentrating on a handful of deals.

While many private equity firms have evolved from scrappy bands of deal-makers into institutions with layers of checks and balances, TDR has stuck closer to the old model.

"I dislike bureaucracy intensely," Dale said. "You know, I want us to make good business decisions with as little fuss as possible. And that's why we're one central office, one team."

"It's all fairly compact. You can go around and see all the key people on anything that you want to talk about within half an hour, if that."

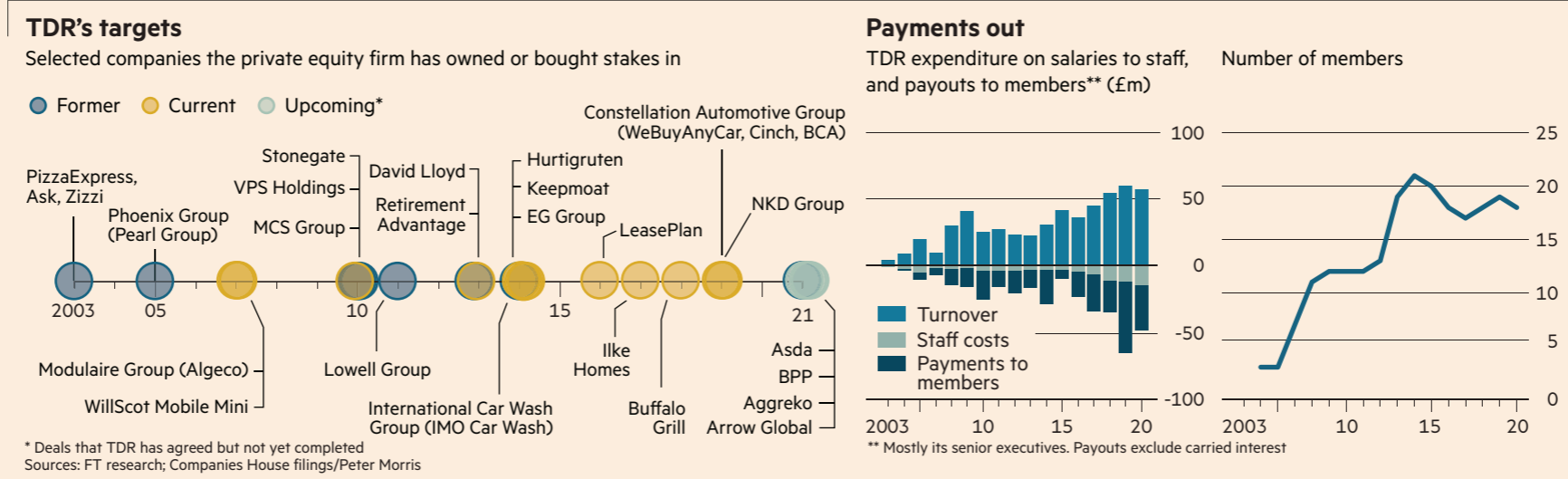
The majority of those key people are men. Even by the standards of the private equity industry, TDR is male-dominated. All 12 partners, except the head of investor relations, are men, and it has never had a female dealmaking partner. Dale declined to comment.

TDR's executives are typically the single largest group of investors in its funds, contributing 10 to 15 per cent, against the 5.5 per cent that data firm Prequin says is average for buyout funds.

"You have to work on the principle that it is basically the family office of Manjit and Steve," said a person who has worked closely with TDR.

It was important to "eat your own cooking", Dale said. "I think it's a good discipline. And if you're successful, you also happen to do quite well over time."

The focus extends to hands-on due



Brew diligence: when TDR, co-founded by Manjit Dale, acquired hundreds of pubs, the firm's executives are said to have dutifully visited each one. Below, the David Lloyd gym chain was bought in 2013



diligence. When TDR acquired 332 pubs from Mitchells & Butlers in 2010, the firm's executives visited every one, according to people close to the deal.

One element of TDR's investment approach was rooted in their Bankers Trust days, said the same person who has worked with Dale and Robertson. "You buy an asset, take your money back, and sit with a free option on the upside."

The firm bought gym chain David Lloyd in 2013 using £190m from its fund and £528.5m in debt, company filings show. Since then, TDR has recouped more than £550m in dividends and

other repayments, almost three times its investment. That has been paid for in part by piling fresh debt on to a company that now owes more than £1bn.

"What allowed TDR to cash out was simple financial engineering, or increases in debt," said Peter Morris, an associate scholar at Oxford university's Said Business School. "That meant David Lloyd was more vulnerable than it needed to be when the pandemic hit."

During lockdowns, the gym group tapped the UK government's furlough scheme and the German government's Covid-19 aid programme.

Dale said that the gym chain had weathered the pandemic "better than most of its competitors" and was "well positioned to take advantage of its market-leading position, as shown by the record number of new members joining since restrictions have been eased and the recent highly successful refinancing which was heavily oversubscribed."

While TDR said this month that it would "inject £100m into the company" as part of a £350m "equity contribution", that is also funded by debt: a loan from specialist lender 17Capital against the value of the other companies TDR owns and "payment in kind" notes from outside investors, a form of lending where bor-

rowers can defer interest and repay with further debt.

TDR had taken back more than the roughly €250m it originally invested in EG Group, the highly leveraged petrol station company it owns with co-founders Mohsin and Zuber Issa, two people with knowledge of the matter said.

That deal paved the way for the acquisition of Asda, again with the Issas. Although the supermarket group is valued at £6.8bn, TDR and the Issas will stump up just £780m of their money, with the rest coming from selling off some of Asda's assets and increasing its debt burden.

The £780m, just 11.5 per cent of the deal price, comes at least partly from taking cash out of EG Group.

Alongside pubs, gyms and petrol stations, TDR has invested in discount retail and cruise ships, sectors hit hard by the pandemic. It has this year agreed to buy debt collector Arrow Global and Aggreko, a supplier of power generators.

"It's an old-world portfolio, like most of the UK economy is an old-world economy," Dale said.

"Our belief, which is actually the theme of a lot of our investment, is that there is no reason for incumbents not to innovate apart from their own structures and their lack of vision. And we

'There is no reason for incumbents not to innovate apart from their own structures and their lack of vision'

can inject and change both of those things and apply capital."

TDR has never yet had a portfolio company go bust, though in 2017 it got into a gruelling fight with bondholders over the future of Algeco, a modular space leasing company it has owned since 2004.

The lenders sued over TDR's plans to transfer control of a valuable US subsidiary to its own hands, in a case that was later settled.

By September 2020, those in its third fund, which holds its EG Group stake, had made a net internal rate of return – a measure private equity firms use to calculate their annual performance – of 34.1 per cent, according to data published by an investor, the Oregon Public Employees Retirement Fund, putting it comfortably in the top quartile of buy-out groups.

But its second fund, raised in 2007, had a net internal rate of return of just 6.9 per cent by September 2020, according to a presentation.

"This fund is pretty much the definition of mediocre," a private funds specialist said. "It's not what people invest in private equity to get."

Dale said that the performance of Algeco was a drag but that it was "comfortably a second-quartile fund in terms of multiple of money returned".

Details of how private equity executives are paid are typically difficult to track down. But accounts for TDR Capital LLP shed some light.

It has paid out £293.9m to its members – mostly TDR executives – since it was set up, out of £526.8m in revenues, Morris's analysis of Companies House records shows.

The payments, the equivalent of salaries, do not include carried interest, the mechanism by which private equity executives typically receive a 20 per cent share of profits.

Dale said that the payments were "drawings paid out of profits, are not contractually guaranteed, and are dependent on continued performance by the partnership and its members".

While TDR's investors include large US pension funds such as the Pennsylvania State Employees' Retirement System and Japan's Norinchukin Bank, there is also a cohort of "family and friends" who pay lower management fees.

They include Paul Tudor Jones, Carphone Warehouse co-founder David Ross, who chaired TDR-owned PizzaExpress, and Stephen Short, a partner at law firm Simpson Thacher & Bartlett, who has advised TDR.

"There are plenty of [investors], and more important ones than me in there," Short said.

Several of TDR's dealmakers have personally bought stakes in companies that the buyout firm is not involved with.

Some of them are backing a group of former employees of Greensill Capital, the supply chain finance group that collapsed in a financial and political scandal this year, to start a venture called Silver Birch.

Dale has invested in Flight Club, a chain of darts-themed bars, and The Double Red Duke, a 16th-century hotel near his Cotswolds home.

All their previous ventures pale in comparison to a multibillion-pound deal with the world's largest retailer, however.

And overhauling Asda could drag TDR into the spotlight.

"Buyouts of big retail-oriented companies inevitably bring a higher profile," Morris said. "When TDR becomes involved with Asda, it may be harder for them to stay under the radar."

Financials

Citizens leaves door open for more deals

JOSHUA FRANKLIN — NEW YORK

The chief executive of Citizens Financial, which recently bought HSBC's US retail banking unit, expects more opportunities for mergers and acquisitions as smaller banks struggle to keep up in the financial technology race.

The comments from Bruce Van Saun underscore one of the drivers of bank dealmaking in the US, which has jumped in 2021.

Bank M&A totals about \$31bn so far this year, already eclipsing deal activity for all of 2020, according to S&P Global Market Intelligence.

"I do think we'll see some opportunities, just because smaller banks are stressed with the move to digital business models and all the technology capex that is required," Van Saun said.

Demand for digital banking services has accelerated, highlighting the need for banks to bolster tech spending.

"It does seem like there's a lot of pent-up demand for bank M&A, partly

because the banking space has become more competitive, which has made it harder for banks to generate adequate revenue growth," said Ken Usdin, an analyst at Jefferies.

"In terms of sellers, one group will be banks that have underinvested and would need to embark on a multiyear

'Smaller banks are stressed with the move to digital business models and all the tech capex required'

catch up on technology spending."

Rhode Island-based Citizens was spun out of Britain's RBS in 2015. RBS bought the bank in 1988, near the start of an expansion that ended in large losses and a bailout by the UK government.

Van Saun last month agreed to acquire London-based HSBC's bank branches on the east coast of the US, a network with roughly \$9bn in deposits

which bolsters Citizens' presence in the New York metro area.

Now the 19th biggest US bank by assets, Citizens was not "actively seeking" further bank acquisitions, Van Saun said, but he left the door open for more deals. "What I've found often is, once you've printed a deal in this space, then you start to see inbound," he said. "We've earned the rights to do more deals by just being thoughtful and making sure they're low execution risk and they have good financial metrics and they make strategic sense."

Van Saun also said Citizens was working with Fidelity, its clearing firm, to enable wealth management clients to store cryptocurrencies, a capability it aims to roll out later this year.

It is a further sign of banks' gradual embrace of crypto, despite doubts over its viability as a currency to rival the dollar. "We're viewing it more as an investment asset as opposed to something that's likely to turn into a near-term payment opportunity," Van Saun said.

Financials

Brothers deny insider trading and fraud

JANE CROFT — LONDON

A former Goldman Sachs analyst and his brother who worked at the law firm Clifford Chance pleaded not guilty yesterday to six counts of insider trading and three allegations of fraud.

Mohammed Zina, who worked as an analyst in the conflict resolution group at Goldman Sachs, and Suhail Zina, a former solicitor at Clifford Chance, appeared at Southwark Crown Court, London, to deny the charges brought by the Financial Conduct Authority.

The alleged insider trading took place between July 2016 and December 2017 and involved trading in companies including UK chipmaker Arm Holdings and pub group Punch Taverns.

When the FCA announced in February that it had charged the men, both 33, it accused them of reaping a £142,000 profit from the trades.

The regulator claimed that the brothers had access to confidential information that was available to members of

the conflicts resolution group at Goldman Sachs, according to the list of charges read out in court.

According to the Goldman Sachs website, the conflict resolutions group "evaluates advisory, financing, principal investing, lending and other activities to identify actual or perceived conflicts of interest".

The FCA accuses Mohammed Zina of being an insider through his employment at the US investment bank in the period covered by the charges.

The brothers, from north-east London, also denied three counts of fraud in which they are accused of making a misleading representation to Tesco Bank for loans.

The regulator alleges that the purpose of the loans was to acquire shares, rather than for the home improvements the brothers had claimed.

Mohammed Zina, dressed in a blue shirt, and Suhail Zina, wearing a blue suit with maroon tie, stood in the dock at Southwark Crown Court as they

denied all charges. They will go for trial before a jury on April 4 next year and their next appearance in court is scheduled for September 6.

The brothers, who are on unconditional bail, left their roles at Goldman Sachs and Clifford Chance in 2018. Suhail Zina qualified as a solicitor in February 2017.

Goldman Sachs has previously said that the firm was not subject to any investigation linked to the proceedings.

Fraud carries a maximum penalty of 10 years in prison, while insider trading carries a potential sentence of up to seven years.

The FCA, which is responsible for supervising about 60,000 companies, has made tackling market abuse and insider trading a top priority.

It and its predecessor, the Financial Services Authority, have secured 36 convictions for insider trading since 2001. In its 2019-20 annual report, the regulator said it had opened 415 preliminary reviews into market abuse.

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Asset management. Monetary policy

Unwinding of reflation trade wrongfoots big-name funds



Bets on higher inflation are 'rinsed' after Fed's signals of more hawkish rate outlook

COLBY SMITH — NEW YORK
LAURENCE FLETCHER — LONDON

Investors are reassessing their conviction in the reflation trade that has captivated Wall Street this year after a hawkish tilt by the US central bank inflicted losses on some fund managers.

Betting against the price of US government bonds was a winning play earlier this year with hedge funds and other investors raking in chunky gains as the economic recovery gathered pace.

But recent gyrations and the spectre of a policy pivot from the Federal Reserve have cast doubt on the durability of the trade.

"It is obvious that the reflation trade got rinsed," said Thanos Bardas, deputy chief investment officer for fixed income at Neuberger Berman. "The market overreacted [but] the uncertainty has increased."

Several big-name hedge fund were caught up in the maelstrom, including Andrew Law's Caxton Associates and Chris Rokos's Rokos Capital.

The rationale for the reflation trade had centred around expectations that the accelerating US vaccination programme and removal of Covid-19 lockdown measures would usher in a period of high growth and inflation as business activity began to normalise.

The Fed's insistence that it would also look past rapidly rising US consumer prices, which it deemed temporary, before adjusting its ultra-accommodative monetary policy further emboldened investors to take a stance against longer dated Treasuries.

