

# FINANCIAL TIMES

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INTERNATIONAL NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

ASIA



**Working in fear at KPMG's Saudi business**  
BIG READ, PAGE 15

**A stronger EU can emerge out of crisis**  
MARTIN WOLF, PAGE 17

## Tehran's grip Climber in scarf 'mistake'

Elnaz Rekabi competes in the women's boulder finals of the Asian Championships in Seoul on Sunday.

The Iranian climber who took part without wearing a headscarf – widely seen as a show of support for protests in her country – said yesterday that her “clothing had a problem by mistake”, fuelling suspicions she had come under pressure from the Islamic republic.

The climber apologised for the “concerns I have created” after friends reported that they had been unable to contact her since the competition.

Authorities in Tehran have blamed celebrities from the sport and film world for fanning the protests that have swept Iran since Mahsa Amini, a 22-year-old Kurdish woman, died in the custody of the morality police last month after she was arrested for not wearing a headscarf.

Climber's 'mistake' page 4



Rhea Kang/International Federation of Sport Climbing/AFP via Getty Images

### Briefing

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The UK competition watchdog has for the second time ordered the Facebook owner to sell the gif platform, bringing an end to the \$315m deal. — PAGE 6

► **Foxconn in electric push**  
The iPhone maker has unveiled two prototypes and said it aims to manufacture nearly half of all electric vehicles sold globally in the long term. — PAGE 8; LEX, PAGE 18

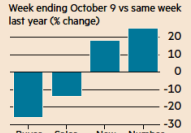
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The Bank of England has said liability-driven investment funds are much better prepared to manage shocks following its emergency bond-buying. — PAGE 6

### Datawatch

#### UK home truths



Source: Zoopla

Homes demand has fallen by a fifth since the ‘mini’ Budget. Falout from the fiscal package has potentially added 1 per cent to mortgage rates, which are now around 6 per cent, a 25-30 per cent hit to the buying power of those using a mortgage

Lex page 18

# Goldman Sachs ‘plays to its strengths’ as shake-up brings retreat from retail

◆ Focus on companies and wealthy ◆ Solomon seeks to sway investors ◆ Fourth straight profit fall

JOSHUA FRANKLIN — NEW YORK

Goldman Sachs is pulling back from its foray into retail banking to focus on its traditional strengths serving big companies and wealthy investors.

David Solomon, chief executive, said the Wall Street lender was trying to align its online retail banking operations with its wealth management business, adding that that was “a better place for us to be focused than to be out massively looking for consumers”.

“The concept of really being broad with a consumer footprint is not really playing to our strengths,” he told CNBC. “But when you look at our wealth platform . . . the ability to add banking services to that and align it with that actually plays to our strength.”

Goldman announced the restructuring as it reported third-quarter net income of \$3.1bn, or \$8.25 a share, down 43 per cent from \$5.4bn, or \$14.93 a share, a year ago.

“That beat analysts’ estimates for \$2.9bn, or \$7.75 a share, according to consensus data compiled by Bloomberg, but was still Goldman’s fourth straight quarterly decline.

“The scaling back of consumer [banking] makes sense,” said Christian Bohn,

“These changes represent an important and purposeful evolution”

David Solomon, chief executive

banking analyst at Autonomous Research. “It’s a case of really focusing on existing clients, which probably are very high value, high net worth . . . rather than spending the money to go chase new clients.”

Under the rework, Goldman will fold its trading and investment banking business into one unit as it shrinks from four divisions to three. The reorganisation comes as the Wall Street bank deals with a prolonged slowdown in investment banking fees.

“These organisational changes represent an important and purposeful evolution in our strategic journey, positioning us well to deliver for our clients and unlock shareholder value,” Solomon said in a memo to employees seen by the Financial Times.

The move reflects Solomon’s failure thus far to convince investors that Goldman has changed substantially from the investment banking and trading-driven house that he inherited four years ago, and merits a superior stock market multiple.

The reorganisation, the bank’s second in less than three years, will break Goldman’s consumer business into two separate areas, reducing the prominence of its push into consumer banking through online retail lender Marcus.

Since its launch in 2016, Marcus has come under critical scrutiny from outside investors and internal voices amid continuing losses and escalating costs.

The three divisions will be: a merged investment bank and trading unit; an

asset and wealth management division that will house Marcus; and the newly formed Platform Solutions business comprising the rest of Goldman’s retail banking operations, such as its Apple credit card partnership and online lender GreenSky, as well as the fledgling transaction banking business.