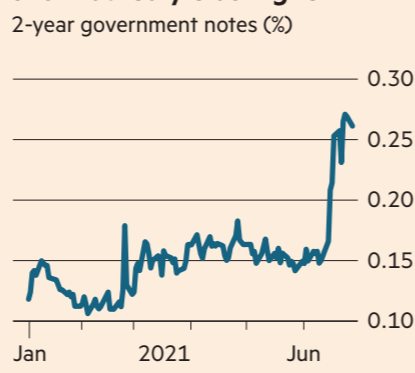
Longer term debt tends to suffer

US benchmark Treasury yields drop from 2021 highs
10-year government bonds (%)



Source: Refinitiv

Fed policy shift signal pushes short-dated yields higher
2-year government notes (%)



disproportionately from inflation since it erodes the value to investors of interest payments that are "fixed" for a period that spans many years.

Hedge funds piled in to the trade, betting that it was the next big win after they profited from rallying prices for US Treasuries last year.

Caxton, one of the top-performing hedge funds in 2020, wrote in December that "the stage may well be set for a great reflation".

Some funds bet on bonds while others put on positions against the dollar.

Recent months have taken the shine off of this trade with renewed buying in 10-year Treasuries sending yields falling well off of recent highs recorded in March 2021, despite larger than expected jumps in consumer prices.

But it was June's meeting of US central bankers and nascent signals that the Fed may not be as tolerant of higher inflation as previously expected under the new policy framework it unveiled last August that delivered the most significant blow to date.

After initially selling off sharply after the meeting — which opened the door to

two interest rate increases in 2023 — US government bond prices shot higher as investors grappled with how to decipher the Fed's slightly less dovish tone.

This rise in price pushed the benchmark 10-year yield as low as 1.35 per cent earlier this month, from highs of nearly 1.8 per cent in March. It has since steadied at about 1.50 per cent.

The two-year note, which is more sensitive to monetary policy adjustments, shifted higher with yields up 0.11 percentage points since the start of the month to 0.26 per cent.

That led to a swift flattening of the yield curve, which tracks the difference between long- and short-dated Treasury yields.

"What happened was a bit of a reinterpretation of what the Fed's [framework] really means," said Michael De Pass, global head of US government bond trading at Citadel. "The 'let it run hot' narrative is maybe not quite as pronounced as market participants were anticipating."

He added: "Confidence in the [reflation trade] has been dented."

The price swings were in part amplified by how funds were positioned

Watching brief: Wall Street has been transfixed by the spectre of a policy pivot from the US central bank

Richard Drew/AP

heading into the Fed meeting. So-called "steepener" bets that profit when longer dated Treasury prices decline at a faster pace than shorter dated notes were particularly crowded ahead of the Fed meeting, according to CFTC data.

Caxton suffered a drop of about 8 per cent in its \$2bn Macro fund, which is still up this year, said people who had seen the numbers.

Brevan Howard has lost about 1.5 per cent in its main fund in June and 2.9 per cent in a fund run by trader Alfredo Saitta.

Rokos has lost about 4 per cent this month, said people familiar with its performance. Rokos and Brevan declined to comment while Caxton did not respond to a request for comment.

While some managers have been burnt by the reversal of the reflation trade, others are holding firm, using the recent "positioning washout" — as one trader put it — as a buying opportunity.

"Nothing in our view has changed," said Bob Michele, chief investment officer at JPMorgan Asset Management, who noted that his team added to its steepened bets in recent days.

"We are all in on the reflation trade," he added. "We think there is a lot of growth and inflationary pressures that are building in the economy . . . [and] we are only halfway through the reopening domestically."

Dan Ivascyn, group chief investment officer at Pimco, is also of the view that long-dated Treasury yields are likely to rise from here, given that inflation risk is "to the upside".

But he cautioned the path forward could be bumpy.

"You are in a period where valuations are much more stretched, [and] it takes less bad news to create the same amount of volatility," said Ivascyn. "You want to keep checking your thinking."

'The let it run hot narrative is maybe not quite as pronounced as market participants were anticipating'

Commodities

China coal futures dive after Beijing official forecasts higher production

THOMAS HALE — HONG KONG

Coal futures in China tumbled after a senior government official predicted that a rise in supply would weaken prices as concerns over power shortages rise across the country's southern manufacturing heartlands.

The price of Zhengzhou-traded coal futures for delivery in September fell 7 per cent to Rmb790 per tonne yesterday. It came a day after state-run news service Xinhua quoted an unnamed official at China's top economic planning agency as saying higher production, increased imports and greater use of solar and hydropower would lead prices to "drop significantly" from July.

Prices surged to a record last month as shortages across China's manufacturing hubs highlighted a lack of coal supply.

Coal is just one front in China's war against high commodity prices, which have soared on expectations of a post-coronavirus global economic boom and pushed factory gate prices to their fastest rise since the 2008 financial crisis.

That has raised fears of inflation across the country's economy, which has recovered rapidly from the Covid-19

emergency and benefited from surging global demand for its exports.

"You had limited supply of coal, but the coal demand for power generation was very strong," said Rosealea Yao, China investment analyst at Gavekal, a research group. She added that high prices were likely to be "temporary" but the government may be too optimistic about any falls in the short term.

The coal situation captures a wider conundrum for China as it seeks to shift from heavily polluting activity and



China's coal-fired power plants could benefit from a rise in supply

reach carbon neutrality by 2060, an ambition that conflicts with the industry-fuelled initial response to Covid-19.

As well as environmental targets, accidents and safety measures have curbed production at mines recently.

In the Xinhua interview, "the relevant official" at the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) said the agency had "made every effort to increase coal production and supply", reiterating earlier comments from a state council meeting in May chaired by premier Li Keqiang on the need to tap "rich coal resources".

The official said daily production had risen 10 per cent from the end of May.

Last month's state council meeting concluded measures were needed to stop higher producer prices spurring consumer inflation. Factory gate prices in May rose 9 per cent year on year, far ahead of consumer price inflation of 1.3 per cent. Last month, the NDRC warned of "excessive speculation" in markets and said it would crack down on monopolies and hoarding, prompting a fall in the price of iron ore.

Additional reporting by Wang Xueqiao in Shanghai

Commodities

Glencore bets on fossil fuel by taking full ownership of Colombian mine

NEIL HUME
NATURAL RESOURCES EDITOR

Glencore is buying out its partners' interests in one of the world's biggest open-pit thermal coal mines, the latest deal in an industry being reshaped by pressure from banks and investors.

Under the deal, the London-listed miner and commodity trader has agreed to acquire the 66.6 per cent of Cerrejón in Colombia it does not already own from Anglo American and BHP for \$294m each in cash. Glencore expects to recoup its investment less than two years after the acquisition is completed.

The agreement came as the price of the fossil fuel has hit its highest level in a decade on strong demand from Asia and a lack of investment in new supply.

Glencore also said yesterday that it was aiming to cut its total emissions 50 per cent by 2035 on 2019 levels, up from a previous goal of 40 per cent, and was targeting a 15 per cent reduction by 2026, which has been restated to reflect full ownership of Cerrejón.

Big miners are coming under increasing pressure from investors and banks to divest coal mines and align their

businesses with the Paris climate agreement. Thermal coal is burnt in power stations to generate electricity, a process that is responsible for about 30 per cent of global carbon dioxide emissions.

Anglo American has demerged its South African coal assets into a company listed in Johannesburg and London. The Cerrejón deal will complete its exit from coal. BHP is examining offers

'Disposing of fossil fuel assets and making them someone else's issue is not the solution'

for its Australian thermal coal business. However, Glencore's long-serving chief executive Ivan Glasenberg has dismissed coal divestment as pointless, saying there were no environmental benefits from investors pressing miners to sell or spin-off coal mines.

He has argued that the company, the world's biggest exporter of thermal coal, was better off running down its mines and using them as a source of cash to expand production of raw materials

Fixed income

Europe set to kickstart sluggish corporate bond trading

PHILIP STAFFORD

Banks, regulators and fund managers are gearing up for a fresh Brussels-led effort to jump-start trading in Europe's corporate bond market, which has been held back by a stubborn lack of transparency.

The European Commission has this year initiated a push founded on the creation of a central database to hold vital trading information such as the price, size, yield and trading venue of bond transactions.

The move reflects a recognition that, despite sweeping reforms three years ago, the market remains too opaque in the eyes of many investors, who face a mishmash of data because trading venues report trades differently.

The commission signalled in January that its underlying concern was that poor transparency was hampering the development of EU capital markets as it seeks to reduce the EU's reliance on the City of London.

Policy makers have found a potential model for better reporting in the US's Trace system, which logs over-the-counter transactions in fixed income securities. Brussels has confirmed that a so-called consolidated "tape" — a live database containing basic trading

'Under Mifid II, operating a consolidated tape is not a commercially viable proposition, even at cost'

information — will be part of reforms it plans to unveil later this year.

Its previous attempt to build a tape via the 2014 Mifid II markets rules put the onus on private companies to build one but nothing emerged.

Nicholas Bean, global head of electronic trading solutions at Bloomberg, said: "Under the current [Mifid II] regulatory framework, operating a consolidated tape is not a commercially viable proposition, even at cost."

He added: "If this is addressed through regulatory changes, we will perform the necessary due diligence to see whether we could bring — or assist in bringing — benefits to our clients and the broader market in facilitating the operation of a tape."

Brussels is also considering plans to revamp a system of waivers and deferrals on reporting for illiquid bonds, according to two people familiar with the commission's thinking.

The current system means about 96 per cent of deals do not have to be reported to the market immediately.

The authorities' efforts to build secondary market trading have been hit by the European Central Bank's bond-buying in recent years, which has mopped up and held €281bn of bonds and sharply reduced market liquidity.

The Dutch Authority for the Financial Markets, one of the EU's most influential regulators, last week urged a "fundamental rethink" in Brussels of the region's bond market.

FT

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

COMPANIES & MARKETS

The day in the markets

What you need to know

- Wall Street's tech-heavy Nasdaq Composite hits another record
- Core government debt rallies on both sides of the Atlantic
- Travel sector tumbles after Portugal and Spain unveil curbs on holidaymakers

Wall Street's Nasdaq Composite hit another all-time high while government bonds rallied yesterday as investors brushed aside fears about the US Federal Reserve prematurely tightening its monetary policy.

The tech-heavy Nasdaq was up 0.7 per cent by lunchtime in New York as concerns eased about a rise in borrowing costs that would dent the valuations of high-growth companies such as Apple and Facebook. The broader S&P 500 was flat after closing out its best week since February last Friday.

Core government debt rallied on both sides of the Atlantic, taking the yield on the 10-year US Treasury down 7 basis points to 1.47 per cent while the equivalent German Bund slid 3bp to minus 0.19 and the 10-year UK gilt hit 0.72 per cent, having fallen 6bp.

Fed officials this month brought forward their projections for the first post-pandemic interest rate rise by a year to 2023, initially causing gyrations in stock and bond markets and the dollar.

But investors' nerves were eased last week when Fed chair Jay Powell promised not to raise rates "pre-emptively" and data showed month-on-month US inflation ran slightly below economists' expectations in May.

Treasury yields have dropped after racing higher in the first quarter of the

European companies linked to tourism tumble



Source: Refinitiv

year, a period when investors bet heavily on hawkish moves by the Fed.

That, in turn, prompted fund managers to sell out of tech shares and focus on so-called "value" stocks such as industrial groups and banks that are seen as beneficiaries of an economic recovery from the pandemic.

"In terms of value and growth styles, it now makes sense to hold an even balance," said Nadège Dufossé, head of cross asset strategy at fund manager Candriam. "We think central banks will remain very cautious about removing accommodation."

In Europe, companies linked to tourism trailed the wider market after Spain, Portugal and Malta unveiled plans to impose new rules on holidaymakers from the UK.

The continent's travel and leisure sector tumbled 4.4 per cent yesterday, lagging behind the broader Stoxx Europe 600 benchmark, which slid 0.6 per cent. The Ibx 35 index in tourism-dependent Spain lost 2 per cent.

Brent crude, the global oil benchmark, dropped 1.6 per cent to \$74.95 a barrel but remained around its highest point since April 2019. **Naomi Rovnick**

Meme stock hype can deter women from investing

Ellen Carr

Markets Insight



My godson calls to ask me "what's a day trader?" just after his 18th birthday, newly in possession of a Schwab brokerage account flush with high school graduation cash.

When I define the term, he confesses to me that, yep, he has become a day trader with a \$1,000 paper profit in his first week as a legal adult.

I say "confesses" because he has done what I recommended against doing: perusing Reddit forums and gambling on stocks such as retailer GameStop.

My godson is not going to the poorhouse if he bets wrong. I doubt most day traders are. And I am sure he is learning a lot from his experience.

But as someone who makes a living out of managing investments, I worry about the broader impact of the hype around day trading in so-called meme stocks. It perpetuates a number of myths about investment management which, in turn, perpetuates the lack of gender diversity in the industry.

The breathless coverage of meme stocks signals that investing is the purview of high-testosterone, risk-taking, fence-swinging "bros" who yell in online forums and go to war with rich hedge fund managers.

It suggests successful investors rely primarily on instinct, not analysis. The reality, of course, is very different. As a portfolio manager, I can personally attest to the fact that the majority of us, male and female, are by and large analytical, stodgy, nerdy folks who would not consider buying a stock or bond without having deeply researched the company. It would be reckless otherwise, not to mention a violation of fiduciary duty to clients.

The concentrated bets on very few stocks by meme stock traders defies Investing 101's principle of diversification. The day trading approach requires tremendous risk appetite and acceptance of daily, unpredictable fluctuations in your life savings.

Research shows that women typically have a different approach to risk. That is not to say they are incapable of taking it — just that they tend to have a more balanced view of risk-reward.

I worry a young woman reading the meme stock coverage could conclude either that she is no match for the hyped traders and/or that she has no interest

As a portfolio manager, I can attest to the fact that the majority are analytical, stodgy, nerdy folks

in working in an industry dominated by this personality type.

Women are already being deterred from entering fund management in vast numbers. The industry gender imbalance is severe. Only 10 per cent of US portfolio managers (the people investing your money if you own a mutual fund or ETF) are women, according to a Morningstar research report. And only 16 per cent of financial advisers (the people recommending the mutual funds and ETFs for you) are women.

Investment management interviews often lionise actual investing experience, which is a troubling way to screen candidates. In addition to the obvious baseline of investable wealth required, which eliminates people who grew up in modest homes, how do you verify this

prerequisite? Let's say a woman enrolls in an MBA programme, the traditional pipeline into the investment manager career path.

Her interest in an investment job might be piqued. Yet she might be derailed by a recruiting process that almost always asks candidates about their investing experience. She could be interviewing alongside the earnest young man who tells the story of his "ten-bagger" — an investment that goes up 10 times in value — on a stock beloved by the meme crowd such as movie chain AMC Entertainment.

Then the hype over what it takes to be a day trader crops up again. A Harvard Business Review study suggests that women only apply for a job if they have 100 per cent of the qualifications versus men who apply with 60 per cent. That may suggest that a job for which a "killer instinct" is touted as a qualification will necessarily attract fewer women.

Much more attention needs to be paid to the tremendous gender and racial inequities in the ranks of portfolio managers and investment analysts than putting out the umpteenth meme stock piece. This meme coverage likely contributes to these inequities by discouraging women and people of colour from joining the investment industry.

My latest call from my godson was another update about his paper profits (up 45 per cent or \$4,500 now). He was with one of his classmates who's also a self-styled day trader. On a whim, I asked them if they knew any female day traders. They replied: "Um, no."

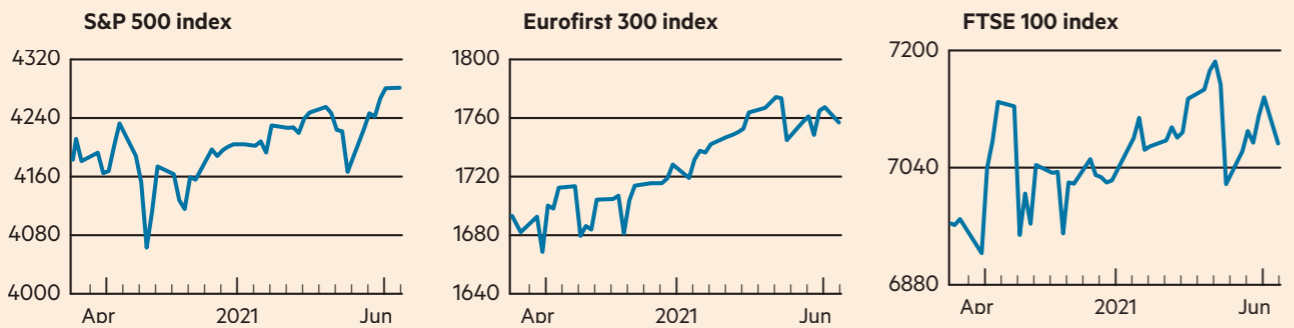
Ellen Carr is a bond portfolio manager at Barksdale Investment Management and co-author of 'Undiversified: The Big Gender Short in Investment Management'

Markets update

	US	Eurozone	Japan	UK	China	Brazil
Stocks	S&P 500	Eurofirst 300	Nikkei 225	FTSE100	Shanghai Comp	Bovespa
Level	4281.27	1756.92	29048.02	7072.97	3606.37	126761.01
% change on day	0.01	-0.59	-0.06	-0.88	-0.03	-0.39
Currency	\$ index (DXY)	\$ per €	Yen per \$	\$ per £	Rmb per \$	Real per \$
Level	91.935	1.193	110.625	1.389	6.457	4.939
% change on day	0.091	-0.167	-0.135	-0.144	0.029	0.168
Govt. bonds	10-year Treasury	10-year Bund	10-year JGB	10-year Gilt	10-year bond	10-year bond
Yield	1.467	-0.192	0.056	0.722	3.085	8.942
Basis point change on day	-6.700	-3.700	0.920	-5.500	0.100	2.900
World index, Commods	FTSE All-World	Oil - Brent	Oil - WTI	Gold	Silver	Metals (LMEX)
Level	4753.2	74.95	73.04	1786.65	26.13	4137.00
% change on day	-0.14	-1.55	-1.32	0.10	0.54	0.41

Yesterday's close apart from: Currencies = 16:00 GMT; S&P, Bovespa, All World, Oil = 17:00 GMT; Gold, Silver = London pm fix. Bond data supplied by Tullett Prebon.

Main equity markets



Biggest movers

	US	Eurozone	UK
Ups	Viacombcs 6.39	Danone 2.19	Astrazeneca 1.96
	Nvidia 4.97	Ucb 2.01	Avast 1.91
	Nrg Energy 4.88	Novo Nordisk 1.55	Ocado 1.71
	Electronic Arts 4.13	Linde 1.49	Rentokil Initial 1.21
	Activision Blizzard 3.71	Rwe 1.45	British American Tobacco 1.06
Downs	Apartment Investment And Management -6.86	Adp -5.94	Burberry -8.67
	Carnival -6.70	Safran -4.45	Int Consolidated Airlines S.a. -5.91
	Royal Caribbean -6.44	Amadeus It -4.19	Rolls-royce Holdings -5.63
	Expedia -6.18	B. Sabadell -4.03	British Land -3.97
	Nov -6.00	Lufthansa -3.62	Royal Dutch Shell -3.59

Prices taken at 17:00 GMT. Based on the constituents of the FTSE Eurofirst 300 Eurozone. All data provided by Morningstar unless otherwise noted.

Wall Street

Promising early trial data sent biotech group **Intellia Therapeutics** surging.

Co-founded by Nobel Prize winner Jennifer Doudna, it announced positive interim results from a phase 1 study of its genome-editing candidate, NTLA-2001, which is being developed to treat transthyretin amyloidosis, a severe disease that affects patients' heart and nervous system.

"The interim results support our belief that NTLA-2001 has the potential to halt and reverse the devastating complications of ATTR amyloidosis with a single dose," said Intellia chief executive officer John Leonard, who added the technique might unlock "the door to treating a wide array of other genetic diseases".

Gene-editing peers **Verve Therapeutics** and **Graphite Bio** also jumped following Intellia's news.

Cloud software group **QAD** rallied on news that it was being bought by private equity firm Thoma Bravo for \$87.50 a share, a 20 per cent premium on Friday's closing price.

Investor appetite for **Beyond Meat** rose after the producer of plant-based meat substitutes signed a partnership with food delivery platform DoorDash to offer grilling kits to customers.

The kits will be available from July 1 in 14 cities across the US. **Ray Douglas**

Europe

Austrian real estate group **S Immo**, which was the takeover target of peer **Immofinanz**, sank on news that the bid had been withdrawn.

A condition of the deal was a proposal over voting rights, which failed to achieve backing from 75 per cent of shareholders — the threshold necessary for it to pass.

"Unfortunately, the S Immo shareholders decided against this proposal and our offer is, therefore, no longer valid," said Stefan Schönauer, chief financial officer at Immofinanz, which also slid following the news.

Poorly received trial data sent French biopharma group **Ipsen** lower.

Interim analysis of its Cabometyx liver cancer treatment in combination with immunotherapy drug Atezolizumab showed that it "did not reach statistical significance" for overall survival, said Ipsen and its US trial partner, Exelixis.

A ratings upgrade helped lift **Danone**, the French group behind Evian water and Activia yoghurts, which was raised to "overweight" from "neutral" by JPMorgan.

The arrival of "highly seasoned executives" — such as chief executive Antoine de Saint-Affrique from Barry Callebaut — "gives the company its best opportunity in a decade to deliver on its portfolio potential as lags in operational execution are to be blamed for past failures", said the broker. **Ray Douglas**

London

Greggs received a lift from an upbeat trading update in which the baker announced that like-for-like sales growth in recent weeks had ranged from 1 per cent to 3 per cent against the same period in 2019.

"This level of sustained sales recovery is stronger than we had anticipated and, if it were to continue, would have a materially positive impact on the expected financial result for the year," said the retailer.

Defence contractor **Ultra Electronics** retreated after rising sharply on Friday on news that it was in "very early stages of exploratory discussions" with rival Cobham Group about a "combination".

"These discussions have now been terminated," said Ultra, which confirmed that it had not received a proposal from Cobham.

The reiteration of a "buy" recommendation helped boost drugs group **AstraZeneca**, which should "deliver returns on research and development investment above cost of capital and the sector average", said Berenberg.

"Positive data readouts in the first half from pipeline assets such as [breast cancer treatment] Enhertu should drive further upside in the AstraZeneca share price as probabilities of success increase and sales are subject to upward revisions," added the broker. **Ray Douglas**

COA / COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS SYMPOSIUM | **COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS BRAVO LEADERSHIP FORUMS**

Council of the Americas Symposium Virtual Conference

Join us for a two-part virtual conference to discuss the role of business in cross-regional growth and recovery, and the future of work in Latin America.

JUNE 30, 2021

Session 1 (2:00–2:45 pm ET)

BRAVO Leadership Conversation



Gavin Patterson,
President & Chief Revenue Officer, Salesforce



Host: Susan L. Segal
President & CEO AS/COA

Patterson will discuss the role of business in society, as well as Salesforce's view on the private sector's responsibility to benefit all stakeholders to ensure development and recovery as the world continues to navigate the challenges brought on by the pandemic. Patterson will also share Salesforce's perspective on what's needed in Latin America to ensure a digitally-trained workforce to tackle the region's most important challenges via innovative approaches.

Session 2 (2:45–4:00 pm ET)

COA Symposium Panel: Future of Work – Bridging the Skills Gap in Latin America

This second session will gather global leaders and skills development experts to discuss the retraining of the workforce in Latin America to advance development and opportunities in the region.



Tish Mendoza
Senior VP & Chief Human Resources Off., The AES Corporation



Nicole Amaral
Latin America Skills Transformation Lead, Coursera



Fernando Jaramillo
Vice President - People, Softtek



Tricia Maria Sá Pacheco de Oliveira
Partner, Trench, Rossi e Watanabe



Eduardo Marchiori
CEO, Mercer Brasil (moderator)

These conversations are part of our **2021 COA Symposium and BRAVO Virtual Series: The Acceleration of Business & Transformation**. Building upon its 26-year tradition, Council of the Americas continues to provide access to leadership and promote collaboration among industry and social leaders, at a time when it's more necessary than ever.

Sponsorships / Membership:
Mercedes Fernandez
mfernandez@as-coa.org
Mobile +1 (786) 333-4848

Speaking Engagements:
Yndira Marin
ymarin@as-coa.org
Mobile +1 (646) 386-6523

Registration:
Cyndi Balladares
bravoprogram@as-coa.org
Mobile: +1 (786) 302-8508

The Council of the Americas is the premier international business organization whose members share a common commitment to economic and social development, open markets, the rule of law, and democracy throughout the Western Hemisphere. Its membership consists of leading international companies representing a broad spectrum of sectors.

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:



PLATINUM SPONSORS:



GOLD SPONSORS:



SILVER SPONSORS:





SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS





MEDIA PARTNERS:





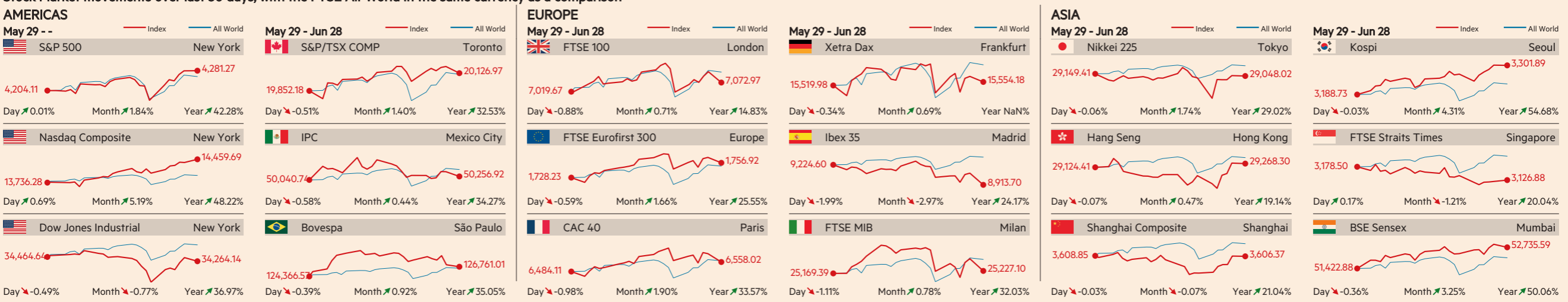
MARKET DATA

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



Country	Index	Latest	Previous
Argentina	Merval	64241.32	65133.47
Australia	All Ordinaries	7572.50	7578.60
Austria	ATX	3440.96	3481.88
Belgium	BEI 20	4154.30	4179.63
Brazil	Ibovespa	126761.01	127255.61
Canada	S&P/TSX Comp	12026.76	12133.50
Chile	S&P/CLX IGPA Gen	21845.32	22190.83
China	FTSE A200	14022.29	14219.88
Colombia	COLCAP	12920.61	12920.61
Croatia	CROBEX	2013.05	2011.29
Cyprus	CSE M&P Gen	68.46	68.68
Czech Republic	PSE	1161.86	1161.18
Denmark	OMX Copenhagen 20	1045.41	1036.03
Egypt	EGX 30	1637.02	1077.86
Estonia	OMX Tallinn	1653.01	1656.02
Finland	OMX Helsinki General	12443.51	12443.51
France	CAC 40	6558.02	6622.87
Germany	DAX	5130.87	5181.62
Greece	Athens Gen	903.34	907.76
Hong Kong	Hang Seng	25298.30	25298.22
Hungary	BUX	48301.62	48461.47
India	BSE Sensex	52753.59	52925.04
Indonesia	JCI	5259.47	5259.47
Ireland	ISEQ	6189.57	6189.57
Israel	Tel Aviv 125	1765.94	1768.43
Italy	FTSE Italia All Share	2769.17	2797.53
Japan	Nikkei 225	2948.02	2906.18
Kenya	NSE 20	2108.71	2110.90
Korea	KOSPI	2370.80	2370.80
Lithuania	OMX Vilnius	915.94	917.18
Luxembourg	FTSE Lux 100	1554.76	1554.42
Malaysia	FTSE Bursa KLI	1544.71	1559.68
Mexico	IPC	50256.92	50548.96
Morocco	MASI	12417.60	12476.51
Netherlands	AEX	730.86	731.14
New Zealand	NZX 50	12603.75	12626.09
Nigeria	FTSE All Share	22498.26	22498.26
Norway	Oslo All Share	1017.37	1008.89
Pakistan	KSE 100	47002.35	47063.38
Philippines	Manila Comp	6537.96	6505.51
Poland	WIG	69052.23	67947.66
Portugal	PSI 20	5066.75	5087.01
Romania	BEL Index	11987.28	11879.16
Russia	Micex Index	3627.60	3631.84
Saudi Arabia	TADAWUL All Share Index	6191.68	6189.20
Singapore	FTSE Straits Times	3219.68	3211.60
Slovakia	SAX	3652.80	3652.80
Slovenia	SBV TOP	3652.80	3652.80
South Africa	FTSE/JSE All Share	65809.35	66215.47
South Korea	FTSE/JSE Res 20	63603.59	64061.91
Spain	IBEX 35	59620.66	60140.15
Sri Lanka	CSE All Share	439.98	440.40
Sweden	OMX Stockholm 30	7276.34	7279.94
Switzerland	SMI Index	12039.17	11959.70
Taiwan	Weighted PI	17599.97	17592.99
Thailand	Bangkok SET	1579.17	1582.67
Turkey	BIST 100	1373.25	1391.86
UAE	Abu Dhabi General Index	6706.65	6676.04
UK	FTSE 100	7072.97	7126.07
USA	DJ Industrial	34294.14	34433.84
Venezuela	BVC	5022.12	4867.78
Vietnam	VNI	1405.91	1390.12
DJ Global Titans (E)		486.66	494.23
EU Stock 50 (E)		4089.05	4120.66
Eurocom 100 ID		1273.06	1282.90
FTSE 4Good Global (E)		10558.12	10538.43
FTSE All World (E)		475.32	475.98
FTSE E20 (E)		1758.92	1767.42
FTSE Eurotop 100 (E)		3303.59	3322.33
FTSE Global 100 (E)		2791.38	2783.42
FTSE Gold Min (E)		2166.02	2164.11
FTSE LatAm Top (E)		4440.00	4322.20
FTSE MidCap (E)		3048.23	3039.61
FTSE Net (E)		846.02	849.47
FTSE Next 100 (E)		4522.28	4574.07
FTSE Next 50 (E)		5633.41	5616.71
FTSE North America (E)		2188.41	2188.41
FTSE Pacific (E)		2174.75	2183.85
FTSE SmallCap (E)		3048.23	3039.61
FTSE South America (E)		1839.21	1836.45
FTSE Taiwan (E)		3024.94	3013.36
FTSE Top 50 (E)		1839.21	1836.45
FTSE UK (E)		3219.75	3198.52
FTSE US (E)		1894.34	1916.61
FTSE World 200 (E)		3335.16	3339.42
Stoxx 50 (E)		3530.89	3545.17