Goldman’s stock was up nearly 3 per cent in afternoon trading in New York. In the third quarter, Goldman’s net revenues totalled \$11.98bn, down from \$13.6bn a year earlier but ahead of analysts’ forecasts for \$11.4bn.

Revenues from its trading division, which has benefited from heavy activity during the recent bout of market volatility, came in ahead of analysts’ estimates.

Lex page 18



## China's growth data delay flings unease on economy

Analysts ► PAGE 2

Australia	A\$7000nc.GST)
China	RMB30
Hong Kong	HK\$33
India	Rup220
Indonesia	Rp45000
Japan	¥5000nc.ACT)
Korea	₩4,500
Malaysia	RM150
Pakistan	Rup350
Philippines	Peso140
Singapore	S\$5,800nc.GST)
Taiwan	NT\$40
Thailand	Bh140
Vietnam	US\$4,50

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Tel: (852) 5803 3388  
Fax: (852) 2905 5590  
email: subsasia@ft.com

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# Germany's cyber security chief sacked over alleged Russian intelligence links

GUY CHAZAN — BERLIN

The head of Germany's cyber security agency has been sacked over reports of his alleged ties to Russian intelligence.

Arne Schönbohm was released from his duties with immediate effect yesterday by interior minister Nancy Faeser after the German media aired allegations against him.

The concerns centre on his links to an organisation known as the German Cyber Security Council, which he co-founded about a decade ago. According to reports, one of its members is a company founded by a former Russian intelligence agent.

The scandal comes at a time of heightened fears that Russia might target Germany's critical infrastructure over Berlin's support for Ukraine. This month the country's rail network fell victim to

an act of sabotage that briefly paralysed all train services in northern Germany.

The interior ministry said the allegations against Schönbohm had “caused lasting damage to the public's necessary trust in the neutrality and impartiality of his leadership . . . of the most important German cyber security agency”.

The accusations were all the more concerning “in view of Russia's hybrid warfare” and had undermined the “essential relationship of trust between the minister and the leadership” of the cyber security agency.

Schönbohm has been in the spotlight since a report on the German television programme *ZDF Magazin Royale* this month highlighted his CSCS ties.

Schönbohm gave a speech at the council's 10-year anniversary celebration this year, although he had told subordinates not to appear at its events.

The programme examined a Berlin-based cyber security company called Protelion that had, until recently, been a member of the council. The company, which was previously called Infotecs, was a subsidiary of a Russian company called OAO Infotecs.

According to the research network Policy Network Analytics, OAO Infotecs was founded by a former employee of the KGB, whom Russia's president Vladimir Putin had rewarded with an honorary medal.

Protelion declined to comment. OAO Infotecs could not be reached for comment.

The German Cyber Security Council said last week that it had excluded Protelion as a member, saying that its actions had been a “violation of the goals” of the association.

Constanze Stelzenmüller page 17



### World Markets

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS					
	Oct 18	Prev	%chg	Pair	Oct 18	Prev	Pair	Oct 18	Prev	Yield (%)	Oct 18	Prev	Chg
S&P 500	3703.05	3677.95	0.68	\$/£	0.985	0.982	£/¥	1.015	1.019	US 2 yr	4.46	4.43	0.03
Nasdaq Composite	10738.98	10675.80	0.59	\$/€	1.132	1.143	\$/S	0.884	0.875	US 10 yr	4.05	3.95	0.09
Dow Jones Ind	30399.94	30185.92	0.71	\$/HK	0.870	0.859	\$/C	1.149	1.185	US 30 yr	4.08	3.86	0.13
FTSE100	1582.88	1577.43	0.35	\$/IN	149.095	148.740	\$/W	146.866	146.011	UK 2 yr	3.46	3.51	-0.05
Euro Stoxx 50	3471.18	3441.64	0.86	\$/R	168.753	170.026	\$/I	78.055	77.110	UK 10 yr	3.95	3.97	-0.03
FTSE All-Share	3792.79	3784.45	0.22	\$/S	0.980	0.978	\$/F	1.126	1.139	UK 30 yr	4.31	4.37	-0.07
CAC 40	6967.60	6940.86	0.44						JPN 2 yr	-0.05	-0.06	0.01	
Xetra Dax	12785.61	12648.03	0.92						JPN 10 yr	0.25	0.25	0.01	
									JPN 30 yr	1.51	1.51	0.01	

Dubai

Nikkei	27158.14	25776.79	1.42	GER 2 yr	1.95	1.84	0.01
Hang Seng	18914.58	18612.90	1.82	GER 10 yr	2.29	2.27	0.01
MSCI World \$	2431.84	2376.84	2.32	GER 30 yr	2.31	2.29	0.03
MSCI EM \$	865.77	863.33	0.28				
MSCI ACWI \$	563.86	552.09	2.10				
FT Wilshire 2500	4794.49	4686.64	2.74				
FT Wilshire 5000	37455.92	36456.58	2.74				

COMMODITIES			
	Oct 18	Prev	%chg
Oil WTI \$	81.63	84.53	-3.43
Oil Brent \$	85.05	91.62	-2.81
Gold \$	1849.30	1848.10	0.07

Prices are latest for edition  
Data provided by Morningstar

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INTERNATIONAL

Eurozone

# French bank chief warns over UK turmoil

Fiscal expansion at a time of fast rising rates risks creating 'vicious loop'

MARTIN ARNOLD — PARIS

France's central bank head has warned that the recent turmoil in the UK's bond markets illustrates the "vicious loop" governments face if they undermine efforts by rate-setters to curb soaring inflation.

François Villeroy de Galhau, who sits on the European Central Bank's rate-setting governing council, said in an interview that the sharp rise in the British government's cost of borrowing after it unveiled unfunded tax cuts worth €45bn last month highlighted the

importance of "a consistent policy mix" between central banks and lawmakers. Underlining the risks of fiscal expansion at a time of rapidly rising interest rates, the Banque de France governor said: "If you have a monetary policy with an anti-inflationary stance and there are doubts about whether your fiscal policy will fuel inflation, then you really risk nurturing a vicious loop."

The sell-off in gilts forced the Bank of England to intervene to halt the collapse of parts of the UK's pensions industry, which the Banque de France governor cautioned was the latest example of the non-bank financial sector's vulnerability to cash crunches. He urged global regulators at the Financial Stability Board to "deliver now on clearer and stricter rules" to ensure funds and trad-

ers built up stronger liquidity buffers. "We need more data and in each jurisdiction we need some kind of liquidity stress testing," he said.

Comparing the UK turmoil with the money market fund panic after the pan-

Villeroy said he did not anticipate major euro area governments repeating UK's mistake

dem hit in 2020 and a collateral shortage at energy traders after Russia invaded Ukraine, Villeroy said: "They have one thing in common and it is about the liquidity of non-banks." The UK government concluded an

about-turn on Monday after new finance minister Jeremy Hunt said he would ditch two-thirds of the tax cuts announced by his predecessor, Kwasi Kwarteng, who was sacked on Friday.

Expressing incredulity at recent events in the UK, which he said had dominated the IMF and World Bank annual meetings in Washington last week, Villeroy declined to comment on the specifics of the UK case but said he did not anticipate major euro area governments repeating the mistake.

While governments in the currency bloc are yet to encounter the turmoil seen in the UK over recent weeks, they are spending big to cushion the blow of surging energy prices on businesses and households. Economists, including those at the IMF, believe the energy

packages raise the risk of high inflation becoming entrenched.

But Villeroy said the measures were "understandable". France's energy price cap, which has limited electricity price increases at 4 per cent this year and frozen domestic gas prices, had helped to keep inflation at a more manageable 6.2 per cent — the lowest in the eurozone — up until now. "As far as these measures remain targeted and temporary — and time will tell — they are rather helpful." The ECB raised rates by 1.25 percentage points over the summer to combat record-high inflation of 10 per cent — five times its 2 per cent goal — and is set to increase its deposit rate by 0.75 percentage points to 1.5 per cent next Thursday.

Martin Wolf see Opinion

Former chancellor

# Kurz ally to be crown witness in Austrian corruption inquiry

SAM JONES — VIENNA

A corruption investigation into dozens of Austrian politicians and officials linked to the former one-time leader Sebastian Kurz widened dramatically yesterday as a key lieutenant to the former chancellor turned crown witness.

Austria's prosecutor's office said Thomas Schmid, who helped to propel the former chancellor to power, had provided days of evidence after being "questioned extensively" over the affair.

The state economic crime and corruption prosecutor (WKStA) said its probe was officially looking into 45 individuals and entities that were close to Kurz during his time in office.

The investigation, which precipitated Kurz's resignation from office last October, has transfixed Austria, one of the wealthiest EU member states, and threatened to tarnish its reputation for probity and the rule of law.

Kurz, 36, served two terms as chancellor, from 2017 to 2019 and between 2020 and 2021, during both of which he was the youngest head of government in the world. He could not be reached for comment.

"[A] total of 15 full-day [depositions] have taken place at the WKStA since June 2022, during which the accused was questioned extensively," the prosecutor said in relation to Schmid, former head of the Austrian state holding company.