(c) Closing (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

Country	Index	Latest	Previous	Change (%)
USA	DJ Industrial	34294.14	34433.84	-0.41%
USA	DJ World	475.32	475.98	-0.14%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Asia	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Africa	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Latin America	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Oceania	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Middle East	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Asia	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Africa	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Latin America	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Oceania	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Middle East	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Asia	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Africa	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Latin America	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Oceania	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Middle East	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Asia	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Africa	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Latin America	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Oceania	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Middle East	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Asia	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Africa	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Latin America	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Oceania	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Middle East	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Asia	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Africa	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Latin America	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Oceania	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Middle East	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Asia	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Africa	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Latin America	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Oceania	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Middle East	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Asia	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Africa	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Latin America	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Oceania	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Middle East	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Asia	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Africa	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Latin America	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Oceania	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Middle East	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Asia	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Africa	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Latin America	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Oceania	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Middle East	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Asia	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Africa	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Latin America	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Oceania	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Middle East	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Asia	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Africa	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Latin America	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Oceania	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Middle East	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Asia	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Africa	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Latin America	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Oceania	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Middle East	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Asia	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Africa	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Latin America	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Oceania	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Middle East	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Asia	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Africa	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Latin America	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Oceania	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Middle East	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Asia	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Africa	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Latin America	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Oceania	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Middle East	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Asia	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Africa	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Latin America	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Oceania	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Middle East	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Asia	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Africa	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Latin America	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Oceania	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Middle East	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Asia	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Africa	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Latin America	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Oceania	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Middle East	1273.06	1282.90	-0.77%
USA	DJ Europe	1273.06		

ARTS

The thrill of the chaise

An LC4 recliner is the star of a new show of work by arch-modernist Charlotte Perriand at London's Design Museum. By Edwin Heathcote



Above: Charlotte Perriand on an LC4 chaise longue. Below: with Le Corbusier holding a plate — ADAGP, Paris and DACS, Pierre Jeanneret



It's one of the most familiar images of modern design: a woman lying on an LC4 recliner, the zigzagging chrome and leather chaise longue. Her face is turned away from the camera, her hair is cut short, a necklace of industrial ballbearings like oversized steel pearls hangs around her neck.

The louche posture and the glint of the frame are seductive, a manifestation of Modernism as a new, better way of life in which furniture moulds itself to the body and sits like sculpture in space. The LC in LC4 stands for Le Corbusier. But was it designed by Charlotte Perriand? She certainly played a part. Her meticulous full-size drawings are in a new show at the Design Museum in London, *Charlotte Perriand: The Modern Life*, and that's her in the photo, modelling it.

Perriand (1903-99) was one of the first generation of modernists, and her career perfectly tracked the changing concerns of the modern movement. It began with a chic Art Deco bar in her Paris garret and a minimal living space with tubular furniture. From there it progressed through a spell at Le Corbusier's atelier and their obsession with the minimum living space, squeezing apartments down to the essence of modern life. Then came modularisation, stints in Japan, Vietnam and Brazil, designs for ski resorts, airlines and railways: it would be hard to trace a straighter line through 20th-century design.

Perriand is one of the rare female designers whose reputation does not need rescuing from their male collaborators who sucked up the limelight and the legacy. Her involvement in LC4 and most of Le Corbusier's other furnishings is widely acknowledged. She was also the subject of a huge show at the Fondation Louis Vuitton, Paris, in 2019-20.

The Design Museum's smaller

but lovely new exhibition features fewer of the contemporary blockbuster artworks but attempts to straddle collaboration and originality, the modern movement and what Perriand referred to as "the art of living". And what a life.

When Perriand first arrived at Le

Corbusier's studio in 1927, he said: "We don't embroider cushions here." Corb modified the tone a month later after visiting her exhibition at the Salon d'Automne, a modernist room of exquisite purity. Two years later she designed another room, reproduced here in shiny, machine-age detail. Lined with chrome and glass vitrines and with a mirrored cylindrical shower at its centre, it combines open plan and minimal footprint. She spent a decade in the atelier, on furniture collections and interiors, producing some of the most vivid images of the era. Her quick, clear and simple sketches for the furniture are here along with original pieces plus reproductions.

After leaving, her work became softer, more organic. Beachcombing with Fernand Léger, driftwood and shells profoundly influenced her new

direction towards more natural shapes; her wooden-topped tables retain the forms of the trunks and create more convivial, irregular and less hierarchical seating arrangements. She collaborated with engineer Jean Prouvé and produced the memorable Nuage modular bookshelves and room dividers (1956). She spent two years in Japan, where she created bamboo and timber versions of the tubular steel classics (including a wonderful recliner, shown here). And she ended up designing the final resting place of late modernism, that amalgam of leisure and corporate representational space: a ski resort, Les Arcs. Her own house in the Alps coherently blended influences from a peasant cottage, a Japanese tea house and a modernist villa. It is a magical vision, never dogmatic, always willing to adapt.

What comes across here through the photos, the letters, the drawings and the designs is the idea of a life well-lived. From a topless shot from behind, arms raised to the Alps in a gesture of joy and defiance, to photographs of her in a kimono eating with chopsticks, a huge smile on her face, and of Le Corbusier holding up a metal dish behind her head like a halo, a kind of joy in living permeates the show.

A committed socialist, she was well aware of the exclusivity which was the end of much of her work. Her attempts to create cheaper recliners — in bamboo, wood, canvas and tube — recur through the show, always bringing us back to that first photo. This was an art intended for everyone. Perhaps the real lesson is that the furniture, no matter how beautiful, is only ever a backdrop. The good life itself is the goal.

To September 5, designmuseum.org

Former rap provocateur toasts his good fortune

ALBUM

Tyler, The Creator

Call Me If You Get Lost
★★★★★

Ludovic Hunter-Tilney

In "Smoke on the Water", Deep Purple sang about watching a burning casino "on the Lake Geneva shoreline", an awesome sight that "we'll never forget". Almost 50 years later, Tyler, The Creator turns up in the same place on his new album. Where British monsters of rock once sojourned, now we encounter a Californian rap star.

Call Me If You Get Lost, stylised in capital letters like its song titles, opens with Tyler motoring in a Rolls-Royce to Lake Geneva for a refreshing dip. "Geneva water the best," he declares. "Switzerland, Lake Geneva" is "where I spend my summer in," the rapper, real name Tyler Gregory Okonma, goes on to explain in "Juggernaut". During "Hot Wind Blows" he takes a trip around the lake on a yacht eating "fish so fresh you could taste the sand", while guest compère DJ Drama is spoon-fed "French vanilla ice cream" by a "young lady". There are no burning casinos here, just a winning spin of life's wheel of fortune.

The album is the follow-up to 2019's Grammy award-winning *Igor*. Recognition at the US music industry's showcase ceremony capped a turn-around in Tyler's reputation. A decade previously he had been an underground provocateur castigated for violent, hateful lyrics as leader of shock-rap group Odd Future. In 2015 he was banned from entering the UK for four years. Grammy victory and platinum records were his vindication, as sweet-tasting as French vanilla ice cream on a Swiss yacht.

His depictions of Lake Geneva high life join a litany of boasts on *Call Me If You Get Lost*, the usual rap

rodomontade of top-end properties, luxury vehicles, designer jewellery and million-dollar paydays. But the bragging isn't done in the style of the usual rapper. Following his controversial beginnings with Odd Future, Tyler has developed into one of hip-hop's boldest, most intriguing figures. Mainstream acceptance hasn't diminished his powers of invention.

The album's artwork nods to *Return to the 36 Chambers: The Dirty Version*, the 1995 solo debut by Wu-Tang Clan rapper Ol' Dirty Bastard. But whereas the latter album was themed around the idea of captivity in a zoo, Tyler's record is inspired by travel and freedom.

As well as Switzerland, the songs take trips to Paris, Cannes, Nice and Capri. But their liberated character goes deeper than geographic references.

Mostly produced by Tyler, the music is densely layered and quixotic. "Lemonhead" switches from hard-hitting beats and a babble of voices into easy-listening bossa nova, while "Massa" switches on the word "passport" from a flute-led jazz routine into stripped-back hip-hop. Tyler's verses are variously comic, candid, crude, surreal and introspective. The wealth worship is done drily: "Remember I was rich so I bought me some new emotions/And a new boat 'cause I rather cry in the ocean."

Two lengthy songs stand out amid the shorter tracks that comprise the bulk of the album. "Sweet/I Thought You Wanted to Dance" deviates into pop-soul and summery reggae. "Wilshire" reverses the love triangle between two men and a woman that Tyler daringly addressed on *Igor*. This time it's the song's male protagonist and the woman who are having the affair, not the two men. Such shifts in perspective keep us on our toes. Meanwhile Tyler's ear for beats and his low-voiced, unflustered rapping style hold our attention fast.

Out now on Columbia Records



Tyler, the Creator at Sunday's BET Awards in LA — Chris Pizzello/Invision/AP

Grange Festival keeps Dream alive

OPERA

A Midsummer Night's Dream

Grange Festival, Hampshire

★★★★★

desert.in

Boston Lyric Opera

★★★★★

Richard Fairman

All the UK's music festivals have faced challenges from the pandemic, the Grange Festival in Hampshire more than most. Its plan to take advantage of the expected opening-up of the economy on June 21 came unstuck when the date was postponed; it must be a huge relief that the festival has qualified for the government's events research programme, with full attendance allowed from July 1.

That was not all. The Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra felt unable to play in the theatre's less-than-socially-distanced small pit. Time to give up? The UK's summer opera festivals have shown their fighting spirit and the Grange is no exception. When the curtain rose on opening night for Britten's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, appropriately on midsummer's night, it must have felt as if they had slain a cohort of dragons.

The biggest surprise is the Grange's answer to the missing orchestra. Cutting-edge technology was chosen to "play the full orchestral score digitally live", and anybody who was unaware there was no orchestra in the pit would be hard pushed to guess. Conductor Anthony Kraus keeps co-ordination skilfully on track.

The production is more of a problem. It looks good, set among the ruins of the

Temple of Apollo at Delphi, but director Paul Curran has pepped up the action with an exhausting cornucopia of high jinks, and the comedy is laid on with a trowel.

A very decent cast of singers could have achieved more with less. Alexander Chance and Samantha Clarke glitter as supernatural Oberon and Tytania. Eleanor Dennis's Helena and Angela Simkin's Hermia squabble with rollicking bitchiness. Henry Waddington sings a sonorous Bottom and Chris Darmanin hurtles round the stage as an athletic Puck. This is a show with almost too much life. Rossini's *La Cenerentola* and Puccini's *Manon Lescaut* are the season's other operas.

Meanwhile, Boston Lyric Opera's eight-part operatic mini-series *desert.in* has reached its climax. Even online, where some unusual projects have been spawned in the past year, a supernatural mystery video series is a first for opera.

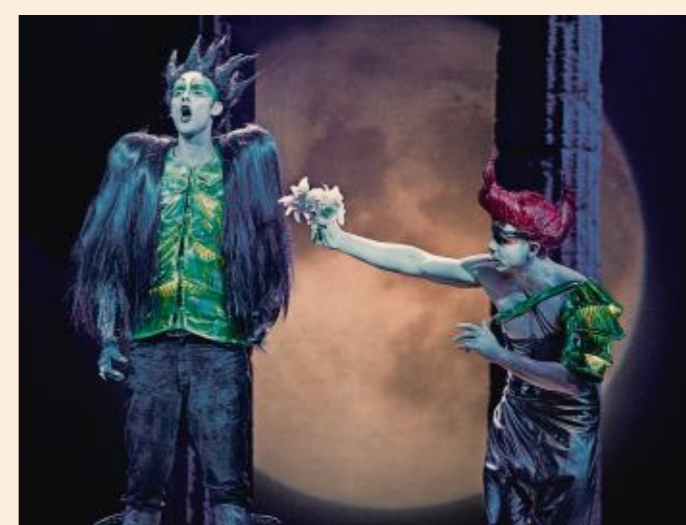
The plot centres on a mysterious hotel

in the desert, where guests check in to make contact with former loves. These encounters toy with dividing lines, like past and present, dead and alive, male and female (couplings of every kind in tribute to LGBT+ Pride month).