The sensitive nature of the testimony meant it had been kept from other legal parties to the investigation until now, the WKStA said.

The former chancellor and his allies accuse the WKStA of grossly overstepping its remit and politicising its investigations by selectively leaking information to the media.

Kurz was reluctantly forced from the chancellery as a result of disclosures about the WKStA investigation and evidence gathered in a parallel special parliamentary investigative committee. He is separately facing criminal charges from the WKStA for misleading the parliamentary committee.

Since leaving Austrian politics, Kurz has partnered with Silicon Valley investor Peter Thiel by working as a "global strategist" at Thiel Capital, his investment company.

The WKStA investigation — officially referred to as the "Casag-Komplex", after the initial probe into alleged nepotism at the state gambling concern Casinos Austria (Casag) — has grown over time to encompass a range of potential crimes.

These include bribery, disclosure of state secrets and abuse of office relating to individuals across government. No charges have yet been brought.

Prosecutors have expanded the range of their inquiries as more and more officials' mobile phones have been confiscated as part of the probe, in turn revealing evidence of further, unrelated potential crimes or conspiracies as terabytes of chat-logs were pored over.

The investigation has also threatened to snare some of the biggest names in Austrian business, although none has yet been formally named in connection with the Casag-Komplex.

Communist party, 20th congress

# China GDP data delay stirs growth concerns

Property sector turmoil and zero-Covid policies restrict vital consumer spending

THOMAS HALE — SHANGHAI

Away from the main stage of China's 20th party congress, a press conference on Monday addressed the sensitive question of economic growth.

"The economy rebounded significantly in the third quarter," said Zhao Chenxin, a senior official at the National Development and Reform Commission, just a day before new gross domestic product data were due to be published. The country's performance, he added, was "outstanding".

But hours later, the government's statistics department website was updated to say the data would be delayed, without explanation or comment. Economists had forecast growth of 3.3 per cent, far below China's long-term average and its 5.5 per cent target for the year.

Viewed in some quarters as an attempt to avoid distracting from China's biggest political event in years, the delay nonetheless came at a time when growth has become an uncomfortable topic in Beijing.

The Chinese economy — underpinning the Communist party's governance model for decades and recently on course to become the world's biggest — is beset by a property crisis and strict zero-Covid controls that have damped consumer spending.

Robin Xing, chief China economist at Morgan Stanley, said: "That slightly above 3 per cent sub-par growth is probably the best they can get with strict Covid management and the drag from the housing sector. The only meaningful policy lever they have for next year is the change in Covid management, aimed towards reopening."

But the government, both at the Congress and in the build-up to the event through state media and official announcements, has doubled down on its zero-Covid approach and declined to provide any timeline for reopening. A Goldman Sachs tracker of China's policies notes that cities with high and medium-risk districts now account for 40 per cent of national GDP, which they said implied "continued pressure on consumption and services in October".



Covid fears: workers wear masks this week in Shanghai's financial district

Aidan Yao, senior emerging Asia economist at Axa Investment Managers, said the discussion on zero-Covid was "backward looking" and that the policy was likely to remain in place under the same name, even if there was scope for adjusting its implementation. Other data releases, including those for house prices in China's 70 biggest cities, and customs data, due on Friday, have also been delayed.

Given the tightly controlled language of the congress, analysts have noted which issues have been omitted. CreditSights said that Xi's opening remarks on Sunday did not cover market reforms, financial institutions and the data economy, which were stressed as important areas at previous congresses.

However, he did state the country would "better leverage the fundamental role of consumption in stimulating economic growth" as well as address "imbalanced development". Xing at Morgan Stanley said the event had centered fears of a move away from economic development and towards security of energy, food and supply chains.

"I would say the concern before the party congress in the market was maybe China would be shifting policy agenda away from the economy," he said. "But I think the party congress narrative here is allaying those concerns."

Xi reiterated the need to build a "moderately prosperous" society by 2035, which entails a GDP per capita level of that equivalent to a median developed economy. Xing suggested this implied GDP per capita of

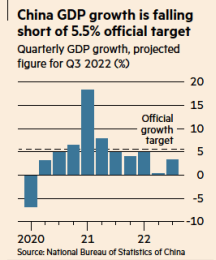
'That slightly above 3% sub-par growth is probably the best they can get with strict Covid [policies]'

\$20,000-\$24,000 a year, compared to slightly above \$12,000 in 2021. That would imply a growth rate of around 4.5 per cent through to 2035.

This week's unpublished GDP figures were set to be significantly below that and could set a path for growth at a weaker level than the 6 per cent or above in the years before the pandemic.

Yao also pointed to the emphasis on economic development in Xi's comments, including his "unwavering support" for the private economy, which Yao said would come "as a relief to many". He suggested the tone signified the ending of a series of regulatory and private sector crackdowns in 2021 that included the education and technology sectors.

While GDP may be posing a challenge to the Chinese authorities, other metrics are more promising relative to other economies. At the Monday NDRP press conference, Zhao pointed to China's "moderate" increases in consumer prices, compared with an environment of rising prices and rates elsewhere. Consumer price inflation was 0.6 per cent in September. See Inside Business & The FT View



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# France Macron government to force budget through parliament

LEILA ABOUD — PARIS

Emmanuel Macron's government has said it will push the 2023 budget through by resorting to a rarely used constitutional manoeuvre that overrides the need for a parliamentary vote, in a sign of the French president's

has worked at France's highest administrative court.

Use of the 49.3 manoeuvre to pass the budget reflects the loss of Macron's majority after June's legislative elections. His centrist alliance holds 251 seats in the national assembly, short of the threshold of 289 to pass laws and

# Australia angers Israel with U-turn on West Jerusalem

JAMES SHOTTER — JERUSALEM

Australia has reversed a four-year-old decision to recognise West Jerusalem as Israel's capital, in a U-turn that sparked an angry response from the Middle Eastern country.

Palestinian official, welcomed the move "and its affirmation that the future of sovereignty over Jerusalem depends on the permanent solution based on international legitimacy".

The status of Jerusalem is one of the most bitterly contested aspects of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, with

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weaker political hand in his second term. Government spokesperson Olivier Veran said yesterday that article 49.3 of the constitution would be triggered

faces opposition from Marine Le Pen's far-right National Rally and the leftwing Nupes coalition whose de facto leader is the far-left's Jean-Luc Mélenchon.

THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT HAS SAID IT WILL support the decision to recognise West Jerusalem as the permanent capital of Israel

Israel claiming the city as its "eternal and undivided capital" and the Palestinians seeking East Jerusalem, which Israel occupied during the 1967 six day war, as the capital of a future Palestinian state.

INTERNATIONAL

Ukraine battles to counter Russia's swarm of kamikaze Iranian drones

Kremlin attempts to overwhelm air defences after switching focus to cities and energy infrastructure

JOHN PAUL RATHBONE AND ANDREW ENGLAND — LONDON CHRISTOPHER MILLER — KYIV NAJMEH BOZORGMEHR — TEHRAN

"Bitches", shouted the Ukrainian soldier. He had just fired his Kalashnikov light machine gun at several drones flying low and slow over central Kyiv on Monday morning, the tell-tale noise of their two-stroke engines identifying them as Iranian-made Shahed 136s.

Other troops nearby also lifted their rifles to the sky, aiming at the propeller-driven drones. Moments later, one crashed in flames into a street. Another went into a steep dive and exploded into a residential building next to the head office of an energy company.

"All night and all morning the enemy terrorises the civilian population. Kamikaze drones and missiles are attacking all of Ukraine," President Volodymyr Zelenskyy said.

Foreign-made drones have been a feature of the war in Ukraine. First, Kyiv deployed Turkish-made TB2 Bayraktar drones to devastating effect against Russian troops. After the October 8 attack on the Kerch bridge connecting Russia to occupied Crimea, Ukrainian and western defence officials say Moscow is increasingly turning to Iranian-made "kamikaze" drones, such as the Shahed 136, to hit Ukrainian targets.

With Kyiv reeling from another round of drone attacks on Monday and yesterday, Ukraine has repeated calls for allies to send more robust air defence systems to protect cities and key infrastructure.

"These Iranian drones are effectively cheap cruise missiles with a long range and good accuracy. While they are easier to shoot down, they are so cheap that you can use several to overwhelm air defences," said Jeremy Binnie, Middle East specialist at Janes, a defence intelligence company.

Iran, which has the largest missile arsenal in the Middle East, had already provided Russia with hundreds of Shahed 136 drones, said US national security adviser Jake Sullivan.

Last week, Zelenskyy said Russia had ordered 2,400 more of the drones, which are largely built from off-the-shelf components, can be programmed to fly towards a set of GPS co-ordinates and carry a hefty 30kg warhead. Iran repeated on Monday its denial that it was supplying drones to Russia. The Kremlin has not commented on the use of unmanned aerial vehicles but has said it was using precision weaponry to hit its targets. The Iranian drones' ease of use and relatively low cost of about \$20,000 apiece, compared with more than \$4m for a cruise missile, mean they can be used in swarms.