The opera has gained in focus and direction as it has gone along. Having eight composers was a risk, but Ellen Reid, one of the project's masterminds, has drawn atmospheric scores from her collaborators, including Vijay Iyer and Nico Muhly, and the filming holds to an arty style of its own.

There are mysteries aplenty. Why do memories surface after a swim in the pool? Will Ion be able to free the guests? No spoilers here. There is still time to check in to the desert inn. The eight films, each lasting about 15 minutes, are on Boston Lyric Opera's streaming site, operabox.tv, and via platforms including Apple and Google.

To July 2, thegrangefestival.co.uk
'desert.in' now streaming on operabox.tv



Alexander Chance, left, as Oberon and Chris Darmanin as Puck
Simon Annand

FTWeekend

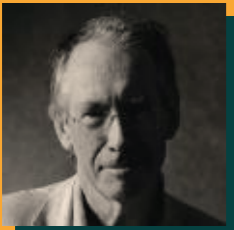
Headline partners

BANK OF AMERICA

MACRO
ADVISORY
PARTNERS

FTWEEKEND FESTIVAL

The Reawakening:
Imagining a post-pandemic world



Ian McEwan
award-winning
novelist



Sarah Gilbert
creator of the
AstraZeneca vaccine
and Oxford University
professor of vaccinology



Amia Srinivasan
Oxford University
professor of social
and political theory



Max Richter
composer and
pianist

This September's FTWeekend Festival is set to be a true celebration with a theme that offers both hope and reflection: imagining a post-pandemic world. Returning as an in-person festival with our usual eclectic line-up of speakers and subjects, we will once again bring the FTWeekend you know and love to life across seven stages.

4 September 2021 | Kenwood House Gardens, London & Online
ftweekendfestival.com

Festival partners

GAGOSIAN

netwealth
Wealth management as it should be

FT BIG READ. CHINESE POLITICS

To admirers, Xi Jinping is the right man at the right time, leading the 100-year-old party and China into a new era as one of the world's dominant economies. But critics say he has erased all checks and balances.

By Sun Yu and Tom Mitchell

Xi places Communist party centre stage

Last month a senior official from China's education ministry addressed more than 100 government colleagues and scholars at a closed-door event to discuss the centenary of the establishment of the Chinese Communist party, which will be officially marked with great fanfare in Beijing on Thursday.

Wang Binglin lectured his audience on controversial subjects, such as the party's iron grip on history ever since Mao Zedong seized power 72 years ago. In particular, he warned the scholars in attendance to be careful when speaking and writing about the party's violent land redistribution campaign in the early 1950s that claimed the lives of as many as 2m people.

"Playing up [the attack on landlords] is historical nihilism," Wang said, referring to the term used by President Xi Jinping to criticise anyone who deviates from the party's official historical narrative. He also noted that certain information in China's national archives was likely to be marked as classified and off-limits forever: "Making such information public is of little help for you historians and will also be bad for the party."



"By studying or writing about this [period], you will be taking the wrong side. That's why we ban the study and publication of such material. The same applies to Fang Fang's *Wuhan Diary*," he added, referring to the Wuhan-based novelist's account of Covid-19's emergence in the city last year that pillories government officials for their initial attempts to cover up the outbreak. "You won't become a good researcher if you don't follow [the] party."

The mixture of condescension and confidence implicit in Wang's remarks — that what is good for the party is good for China — provides a perfect encapsulation of the country under Xi.

Now 68, Xi has already been in power for nine years and, having abolished term limits on the presidency three years ago, is unlikely to formally relinquish the presidency until 2028 or possibly even 2033. The biggest question looming over next year's 20th party congress is whether Xi, currently the party's general secretary, will resurrect and assume Mao's title of party chair.

To his admirers, Xi is the right man at the right time, ready to lead the party and China into a "new era" that will be defined by its emergence as the world's largest economy, surpassing the US, and also establishing itself as a first-rank military and technological power.

"The party has suffered numerous setbacks," says David Wang, a Beijing-based scholar, referring to traumas ranging from a famine in the late 1950s and the cultural revolution of 1966-76 — each of which killed tens of millions of people — to the bloody suppression of pro-democracy protests in Beijing in June 1989. "But it ended up conquering China and turning the country into a global powerhouse. That is inspiring."

"I joined the party because there is no other political force that could make China better," adds Wang, who earned his PhD in the US and joined the party after returning to China a few years ago. "Ordinary people in both the US and China are like mobs who need to be guided. Average Chinese aren't ready for western-style democracy and need to be led. In the US, everyone can have an opinion and nothing gets done. China should follow a different path."

The third transformational leader?

Others fret that Xi's empowerment of the party over the past decade — epitomised by his assertion that "north, south, east, west and centre, the party is leader of all" — could hasten its own destruction through a process of top-down ossification that engenders widespread apathy among its 92m members.

"Party control permeates every aspect of life," says Wu Qiang, a former professor at Tsinghua University in Beijing and prominent party critic. "There

Above: critics say the achievements of Xi Jinping pale in comparison to those of Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping. Above left: Fang Fang, whose 'Wuhan Diary', criticising the official response to the pandemic, was banned. Below: a woman poses in front of a Communist flag at the museum of the first National Congress of the Communist Party of China in Shanghai

FT montage: Bloomberg; AFP/Getty Images; Getty Images



Average Chinese aren't ready for western-style democracy and need to be led. China should follow a different path

are no different voices inside or outside the party. As a result, there are no checks and balances... Small mistakes can develop into huge mistakes and endanger the party."

Like many of his peers, Xi is a Chinese "princeling" whose father held high party and government positions under both Mao and Deng Xiaoping, the architect of China's "reform and opening" programme that transformed the country into an economic powerhouse.

Few of Xi's critics in China dare to speak openly. But their criticism has a common refrain. They argue that Xi's accomplishments pale in comparison to those of Mao and Deng — both hardened guerrilla fighters who, respectively, won a political revolution and launched an economic one. Nonetheless, he regards himself as their equal, modern China's third "transformational" leader who does not have to follow the same rules that his immediate predecessors, Hu Jintao and Jiang Zemin, did. In the process, they add, he risks destroying the foundations of China's economic success over the past 40 years.

Deng too believed in the primacy of the party. He ordered the People's Liber-

ation Army to crush the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests because he feared the party's grip on power was under threat. But he also promoted and institutionalised policies designed to ensure that the party did not strangle the economy, such as greater autonomy for local and regional officials, a "collective leadership" ethos and the two-term limit on the presidency since abolished by Xi.

"Princelings see Xi Jinping as just one of them — they come from the same class," says Willy Lam, a China politics expert and lecturer at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. "They have trouble swallowing the fact that this guy who they grew up with is now the second Mao Zedong, has totally negated Deng's major achievement on orderly succession and revived Mao's personality cult."

'Our autonomy has shrunk'

In a village near Wuhan, a local party secretary says today's trend towards ever greater centralisation of power had

a clear starting point — the 18th party congress in November 2012, at which Xi was anointed party general secretary. He assumed the presidency in March 2013.

"Top-down decision making is to blame for political indifference," says the village party secretary, who asked not to be identified. "Our job now is to carry out tasks assigned by higher-level party organisations that rarely listen to average [party] members. While we have good knowledge about what ordinary people are thinking, it is difficult for us to report the situation to our leaders, let alone affect their decision making."

"Before the 18th party congress, villagers had considerable freedom to participate in public affairs," he adds. "Since President Xi took office, our village's autonomy has shrunk greatly as the authorities see it as a trigger for social instability."

In Beijing, a central government adviser is blunt — and unapologetic — about the changes. "Grassroots democracy," he says, "creates more problems than it solves".

Wu, the Tsinghua scholar, disagrees, saying that under Xi Chinese officials have become "two-faced and afraid to voice their true opinion — everyone just repeats party propaganda and the leader's speeches".

"Local officials used to have more initiative to innovate, to take risks for economic development," he adds. "Now they follow higher level officials. Everyone is restrained, so they do nothing... There is no self-correction mechanism in the system."

US President Joe Biden's recent progress in coaxing G7 and Nato allies into a "united front" challenging Beijing has angered Chinese officials, whose confidence in the superiority of their system compared with America's was emboldened by both Donald Trump's tumultuous presidency and western nations' failure to protect their populations from the Covid-19 pandemic.

"If Nato wants to branch out to the Asia-Pacific region, be our guest," says Victor Gao, a former translator for Deng and Chinese diplomat. "China has been here for 5,000 years and China will be here for another 5,000 years. China will stand firm regardless of whatever Nato does."

"Biden says America is back," Gao adds. "But Trump could be back in four years, right?"

Paul Haenle, a former national security staffer for both George W Bush and Barack Obama and director of the Carnegie-Tsinghua Center in Beijing, agrees that "uncertainty about the future of US democracy and the potential for a return of Trumpism" will give America's allies pause about confronting China too

openly. But, he adds, increasingly unfavourable "international views of China are unlikely to change until Beijing recognises that its actions, in addition to its diplomacy, are the main contributors to the downturn" in its relations with the US and EU.

The party's "confidence is turning into hubris", warns Richard McGregor, author of *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers*. "China's great strength needs to be self-criticism," he adds. "We don't see that any more. There is an element of triumph... There's no path beyond Xi Jinping. It doesn't matter how smart you are. That's dangerous."

'No longer a workers' party'

The party has for decades billed itself as the only political organisation that serves the Chinese people "wholeheartedly". To complete their revolutionary mission, the party constitution demands that its members be ready to "sacrifice everything".

Under Xi, there has been a big push to put this ideology into action. Party members, led by those working for the government and state-owned enterprises, are required to wear lapel pins in the workplace so they can be constantly reminded of their duty — and be identified by others as model workers to whom they can turn for help.

A similar campaign is under way in the countryside, where households are classified — and assigned tasks — depending on whether any family members have joined the party.

In Xinshiji, a small village near the manufacturing hub of Yiwu in eastern Zhejiang province, each home has a plate on its front door specifying whether a party member lives there.

Families with party members are supposed to serve as role models in five areas, ranging from adhering to "high ethical standards" to helping to "upgrade the local economy". In contrast, the only job asked of non-party households is to recycle their rubbish properly. "We count on party members to build a more prosperous village," says an official in Xinshiji.



'Since Xi took office, our village's autonomy has shrunk greatly as the authorities see it as a trigger for instability'

Hong Kong prepares for the party's centenary this week

The party, however, is struggling to recruit members intent on putting public interest above their own. Dozens of academic studies show Chinese adults, led by young people, pursued party membership mainly for personal gain. According to one survey of 1,885 college-age party members conducted by academics at Zhongnan University of Economics and Law in Wuhan, the most cited reason for joining the party was career advancement as a growing number of employers, led by government departments and state firms, now say they prefer to hire party members. "I had no plan to join the party until all my dream jobs began to require CCP membership," says Tina Hu, a Beijing-based office worker who is now seeking a government position. Hu applied to become a party member two years ago and is hoping to finish the process "as soon as possible" so she can make her career switch. In rural areas, owners of small businesses ranging from industrial farms to factories have overtaken farmers as the preferred candidates for party membership. "We expect [new members] to lead the whole village to prosperity," says the village party secretary near Wuhan. "In return we offer them benefits like better access to loans or government contracts." "The party is no longer a workers' and peasants' party," adds McGregor. "It is a managers' and businessmen's party." Of the 2.1m new members the party recruited in 2018, less than 5,700 of them were migrant workers even though such labourers account for more than a third of China's working-age population. This tension between a party apparatus that has become increasingly powerful under Xi — but also recognises that it needs capable private sector businesspeople to propel the economic growth that keeps it in power — has been evident in the party's effort to rein in private-sector tech giants such as Jack Ma's Alibaba and Ant Group, and Pony Ma's Tencent. "Nothing bad will happen to Jack Ma," says one senior Chinese government official, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "He has made good contributions to the economy and is still very much respected. He has done a great service to the people and the country. The lesson is just don't be so high-profile in China." Wang, the Beijing scholar and party member, believes that given another "30 or 40 years" the party will finally be able to worry less about what everyone from historians to internet tycoons do and say. "By then," he says, "I hope that people will have more freedom to choose what they want to believe."



FINANCIAL TIMES

'Without fear and without favour'

TUESDAY 29 JUNE 2021

Europe's rift with Hungary is deepening

EU leaders have no choice but to stand up for fundamental values

Munich's football stadium was not, in the end, illuminated in rainbow colours for a Germany vs Hungary Euro 2020 match last week in response to an egregious anti-LGBT+ law passed by Hungary's parliament; Uefa vetoed the idea as "political". The EU, to its credit, had no such hesitations. Prime Minister Viktor Orban faced an unusual and often personal display of outrage at a leaders' summit; European Commission president Ursula von der Leyen spoke of "shame". After years of clashes with the EU over his erosion of democratic norms, Orban may finally have stepped over the line.

The offending law bans portrayal of homosexuality or transgender people on TV and media before a late-night watershed and in sex education in schools. Hungarian channels have said even some of the *Harry Potter* films could be affected. Adding insult to injury, lawmakers appended the legislation at the last moment to a bill to increase sentences for paedophiles, indirectly equating homosexuality with offences against children.

Hungary's government insists the law restricts only what can be shown to children and so does not discriminate towards gay or transgender adults. But the legislation steps up the culture war Hungary, and nearby Poland, are waging with much of the rest of the EU. Budapest opened this new front late last year with legal changes whose effect was to bar same-sex couples from adopting children.

Orban's rightwing Fidesz party has long claimed to support "traditional" family values. Its anti-LGBT+ moves, though, appear less a reflection of conviction than an attempt to shore up its conservative rural base ahead of parliamentary elections next year. After three successive victories, it faces a six-party opposition alliance with a joint programme and candidates. Orban's tactics

echo those of Russian president Vladimir Putin, who signed an "anti-gay propaganda" law in 2013 in a conservative tilt after protests the previous year.

Fidesz is also extending its strategy of vilifying threats or enemies against which it claims to defend Hungarians. The first targets were the mostly Muslim migrants with which it claimed the EU planned to swamp countries such as Hungary. The LGBT+ law was passed days before an Orban speech attacking Brussels for trying to build a quasi-Soviet "empire" and setting out a plan to roll back its powers.

Critics in Hungary note many older EU member states had anti-LGBT+ restrictions until relatively recently. But von der Leyen and leaders who spoke out at the summit are right to list dignity, equality and respect for human rights as fundamental EU values. Failure to defend these would undermine the EU's mission to promote freedom and justice. By triggering a culture war, Orban's government deflects attention from the EU's concerns over its attempts to undermine democratic and judicial checks and balances. Fidesz and loyal media can claim to its electorate that Brussels is penalising the country over a law against paedophilia.

Planned EU legal action against Hungary's law could be lengthy. A mechanism tying disbursement of EU structural funds to respect for the rule of law is still subject to a legal challenge from Hungary and Poland. But with the commission due to sign off shortly on Hungary's plans to spend €7bn of EU recovery fund money, Brussels and other capitals could signal to Budapest that they will make especially strict assessments of whether economic reform commitments are being met unless it backs off on its culture war. To protect its values, the EU will need to use financial as well as legal leverage.

The dire state of England's court system

A decade of swingeing cuts has left crown courts with a record backlog

The criminal courts of England and Wales are in crisis. The backlog of outstanding court cases stood at a record 60,000 at the end of March, according to Ministry of Justice figures released recently. Trials, for some, will not be heard until 2023. The tiny percentage of rape victims who see their alleged attacker charged face an average 1,000-day wait between the offence and the end of trial. The odds are cases will be heard in a crumbling, dirty building where basic services do not work and support staff have been cut to the bone. Such a state belies the notion that the country's justice system is the envy of the world.

The pandemic, which initially shut courts in spring 2020, only served to exacerbate a problem that had built up as a result of swingeing cuts and disregard of the criminal justice system by successive governments over the past decade. It is not the courts alone that have suffered. Cuts there were mirrored in Legal Aid, and in the budgets for police and prosecutors. Taken together, that meant that the case backlog already stood at over 39,500 before the pandemic. Despite this, for the financial year leading up to March 2020, the MoJ had cut the crown court's budget by another 15 per cent and reduced the availability of courtrooms, even as cases coming into the system rose from 103,087 in 2018 to 107,797 in 2019.

Desperate times have prompted calls for desperate measures, such as the suggestion that smaller juries, of seven rather than 12 jurors, be used to help clear the backlog. While that would be more palatable than juryless trials, such a remedy is misguided. It may have had some use last year as a temporary solution to social-distancing rules. But there seems little point in eroding a fundamental right to be tried by a full complement of one's peers when

lockdown restrictions are due to be lifted in England on July 19.

The answer is simple: more money. The Lord Chief Justice, Ian Burnett, has said the amount needed is "little more than a rounding error" for the Treasury to consider. The emergency use of "Nightingale" courts — repurposed civic buildings and even hotels and theatres — was a start. There is some evidence the backlog is shifting. Court time is allocated, even if judges and courtrooms are available, according to a budget arrangement between the MoJ and judiciary known as sitting days. The ministry's recent decision to lift its cap on sitting days is welcome but this should extend beyond next year so that the maximum number of judges can preside over cases across the maximum number of courtrooms.

Like businesses everywhere, courts have discovered that the pandemic's new way of working has thrown up some positive, cost-effective elements that can be continued. Many proceedings not needing the physical presence of juries or even defendants, such as pre-trial hearings and legal arguments, have been heard remotely. That has also spared judges and publicly funded barristers — some of whom, at the juncture, are paid less than the minimum wage once travel costs are factored in — the time of journeying across the country for hearings that last minutes. The importance of technology underscored by lockdowns has at last jolted more investment in courts' antiquated IT systems.

The courts are the manifestation of the rule of law. If they cannot function properly, public confidence in justice is compromised. What is most needed is sustainable, long-term funding for the criminal justice system from top to bottom, rather than sticking plasters. Otherwise delays will continue, and justice delayed is justice denied.

Letters

Power supply is main risk in electric car race

In John Thornhill's interesting article on the rush into electric car production and the fate many carmakers face as sociology not tech will decide the electric car race (Opinion, June 25) there is no mention of the ultimate decider — electrical power supplies.

Existing coal and nuclear power generation plants in many countries are being phased out for age and environmental reasons. Transmission and distribution grids are stressed to breaking point by existing demand while new demand is being added by the needs of data centres, blockchain transactions and air conditioning. The

International Energy Agency has said this of the latter: "Growing electricity demand for air conditioning is one of the most critical blind spots in today's energy debate." To those must be added the new demand that quantum computing will bring fairly soon.

New supply from wind and solar is touted by many as a solution to the undoubted environmental needs but that which has been built or is envisaged cannot even cope with existing demand.

Yet one person from an electric car maker cited in the article is quoted as saying: "The world needs millions of

electric cars tomorrow." It would be useful if he and others of the same view — including governments that are also behind this rush — would state how those cars will be recharged if they are to be usable.

In the absence of a solution to that basic supply/demand problem, I conclude that it is electrical supply that will decide the electric car race and not sociology or tech. No electric car maker or their products will go far — in any sense — unless that problem is urgently addressed.

James Hanshaw
Zurich, Switzerland

Changes in GM food laws will imperil public health

As a career-long contributor to medical biotechnology, I write to express my strong disagreement with Camilla Cavendish ("We must overcome the fear of genetic engineering in our food", Opinion, June 19). Cavendish justifies deregulation of genetically modified foods by citing popular acceptance of GM medicines, including some Covid vaccines.

But medical applications of GM are completely different from food uses. Medicines are targeted at those who need them and are strictly regulated. Any effects are confined to the individual who gives their informed consent to accepting risks in exchange for hoped-for benefits. Effects are monitored post release.

What the UK government is advocating — and Cavendish is supporting — is the deregulation of GM foods, meaning the removal of safety checks and labelling that enables the public to choose whether to take the risk of eating a novel GM food. Labelling also ensures traceability in case something goes wrong — such as the appearance of new toxins or allergens, which, given the inherent imprecision and unpredictability of GM is well within the realms of possibility. The safeguards that exist under current GM food laws must be maintained to protect public health.

Michael Antoniou
Head, Gene Expression and Therapy Group, King's College London
Department of Medical and Molecular Genetics, Guy's Hospital, London SE1, UK

Genetic engineering is not like cattle breeding

Aron Miodownik's letter ("GM food will be vital in the greener future", June 26) referencing Camilla Cavendish's column ("We must overcome the fear of genetic engineering in our food", Opinion, June 19) misleadingly implies that genetic engineering is no different to what plant and animal breeders have done for millennia.

Quite the contrary, farmers for millennia have not been inserting jellyfish protein into plants and animals so that they glow in the dark, nor have they been integrating fish genes into tomato plants.

Regardless of one's opinion regarding genetic engineering, it should be acknowledged that genetic engineering is qualitatively different from farmers selecting the best of the litter for breeding stock.

Sim Gurewitz
El Cerrito, CA, US



Central bankers face no easy choices on inflation

I am very grateful for the debate on the causes and dangers of inflation in the FT recently. Martin Wolf ("The Fed risks being too slow on inflation", Opinion, June 9) argues that the Fed's "outcome-based" approach will probably allow inflation to build, and implicitly supports a "forecast-based" policy. His points are reasonable: if the late 70s are a good historical comparison, waiting for outcomes before adjusting policies will allow inflation to get out of control.

But recent research by Lawrence Mishel and Josh Bivens convincingly makes the opposite case: that after the 70s, policymakers made decisions based on predictions of inflation, rather than outcomes. This resulted in the disastrous austerity of the early century, long-term wage suppression, and high levels of inequality.

While high inflation would certainly be unwelcome, there are also genuine dangers in reverting to the prediction-based policymaking of the past few decades.

I sympathise with the central bankers who have to make this choice.

Justin Evans
Washington, DC, US

When trends peak in sync it's usually a warning

According to the FT Weekend, it seems we've reached peak Spac ("Short seller who predicted Enron says Spac boom is creating 'castles in the sky'", Report, June 26) and peak NFT (Life and Arts, June 26) valuations at the same moment. Coincidence or harbinger?

Eric A Anderson
New York, NY, US

Jobs, jobs, jobs: the pandemic worker shortage continues

I've learnt one invaluable lesson from the coronavirus pandemic: do not waste time trying to predict the future.

Just as I never thought I'd spend a year of my life stuck at home, nor would I have predicted what has happened as US pandemic restrictions eased. I assumed many Americans would struggle to find jobs after lockdown; instead, jobs are struggling to find people. Every aspect of post-pandemic life — and death — is affected by the labour shortage.

The cemetery where my late mother and brother are buried, and where I will also lie one day, sent out emails last week apologising for the tall grass and weeds cluttering the graves, saying they can't hire enough workers to mow the lawns.

When my family ventured out for one of our first maskless meals, at a local Korean barbecue restaurant, we found only two harried staff serving dozens of diners (memo to chef: we never got our garlic pork outlets).

Some municipal pools across the Midwest had to delay opening or cut hours due to a scarcity of lifeguards. And the Midwest's premier amusement park, Cedar Point, had to close two days a week for most of June due to short staffing. Cedar Point doubled seasonal wages to \$20 an hour and offered a \$500 signing bonus to get its roller coasters rolling and dodgem cars crashing full time again.

Julio Cano, chief business officer of the Bien Trucha group, which owns Mexican-inspired restaurants outside

Only stronger European sanctions can curb Putin

Vladimir Putin understands he does not need a summit with European leaders ("Berlin and Paris propose reset for EU relations with Moscow", Report, June 24).

The Russian leader has everything he needs — trade and energy without punishing sanctions. Putin understands that French President Emmanuel Macron and Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, will engage in verbal condemnation of any Russian provocation but will limit any damage to the Russian economy which would in turn hurt France, Germany and other European countries.

Until the EU — under the direction of Germany and France — change their behaviour with stronger trade and energy sanctions, Putin will not change his behaviour.

Ed Houlihan
Ridgewood, NJ, US

Publishing rebuttals from China cuts both ways

Regarding your decision to publish a letter from the spokesperson of the Chinese embassy ("China has the right to seek its own path", June 25) complaining of inaccuracies and bias in recent FT articles on China, does China reciprocate by allowing publication in their media comments by UK officials and analysts criticising Chinese coverage of western policies or of developments in China?

If not, then on each occasion that you give space to Chinese rebuttals, please remind both them and FT readers of this discrepancy, which fits with the growing denial of free speech and information in China.

Merle Lipton
King's College London
London WC2, UK

Bezos is not the first wealthy space tourist

John Thornhill writes ("Bezos adds space travel to the billionaire bucket list", Opinion, June 11) that there were two reactions to the news of Jeff Bezos's impending suborbital flight.

I had a third, namely surprise that the press seemed to forget the long line of wealthy space tourists who have gone before.

The creators of Ubuntu, Cirque du Soleil, Microsoft Office and the Ultima games series, among others, have already been to the International Space Station.

Charles Kitchen
New York, NY, US

Crypto investors should ignore its Instagram stars

Jemima Kelly (Opinion, June 24) is right to point out crypto has attracted its fair share of scams and financial speculation. It has serious technological challenges. There is the flip-flopping from crypto's high priest, Elon Musk. But is the reality so black or white that crypto and decentralised finance (DeFi) is the solution to all the inequalities in society or a big Ponzi scheme?

The irrational exuberance in crypto is no different to other markets. We must not forget the fragility of the crypto ecosystem is being compared to benign broader financial markets that are more distorted by government intervention than at any point in living memory.

DeFi has struggled to deliver enough real-world use cases. But cross-border payments remain expensive and large portions of the world are unbanked. And surely the increased divergence in our society between haves and have-nots, whether it be companies or individuals, is not fair or sustainable in the long run?

Technology breakthroughs can take time, as we saw with Tesla. From my time doing IPOs during the dotcom bubble, I remember ideas like streaming content on phones that only came into reality years later. Clayton Christensen taught that disruptive innovation comes from small emerging markets with product quality at the outset inferior to incumbents'. And the winners of tomorrow may be different. For instance, Nokia, AOL and Yahoo gave way to the current crop of trillion-dollar technology firms.

Crypto has a lot to prove, but we need to look for the right signals among the noise. Ignore the Instagram stars and focus on improvements in governance and technology. Kelly laments the lack of credible advocates. Maybe she should interview Jack Dorsey. Crypto is a small portion of his net worth. Whether democratising other industries with Twitter and Square or his time spent in Africa, he is definitely someone not to be ignored. Those of us born in the Gen X era owe it to the Gen Z folk to be open-minded!

Rupak Ghose
London SW5, UK

An apt symbol was lost in translation

I enjoyed Patrick Jenkins' Lunch with Edward Bonham Carter (June 26), although I was surprised to read that the restaurant chosen, Kiku, means "ask or listen" in Japanese. This is certainly one meaning of the word, phonetically. It can also mean chrysanthemum, as the character on the restaurant sign indicates. In fact, as the chrysanthemum in Japan represents longevity, rejuvenation and nobility, it's an even more apt symbol for an interview with this youthful city veteran and scion of the aristocracy.

Stephen D Barber
London W2, UK

Corrections

- Israeli demonstrators who marched to Jerusalem's Damascus Gate on June 16 were not exclusively settlers, as wrongly suggested in an article on June 17.
- The first name of Anthony Pompliano was wrongly spelt in a Notebook article on June 24. We apologise for the error.

Midwest Notebook

by Patti Waldmeir



The writer is an FT contributing columnist

Opinion

Long live the (reconfigured) office

EMPLOYMENT

Sarah O'Connor



Last month, I went to the office for the first time in more than a year. It was a joy to see colleagues and a novelty not to make my own lunch. But after a while I wanted to go home again – because I had to get some work done.

Office buildings were designed for people to work in. Our hastily constructed home “offices” (mine is a small desk in the corner of the bedroom) were not. Yet I don’t think I am the only one to find I can do some elements of my job more effectively from home – a fact that tells us something important about the design of the 21st-century office.

I am not an office refusenik. In fact, I am a fan. There is a slew of evidence to show how important it is for colleagues to gather in person. Without the office,

we don’t bump into colleagues we haven’t seen for a while when making a cup of tea, or overhear conversations that spark new ideas or plans to collaborate. I realise I miss colleagues I never even worked with directly.

Research suggests there is value in these “weak ties” – relationships between people who don’t work together closely but still get to know each other over time. Awkward attempts to recreate such moments during lockdown (one application posts questions in Slack to encourage “serendipitous” conversations like, “What movie can you quote the most?”) only show how impossible they are to force.

Over the past few decades, offices have been redesigned with the value of interaction in mind. Cubicle walls got steadily lower. Finally, they disappeared altogether in favour of big open spaces. The idea was to foster more transparency, innovation and communication. It was also a great way to save money by packing people tighter together. Data from the British Council of Offices shows the average amount of space per workstation has declined since 2008.