That makes it harder and more expensive for Ukraine's limited air defence systems to stop them. Alongside the longer range Mohajer-6 drone, equivalent to a TB2 UAV, they can be used for strikes behind enemy lines and to sow fear among civilians.

"Only one drone needs to get through the air defences to hit the target," said Binnie, who estimates that Iran has made several hundred Shahed 136



Seeking refuge: soldiers and rescue workers take cover during a Kyiv drone attack this week

drones and still has plentiful stockpiles. Ukraine said it had destroyed 37 drones since Sunday evening, about 85 per cent of those launched. Yet the seriousness of the situation is reflected in how the attacks have wrecked a third of the country's electricity infrastructure. Tehran is also reportedly poised to send to Moscow Fateh-100 and Zolfa-

'Kamikaze drones and missiles are attacking all Ukraine'

ghar short-range ballistic missiles, according to the Washington Post.

Western officials believe Russia's use of Iranian arms shows the depleted state of its own stock of precision weapons. Last week, Sir Jeremy Fleming, head of the UK's GCHQ intelligence organisation, said Russian forces were in a "desperate" position.

On the battlefield, these shortages are seen in Russian forces' increased recent use of surface-to-air and anti-ship missiles to hit land-based targets.

Russian colonel Igor Ischuk recently told the Tass news agency that most of the country's arms manufacturers "cannot meet" the army's drone requirements because of a lack of components.

To replenish its missile stocks, Russia turned to Iran, which Putin visited in July. China was another possibility, but Beijing "was probably concerned that it would have to face heavy sanctions and a very strong US response if it transferred this type of military technology [to Russia]," said Samuel Bendett, an adviser at the CNA think-tank.

Iran, by contrast, "has not only been able to manufacture its own line-up of UAVs, they've been doing it for decades and while under significant US sanctions", he told the Grey Dynamics podcast.

Iran has a long record of military drone and missile operations. The US

blamed Tehran for the September 2019 strike that knocked out half of Saudi Arabia's crude oil output.

"Russia is behind Iran in this particular field [of drone warfare]," said Mehdi Bakhtiari, an Iranian defence expert. One Tehran-based political analyst added that sanctions forced the Islamic republic to focus on developing less sophisticated weaponry, such as drones. Iran and Russia have long co-operated militarily, both intervening in Syria's civil war in 2015 to turn the conflict in President Bashar al-Assad's favour.

Even so, Iran had no direct stake in the Ukraine conflict, said Emile Hokayem, senior fellow for Middle East security at the International Institute for Strategic Studies think-tank in London.

But analysts said that, apart from the payments that heavily sanctioned Iran would get for supplying the arms, deeper co-operation with Moscow now might win it access to defence technologies such as Russia's Su-35 fighter jets.

The fact that its weapons would be tested against western defence systems in Ukraine was also a propaganda win that might boost arms sales.

"Iran may be hoping to get things like fighter jets or maybe it wants to swap drones for wheat," the Tehran-based analyst said. "Whatever (the reason) is, this is an opportunity for Iran."

See Opinion

Bloc support

Brussels aims to tame gas prices with emergency cap package

ALICE HANCOCK — BRUSSELS

The European Commission has unveiled a fresh package of emergency measures to curb energy prices, warning of more "exceptional" support to come as the bloc prepares for a "precarious" supply situation next year.

The measures contain a cap on the price of gas traded on the EU's main exchange, alongside measures aimed at limiting volatility in energy derivatives markets. The commission also wants to create a clearer structure to co-ordinate gas buying and a template for so-called solidarity agreements that allow EU countries to source gas from neighbours should their own supply be cut off.

Ursula von der Leyen, commission president, said "exceptional and temporary measures" were still needed to ensure security of supply next year. The bloc could now take "further steps towards an energy union".

Gas prices surged this year after Russia limited flows to Europe in retaliation for sanctions imposed by the EU following its invasion of Ukraine. Prices are now at levels similar to those in the early days of the conflict in late February.

EU countries have filled gas storage facilities to 92 per cent of capacity. But Brussels is concerned that if Russia cuts flows fully and storage levels are low by spring, member states would face a "precarious situation" the next winter.

Paolo Gentiloni, economy commissioner, warned yesterday the EU was facing "multiple crises" and the energy measures "would not be the last".

Russia was previously the EU's biggest supplier, piping 40 per cent of the fuel used by the bloc in 2021.