But in pursuit of more interactive spaces, we lost sight of how the human brain actually works. Research shows that noise volumes in open-plan offices can cause elevated levels of epinephrine, the hormone that helps tell us to fight, run or freeze, rather than to focus on our work. Overhearing “halfversations”, when colleagues are on the phone, can be distracting because our brains try to fill in the other half.

The lack of any private space in many

offices have white walls, black chairs, hard edges and few plants. “When we look with those eyes on the workplace, it looks like winter – the brain is stressed, there’s no food here, no warmth.”

In fact, the problems with open-plan offices might undermine the very advantages they were supposed to deliver. Ethan Bernstein of Harvard Business School studied two large US companies that shifted to open-plan designs. He used wearable tracking devices and email data to measure how workers’ interactions changed. In both cases, the volume of face-to-face interaction dropped significantly, while email and instant messaging increased.

“Rather than prompting increasingly vibrant face-to-face collaboration, open architecture appeared to trigger a natural human response to socially withdraw,” he concluded. In another study, he found that intermittent rather than constant social influence produced the best performance among people trying to solve problems together.

The pandemic gives us a chance for a fresh start. We need to meet, collaborate, shoot the breeze and enjoy the

hubbub, but many of us also need access to quiet corners to do some elements of our jobs well. It will probably take some trial and error to find the right balance.

Matthew Davis, an associate professor at Leeds University studying post-Covid office design, says some employers are turning their offices into flexible “collaboration” spaces on the assumption that people will do their focused desk work at home. He says employers are asking themselves: “How do we get the space to encourage more chance encounters, more social activity?”

It’s too soon to know whether this will work in practice. Would it feel strange to put a slot for “serendipitous conversations in the office” into one’s diary? Davis also warns these new hyper-social office designs could “inadvertently exclude” some employees if they do not have space to work at home.

Still, employers are right to experiment. The office is not dead yet. If we acknowledge its weaknesses and play to its strengths, it could have a whole new lease of life.

sarah.oconnor@ft.com

Loosening data protection would be disastrous for the UK

Jeni Tennison

The UK is at a fork in the road when it comes to the business of data processing. Post-Brexit, there is an opportunity for the UK to become a centre of excellence in digital security, data governance and trust. Or there is another path, one in which we discard regulatory measures such as the general data protection regulation and, possibly, our reputation.

Much has been made of the UK becoming a “Singapore upon Thames” with laissez faire business regulation. But if standards in data processing are undermined, the country would be more like a digital Cayman Islands – an unregulated place where huge amounts of data can be collected and processed without scrutiny.

The government’s task force on innovation, growth and regulatory reform, led by Iain Duncan Smith, has called for the replacement of EU data protection law GDPR, as it “overwhelms people with consent requests and complexity”. But why would we seek to remove what is already seen as the gold standard of data protection? GDPR isn’t perfect but we should use the opportunity given by leaving the EU to build on it, accelerate innovation in data governance and enhance the UK’s reputation as a place to do digital business ethically.

Reducing data regulation might make the UK attractive in simple economic terms. Compliance costs for businesses and governments could be slashed. But trust in the UK would be similarly diminished and, for individuals, it would mean our lives would become

New services that build trust, particularly around audit and assurance, are the way forward

further surveilled through data collection we have little control over.

Over time, this could lead to big names and blue-chip companies abandoning the UK for fear of reputational damage. The Apples and Microsofts of the world recognise the competitive advantage of protecting people’s privacy. They would be hesitant to process data in an environment where customers may see personal data as being at risk.

It’s not just the reaction of businesses that we should be thinking about. A recent declaration from the G7’s digital and technology arm includes a commitment to “data free flow with trust”. These multinational agreements seek to stop countries from forcing businesses to operate data centres locally: a nightmare for a digital business trying to operate internationally. But countries put these restrictions in place because of a lack of trust over what might happen to data exports, especially about their citizens. If the UK were to slash its own standards, then we would over time risk losing access to international digital markets.

The UK’s data protection regime instead requires reinforcing. Innovating in new types of data services that build trust, particularly around audit and assurance, is the way forward. The existing service economy will need to adapt to a world in which data has a new importance. Accountancy needs to work out how to properly value data on the balance sheet.

Property services need to describe the ownership of data sets generated by sensors that are becoming embedded in our physical infrastructure, such as smart thermostats. Auditors need to be able to examine the acquisition, use and sharing of data, as well as the algorithms and artificial intelligence that it fuels. Services like these will be necessary the world over. The UK has an opportunity to build on its existing strengths to provide them.

Put simply, the competitive advantage for the UK is rooted in high standards, trustworthiness and an ethical environment where laws are enforced and data and algorithms audited. That is where we can and should be competing. A race to the bottom is just that, with the subsequent reputational damage it brings, along with the loss of responsible tech firms, emerging digital industries and international influence. Let’s aim for the gold standard, not a tarnished bronze.

The writer is vice-president and chief strategy adviser at the Open Data Institute

Democracy in Europe adjusts to the far right

GLOBAL AFFAIRS

Gideon Rachman



There are some political moments that live in the memory. I vividly recall standing in the Place de l’Opéra in Paris watching Jean-Marie Le Pen address a rally during the 2002 French presidential election. Next to me were members of Forza Nuova, an Italian far-right party. It felt like a new and dangerous moment for European democracy.

Almost 20 years later, the far right are a more familiar part of the European political landscape. In France, Marine Le Pen, Jean-Marie’s daughter, now leads the Rassemblement National. The RN were disappointed this weekend when the party failed to win control of any French regions in elections. But the Le Pen party is considerably stronger than it was 20 years ago. Marine will carry the party banner into next year’s presidential election and has an outside chance of winning.

Most EU countries now have a significant far-right party. The term “far right” is, of course, contested. Some prefer labels such as rightwing populist. But the parties that sit together in the main far-right groupings in the European Parliament have fairly consistent traits.

These include fierce hostility to immigration, particularly of Muslims; anti-elite rhetoric, shading into conspiracy theories; cultural conservatism, ultranationalism and dislike of the EU. Frequently there is also an equivocal attitude to the fascism of the 1930s – whether it is Vichy in France, Mussolini in Italy, Franco in Spain or the Nazis in Germany and Austria.

The shadow of the 1930s hangs over the European far right. It explained the outrage in the EU when Austria’s Freedom party first joined a coalition government in 2000, and the fear when Le Pen père got through to the final round of the French election in 2002. Back then, the choice seemed clear. Rightwing extremism would have to be crushed or democracy would be in peril.

Almost 20 years later, the situation is much more ambiguous. The far right is established across Europe. But it looks more like a chronic ailment than a mortal threat.

We have learnt that far-right parties can participate in governments without democracy ending as it did in 1933 after Hitler formed a ruling coalition in Berlin. Instead, parties characterised as far-right have joined governing coalitions in Austria, Italy, Estonia and Finland – and then lost power. Rather than ending, democracy adapts.

The far-right parties have, at times, compromised on some of their radical demands and lost popularity – which is what happened to the True Finns. Or they get caught up in tawdry scandals and lose popularity and power – as



happened with the Freedom party in Austria and Ekre in Estonia.

But the process of democratic adaptation runs both ways. Many mainstream parties have adopted policies once championed by the far right in an effort to win over their voters. Denmark’s ruling coalition has taken an increasingly hard line on migration, threatening to return refugees to Syria on the dubious grounds that the country is now “safe”. In France, a prominent minister in President Emmanuel Macron’s government even accused Le Pen of “softness” on Islamism.

The next country where a party sometimes labelled “far right” may join a coalition is Sweden, whose government has just fallen. The Sweden Democrats, a party once deemed beyond the pale

Rightwing extremism is established but it looks more like a chronic ailment than a mortal threat

because of its roots in neo-Nazism, now seem close to a share of power. The Sweden Democrats have moderated their rhetoric and image. But any Swedish government they join would be likely to take positions on issues such as immigration and Islam that were unthinkable a decade ago.

Liberals will find this process depressing, even alarming. But, in many ways, it is how democracy is meant to work. Popular sentiment changes; political parties adapt.

However, it is still too soon to be completely sanguine about European democracy’s ability to absorb far-right politics. There are two big tests that may lie in the future. First, what happens when a far-right party governs, not in coalition, but on its own? Second, what happens if one of the EU’s major powers veers to the far right? This could happen in Italy, if the next government is based around two hard-right parties – the Brothers of Italy and the League. It could happen in France, if Le Pen wins the presidential election.

The evidence from Hungary and

Poland is not encouraging about what the far right can do, unconstrained by coalition partners. Viktor Orban in Hungary has followed the classic strongman playbook of neutering the media and the courts to entrench himself in power. When Angela Merkel steps down as German chancellor later this year, Orban will become the EU’s longest-serving leader – which may reflect something more than his intrinsic appeal to voters.

The EU’s difficulty in accommodating a far-right leader is reflected in the increasing bitterness of the clashes between Orban and most other EU leaders. But Hungary is a small country, so its impact on the EU as a whole can be managed. If Le Pen won the French presidential election next year, the shock would be felt across the continent. It is conceivable the EU would break up under the impact. Alternatively, the EU might follow the pattern of Europe’s national democracies – and become an uneasy coalition between far-right and mainstream politicians.

gideon.rachman@ft.com

Banks cannot expect the government to bail them out of every crisis

Neel Kashkari

In the early stages of the pandemic I called for large US banks to raise \$200bn of equity capital as a preventive measure to ensure they would have the financial wherewithal to endure a severe Covid-induced downturn.

Small businesses across America, which had been forced to lay off staff, were telling their landlords they would not pay rent until the crisis had passed. Those landlords were, in turn, telling their banks they would not be making mortgage payments.

At that point of the Covid crisis, we did not know how the accumulated costs would affect the banking sector. Much would turn on how the virus progressed and mutated and how healthcare systems responded.

Banks did not heed my advice. More than a year later, what actually hap-

pened? The Covid crisis was worse than I feared, with 600,000 deaths in the US alone and the deepest economic downturn in recorded history.

Yet the losses in the banking sector were far smaller than my analysis and, in fact, than the banks’ own loan loss modelling predicted. Today, banks argue that they were a source of strength during the crisis and are once again renewing their perennial calls to relax regulations. Does their performance during the Covid downturn indicate that large banks are strong enough? No, it does not.

The losses in the banking sector were much smaller than expected because governments were so aggressive in providing fiscal support for families and businesses affected by the crisis. In the US, Congress allocated almost \$6tn in Covid-related support programmes which enabled many businesses to stay solvent and families to pay rent, mortgages, car loans and credit cards, all of which ultimately supported banks’ balance sheets.

Fiscal authorities were right to be so forceful and proactive in supporting the

economy during the Covid downturn. But this was also a banking bailout. Absent these fiscal interventions, losses in the banking sector would have been much larger. How much larger?

It is difficult to know for certain, but by comparing this downturn with losses banks faced in prior recessions staff at the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis

The only way we can ensure their resilience is to make sure they have enough equity capital at all times

estimate it at between \$100bn and \$300bn. These estimates are probably on the low side because, without aggressive government support, it is unlikely that the economy would be recovering nearly as quickly as it is now, and the banks might still be facing losses.

To bring greater transparency to these issues, the Minneapolis Fed has created a tool that allows the public to enter their own assumptions and

estimate bank losses under their own scenarios, with and without fiscal support.

We now face some fundamental policy questions. What economic shocks should banks be able to handle on their own? And for which shocks is it appropriate to depend upon taxpayer support?

Most people intuitively understand that the Covid crisis was different than the global financial crisis. The pandemic was essentially a natural disaster hitting the global economy. And banks were no more at fault than airlines or hotel operators.

In contrast, banks had helped to create the conditions that led to the 2008 crisis, having made millions of bad mortgage loans. In neither case would the banking sector, in the absence of government support, have been able to withstand the losses on its own and continue to provide credit to the economy.

In 2008, many large banks faced impending failure, which forced fiscal authorities to step in at the last moment to prevent a banking collapse that could have turned a deep recession into

another Depression. In the case of the pandemic, fiscal authorities acted aggressively at the outset to support the economy and, in doing so, also rescued the banking sector.

We never know in advance where the next crisis is going to come from, or who will be at fault when it arrives. The only tool we have to ensure banks’ resilience is to make sure they have enough equity capital at all times.

Analysis by the Minneapolis Fed and numerous outside experts indicates banks need about 20 per cent equity funding, up from about 13 per cent today, to protect against deep economic downturns, such as another housing bust or pandemic.

Banks fight against such proposals because higher equity levels will hurt their share prices. The public must decide: should banks be resilient on their own or always dependent upon the generosity of taxpayers?

The writer, president and chief executive of the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, oversaw the Troubled Asset Relief Program in 2008-09

Lex.

Twitter: @FTLex

Binance/FCA: crypto ban lacks bite

Regulatory rulings are proving as cryptic as the electronic currencies they are struggling to police. Apparently headline action from the UK's financial watchdog against Binance loses its bite on closer inspection. The intrinsic ambiguities of cryptos mean plenty more headaches lie ahead for officialdom.

The Financial Conduct Authority has declared that crypto platform Binance and its UK subsidiary cannot tout for business in the UK and must make it clear that business is unregulated.

Critics say cryptos can be deployed for money laundering, a big FCA focus.

Broadening curbs on cryptos in the UK are reminiscent of the FCA's ban on derivatives known as binary options. These were used by unscrupulous operators to swindle reckless retail investors. The trade continued offshore. The same applies to Binance. Investors just have to take the risk of moving money outside the UK's jurisdiction.

The business, one of the world's biggest crypto platforms by trading volume, is unlikely to see demand collapse as a result of the FCA curb.

Founded four years ago by Chinese-born developer Changpeng Zhao, Binance provides services such as digital coin and futures trading. One marker of its popularity is the volatile price of its own Binance Coin. This has a market value of \$44bn, according to data from CoinGecko, which makes it the fourth-largest digital currency.

The FCA is using rules written in the aftermath of the financial crisis, before cryptocurrencies became a global phenomenon. Regulators are becoming increasingly rattled as cryptos edge towards the financial mainstream.

The Commodity Futures Trading Commission is investigating Binance's US affiliate to see if it let users trade derivatives in violation of rules. Online US trading app Robinhood reportedly faces a listing delay as watchdogs assess its crypto trading business.

Financial newcomers generally seek respectability through regulation. Binance's UK subsidiary was created with this aim. But crypto fans still relish outsider status. Lack of oversight does not carry the same stigma it might elsewhere. The FCA's swing at Binance prompts two other observations. First,

watchdogs cannot give crypto businesses regulatory cover unless transactions and clients are traceable. Second, stricter regimes will displace business to laxer ones until global standards are agreed.

Tesla/China electrics: recall bias

Last year, Teslas were China's best-selling electric cars. Now a potentially dangerous problem has prompted the government to order software repairs to almost 300,000 of those vehicles.

Officials say drivers can accidentally engage the autopilot, triggering acceleration. Bad news for the US electric carmaker creates opportunities for fast-growing local rivals.

Foreign automakers have become a formidable presence in China, accounting for 57 per cent of all new-energy vehicle sales this year. Tesla, which earns almost a third of its sales in China, has the lion's share.

That attracts critical attention from officials, already sensitive of the influence of homegrown tech giants. The cars have reportedly been banned from entering government complexes.

Tesla's heavy reliance on the market has always been on a fragile footing. Customer loyalty to car brands has historically been low in China. Buyers of electric cars are especially easy to sway through price and new features.

Volkswagen, for example, makes China's best-selling foreign petrol car brand but that has not stimulated interest in its electric cars. Even as electric vehicle sales rose 177 per cent to a record in May, VW's electric ID series sold just 1,213 units that month, down from April, according to auto consultancy LMC.

Alibaba-backed Xpeng and Nio should benefit from Tesla's woes. In May, Xpeng's deliveries increased 483 per cent compared with the previous year. Nio's doubled.

Nio shares have returned more than 500 per cent in the past year while Xpeng's have surged 100 per cent. Both trade at an enterprise value to forward sales ratio of 11 times, in line with Tesla.

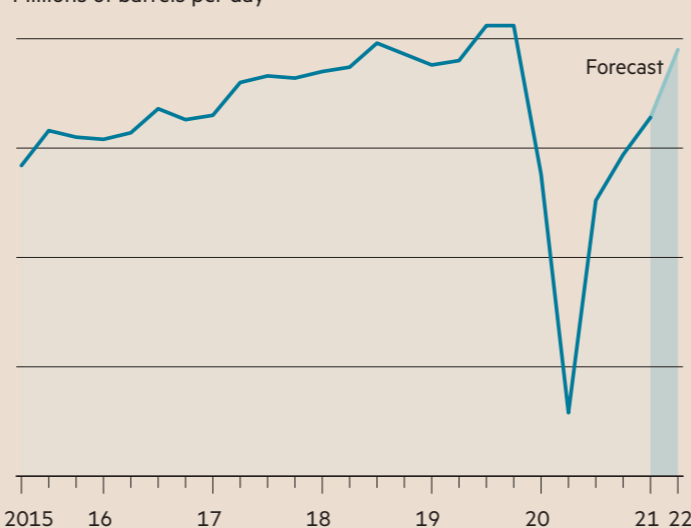
Tesla's "recall" – in reality owners can upgrade cars at home – will not deter diehard fans. But broader

Oil/Opec: fail of the century

Opec will meet this week to decide on its oil production targets. Demand has already rebounded from the pandemic period and should improve further into 2022, according to the International Energy Agency. Given higher oil prices, Opec has no need to show much supply restraint.

World oil demand bouncing back

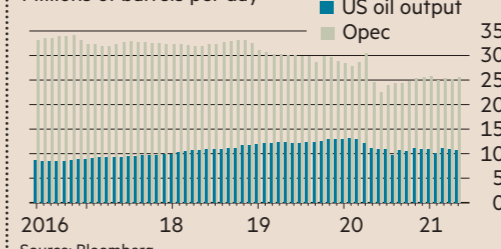
Millions of barrels per day



FT graphic Source: IEA

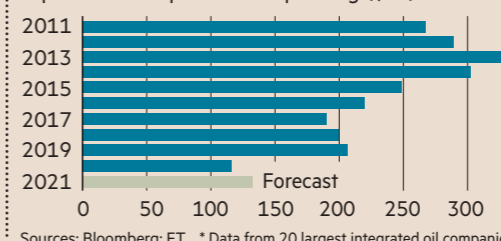
Supply has some room to rise

Millions of barrels per day



But oil companies are investing less

Exploration and production spending (\$bn)*



Sources: Bloomberg; FT * Data from 20 largest integrated oil companies

Looking to the next century has a specific meaning for energy traders. Oil prices are pushing higher, like bubbles in a champagne flute. Traders are speculating when \$100 a barrel will be surpassed.

Opec will meet this week to discuss whether or not to raise production. The meeting coincides with the seventh anniversary of the oil crash, prompted by the cartel's reluctance to cut output. With the Brent price up 48 per cent this year to \$76 per barrel, expect Opec to pump more black stuff. That should cap prices before the century mark is reached.

World demand for crude is stronger than it was last year. The International Energy Agency anticipates that by the end of 2022

consumption will rise about 5 per cent from 2020 levels to 99.5m barrels daily.

But that is still less than two years ago. An IEA declaration that all producers should "open the taps" contradicts its call for a moratorium on investment in new oil and natural gas fields. No prizes for guessing which message Opec will focus upon.

There is plenty of headroom to increase supply. Even when you include Russia and Kazakhstan, two big members of "Opec+", current output from the cartel sits well below pre-pandemic levels.

Forecasters at Rystad Energy expect production to increase by 500,000 barrels daily. Yet even half again as much would leave the Opec+ group's total output at perhaps 38m barrels a

day, a tenth below the figure of April last year.

Perhaps the most bullish argument involves the lack of investment commitment. The world's largest crude producers, such as BP and ExxonMobil, slashed exploration spending by 39 per cent in the three years through 2020. Given climate change promises, this investment will not bounce back quickly. Instead, sovereign producers will take market share.

With prices and demand on the up, producers will be tempted to pump more, even if they do not agree to it this week. Unless volatile Middle Eastern politics dictate otherwise, that should put a brake on prices in the second half.

negative signalling from Beijing should prompt investors to look under the hood of their valuation models.

Surgery robots/CRM: operating margins

A co-investment by SoftBank Vision Fund 2 in a \$600m funding round at the UK's CMR Surgical promises to be a successful procedure. The business, valued at \$3bn, is active in surgical robotics, a frontier as cutting edge as a scalpel. Barriers to entry are as high as growth rates in the \$6bn industry.

Surgeons, whose traditional tools include drills and saws, would once grimly joke they were scrubbing up "for a spot of carpentry". Robotic arms

wielding articulated instruments – guided by a doctor at a console – offer greater precision and flexibility, enabling minimally-invasive surgery.

Ops are shorter, complications are fewer and complex procedures are easier. Surgical robotics has a forecast compound annual growth rate of 20 per cent over five years. And while Japan's SoftBank is famous for paying top dollar, CMR's 731 patent filings should help justify that.

The bigger question, given the global pivot towards autonomous driving and production, is why medical robotics lags behind. It may be two decades before operations are fully automated.

The market is a virtual monopoly. Beside Nasdaq-listed Intuitive Surgical, CMR looks as nascent as an artificially-fertilised egg. Intuitive

equipment has carried out more than 8.5m procedures, against CMR's 1,000.

In the time it takes to read this note, surgeons will have begun at least two procedures using Intuitive's system. The shares are up 64 per cent in a year.

SoftBank will be hoping for a similar trajectory. While Intuitive sells and leases out its kit, CMR borrows its model from the world of photocopiers. Hospitals pay a subscription that covers, say, their first 100 procedures. Anything over that is at a lower rate, giving an incentive to maximise usage.

SoftBank aside, CMR is backed by China's Tencent, Hong Kong's Ally Bridge Group and Zhejiang Silk Road Fund. Brits are in a flap over Asian investments in UK tech. If British investors were providing all the money instead, it might be less of an issue.

SentinelOne/Dan Loeb: cyber security blanket

SentinelOne, the cyber security firm backed by billionaire hedge fund investor Daniel Loeb, has picked a good time to go public. The cost of online attacks hit a record high in 2020, according to the FBI. Recent high profile hacks at Brazilian meatpacker JBS and Colonial Pipeline highlighted the growing sophistication, success and economic damage of hacking.

Enter SentinelOne, which uses machine learning and artificial intelligence to help spot online threats. It pitches its services as a cheap way for companies and governments to protect themselves. It is on the cusp of securing a \$8bn-plus valuation after boosting the price range for its initial public offering.

It is a heady gain. Founded in 2013, Silicon Valley-based SentinelOne was valued at \$3bn in a private funding round last November. While revenue more than doubled to \$93m last year, net losses also widened to \$117m from \$76m a year ago.

But the large potential market, rising insecurity and SentinelOne's rapid revenue growth should be enough to persuade investors to overlook losses and its dual-class share structure.

Corporate spending on online security is expected to hit \$150bn this year compared with \$113bn in 2018. In private conversation, CEOs often cite hacking as their biggest fear.

The ever growing number of laptops, smartphones and other devices connected to the internet creates more opportunities for hackers.

SentinelOne's use of AI is particularly well-suited to processing large amounts of data to guard against cyber attacks.

Assuming SentinelOne can double its revenue this year, an \$8bn valuation would put it at about 43 times forward revenue, in line with that of rival CrowdStrike. That business was unprofitable when it went public in 2019 and remains so. Nonetheless, its market value has since soared more than sevenfold to nearly \$58bn.

Loeb and fellow investors have reasonable grounds to hope SentinelOne will emulate that success.

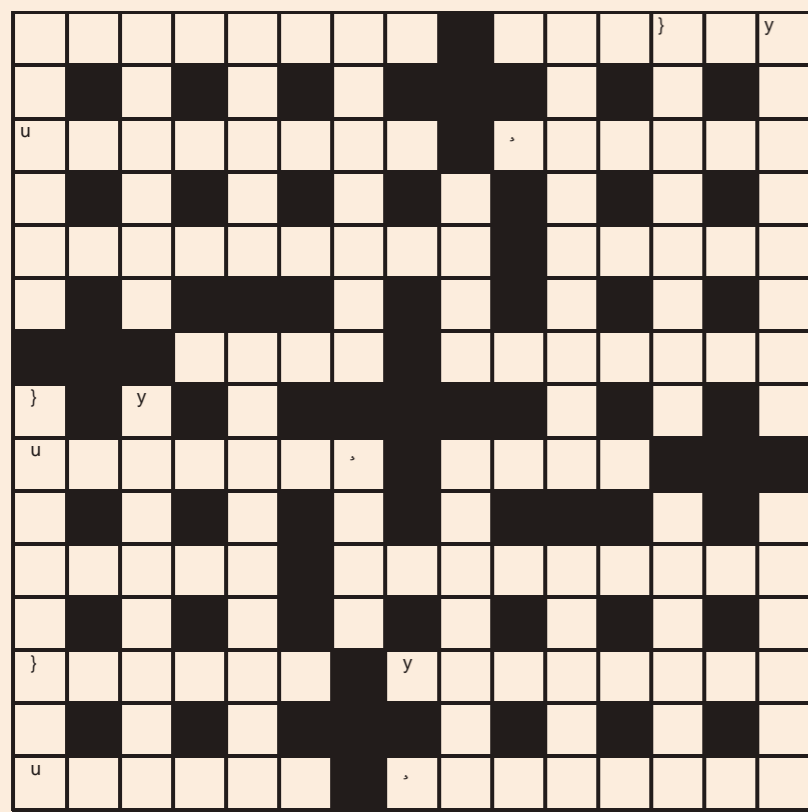


Lex on the web
For notes on today's stories
go to www.ft.com/lex

NIKKEI Asia The voice of the Asian century

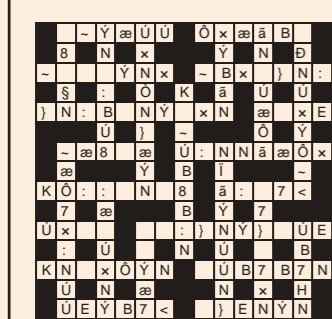
CROSSWORD

No 16,824 Set by GURNEY



JOTTER PAD

Solution 16,823



ACROSS

- Praise fruit Australia's imported (8)
- Escaped nasty duel at end – knight went missing (6)
- Referring to Light Infantry, skilled and trustworthy (8)
- Permanently mark military spectacle (6)
- Water alongside this wandering isle heron (9)
- Author usefully displays object of worship (5)
- History period at Saint Trinian's starts (4)
- Heavily defeat Right, suffering setback, vitality lacking at first (7)
- Regular fun or I'm wretched! (7)
- Restaurant worker, most important – I must clear out! (4)
- Moment for telling argument (5)
- High quality team developed, contemporary (9)
- Society pair at work, beginning in London, move up fast (6)
- Royalist, offhand (8)
- Democrat referring to important animal (6)
- Looking embarrassed with English trick? Go to new positions (8)

DOWN

- A problem? Not describing this clue! (6)
- Medicine that's painful: sleep on it (6)
- Knowing conflict is in abeyance, all content to leave (5)
- Musician's stool is broken (7)
- Offensive swearing in African port (9)
- Get rid of the drone somehow (8)
- Maybe dog's cross, upset, seeing where canvasser may go (8)
- Receiving lecture at outset, sulk and hide (4)
- After a contest, be confronted by sharp change (5-4)
- Highly doubtful son at university acted as model! (8)
- On return, arrest four in camp originally nonmilitary (8)
- Staff coat, employee's latest (4)
- Absurd behaviour of artist visiting African country ending in farce (7)
- Tyre leading pairs in rally discuss aloud (6)
- Annual diary's back – ahead of time (6)
- Bet it could be part of fence (5)

FT LIVE

WOMEN AT THE TOP EUROPE

Reset and Rise

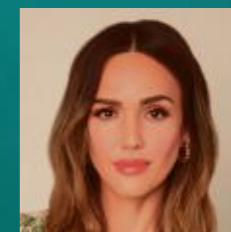
20-21 October 2021 | Digital Summit



Dr Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala
Director-General, World Trade Organization



Alex Mahon
Chief Executive, Channel 4



Jessica Alba
Founder, The Honest Company

Join us at the FT's flagship digital summit on gender equality in business. Over the course of two days, you'll get practical tips to create an inclusive, hybrid workplace; hear revolutionary women and men share their stories of success and setbacks; discover strategies to rebuild a more resilient business; and find out how to progress your career in the new normal.

Book Now: womenurope.live.ft.com

#FTWomen

Knowledge partner

AlixPartners

Strategic partner

CAPITAL GROUP AMERICAN FUNDS

Supporting partner

Santander

Get the business insights you need to succeed in Asia
Visit asia.nikkei.com