The latest measures are up for discussion at a summit of leaders tomorrow and on Friday, before being debated in more detail by energy ministers next Tuesday. They are unlikely to be signed off until November, however.

The emergency cap to limit surges in prices on the Dutch Title Transfer Facility, the EU's main gas price benchmark, follows weeks of pressure from member states that fear social unrest this winter if energy bills do not come down.

Several countries felt the proposal was not enough. Teresa Ribera, Spain's energy minister, said the plans "still leave a feeling we are not acting with the speed and intensity that is required".

Spain and France are among nations pushing for an EU-wide cap on the price of gas used in electricity production, a model employed in Spain and Portugal.

The TTF is traditionally dominated by pipeline gas transactions, the vast majority of which previously came from Russia and has since been replaced by liquefied natural gas. Germany has frequently opposed any price ceiling, fearing it could increase consumption when the EU needed to preserve supplies.

Brussels said the use of the TTF as a basis for the gas price cap was intended as a stop-gap measure while it worked on a benchmark based on LNG imports. Additional reporting by Barney Jopson in Madrid

Frontline Internet

EU weighs paying through Starlink service

HENRY FOU — LUXEMBOURG

The EU is discussing whether to cover the subscription cost of the Starlink terminals Elon Musk donated to Ukraine as part of options to safeguard

itely" but EU officials say they are concerned over its reliability. Some member states used a meeting of EU foreign ministers in Luxembourg on Monday to pledge cash to fund the service.

ing simply on his personal decision to keep providing it. The official said: "One option is that we pay for Starlink because it is already operational, they have thousands of terminals already there on the ground... a contract [with

European supply

Qatar warns of deeper energy crisis next year

ANDREW ENGLAND AND TOM WILSON LONDON

Qatar's energy minister has warned that while Europe should have sufficient gas for power and heating this winter, the tougher challenges will come

you are saying 'I am going to be building huge nuclear [plants], I am going to allow coal, I am going to burn fuel oils'."

Russia supplied about 155bn cubic metres of natural gas to EU countries last year, about 40 per cent of the bloc's

gas projects globally would start producing until 2025, when QatarEnergy's Golden Pass joint venture with Exxon-Mobil is expected to add 16m tonnes of LNG per annum to the market. Qatar is also spending almost \$30bn



Obi has excited parts of a disillusioned electorate, topping three recent polls, leading by 8 points in a poll by NOI, a leading local pollster.

"People like his frugal attitude and his message about cutting the cost of governance," said Idayat Hassan, director of the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) think-tank.

"But beyond that, young people are using him as a vehicle to channel their frustration with the Nigerian system.

spent much of the early campaign battling away questions about his health.

"Voting for [Obi] doesn't mean Nigeria is going to be better immediately. He can't fix everything but with him there's a headway," said Susan Abies, a driver in the southern city of Benin.

Obi's support among young urban voters is also a reaction to Buhari's second term in office that has brought 53 per cent unemployment, nationwide

and the movement was eventually quelled by the heavy-handed response of Nigeria's military.

The CD's Hassan added that the two main parties' choice of candidates had also upset Nigeria's "informal" zoning agreement in a way that could benefit Obi, a devout Catholic. While power in Nigeria normally alternates between north and south and Muslim and Christian, the PDP chose Atiku, a northern Muslim, as its candidate to follow

has promised to encourage local production and remove Nigeria's costly petrol subsidies.

Last year, the Pandora Papers investigation, leaked files on wealth held offshore, revealed he owned business entities registered in tax havens and had failed to declare them to Nigeria's asset registry for politicians. He said he did not know he had to declare assets jointly owned with his wife and children and that he had not broken any laws.

The US, Germany and G7 countries last week handed a written proposal to the World Bank, a leading provider of loans and grants to poorer nations, setting out a series of measures to be considered.

These include offering concessional funding for climate projects, scaling up use of guarantees and lending to sub-sovereign entities, such as green city initiatives, according to the proposals seen by the Financial Times.

said. "To make change at these institutions there has to be a collective political coalition."

Over the week, the IMF announced that its new Resilience and Sustainability Trust, a pot of money that has been earmarked to help low-income and most middle-income countries deal with climate change, pandemics and "structural challenges", was now operational after receiving initial pledges of \$37bn.

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Bid commencement date	17.10.2022
Pre-bid conference is scheduled on	07.11.2022 (14.30 hours IST)
Last date for bid submission	16.12.2022 (17.00 hours IST)

Date of opening of technical bid will be conveyed post-pre-bid meeting.  
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### DRC leader rules out using Russian mercenaries in conflict

ROULA KHALAF, DAVID PILLING AND ANDRES SCHIPANI — LONDON

The president of the Democratic Republic of Congo has ruled out bringing in Russian "mercenaries" to help quell a raging conflict in the east of the country and vowed to press on with economic development plans despite the insecurity in the region.

"I know it is fashionable now . . . [but] no, we do not need to" use mercenaries, Félix Tshisekedi, president of the mineral-rich central African nation, told the Financial Times during the FT Africa Summit in London yesterday.

"I do not even know where to find them," he joked, referring to Wagner, the Russian private security company that has provided mercenaries to fight

in countries from Mali and the Central African Republic, which borders the DRC, to Ukraine.

Tshisekedi's comments come amid an offensive in eastern Congo by the M23 armed rebel group, which he has accused Rwanda of backing — a claim Kigali denies. The M23 militia resumed fighting last November following the failure of a 2015 peace deal. The group is one among more than 100 pillaging the resource-rich area.

Following a visit by Gilbert Kabanda, DRC defence minister, to Moscow in August, western diplomats based in Africa expressed concern about a potential deployment of Wagner forces in Congo. Wagner has been accused of human rights violations in Mali and the Central African Republic.

Tshisekedi said it was normal to keep dialogue open with Russia and pointed out that Emmanuel Macron, France's president, had maintained contact with president Vladimir Putin following Moscow's February invasion of Ukraine.

"We are an independent country, respectful of international conventions and, believe me, we don't have any [Russian mercenaries]. We are not going to use a militia to support our actions," he said.

"We will strengthen our security by increasing our defence and security capabilities," he added. The DRC would rely on "our usual traditional partners", including Belgium, the former colonial power, "to train, to reinforce our capacities and the capacities of our army".

However, despite the security con-

cerns in the region, his administration was serious about breaking the decades-old pattern in which the DRC had exported raw materials to be processed elsewhere, the president said.

"I no longer want our country to be simply a land of extraction. We absolutely must undergo a transformation," he said. "We are in the process of fostering many partnerships with investors who would like to come and strengthen us in these capacities."

Tshisekedi said he was determined to develop the long-stalled Inga dam, which could provide most of the DRC's energy needs and those of some of its neighbours and promised to continue with plans to explore for oil, even in protected areas such as the Virunga national park.

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**Veiled targets** Green-hushing trend grows as businesses refrain from publishing climate plans to escape scrutiny **MARKETS**

# Companies & Markets

## Meta to sell Giphy after UK regulator blocks deal

- Decision ends long antitrust battle
- Tie-up would 'limit choice' for users

KATE BEIOLEY AND CRISTINA CRIDDLE LONDON

Meta has been ordered to sell gif platform Giphy for the second time by the UK competition regulator, bringing an end to the \$315m deal following a two-year antitrust battle.

The Competition and Markets Authority said yesterday that Meta's purchase of New York-based Giphy – the biggest provider of animated images known as gifs to social networks – would "limit choice for UK social media users and reduce innovation in UK display advertising".

The CMA first told Meta to unwind the deal last November, but was forced

to even small deals because of concerns over their market power.

The CMA reiterated its original conclusions, noting that Meta, which owns Facebook, WhatsApp and Instagram, could cut off access to gifs for its rivals such as TikTok or Twitter.

It also found Giphy could have been an important competitor to Facebook in UK advertising, even though it did not at present offer such a service in Britain.

The regulator said: "The only way to avoid the significant impact the deal would have on competition is for Giphy to be sold off in its entirety to an approved buyer."

But finding a buyer could prove difficult for Meta. In a filing to the CMA in August, Giphy said few companies other than Meta were likely to be interested in buying it. It also warned there had been an overall decline in gif use since the deal, saying they had "fallen out of fashion" with younger users who described the animated images as "cringe".

The CMA said the tie-up would also remove a potential competitor in the £7bn display advertising market in the UK, where Facebook already has a 40 to 50 per cent share.

Giphy had in the past allowed companies in the US to promote their brands through gifs, and the CMA said it was considering bringing that service to countries such as the UK. But Giphy said it had no plans to enter the UK ad market and had been struggling financially.

Richard Pepper, a partner at law firm Macfarlanes specialising in antitrust, said the CMA's finding in respect of display advertising was "perhaps the most

The decision reaffirms the CMA's desire to pursue global M&A deals that it finds problematic'

by the Competition Appeal Tribunal in July to reconsider its conclusion after it upheld one of the social media company's grounds of appeal.

The CMA's final decision underlines the pressure on Silicon Valley's biggest technology companies from the UK regulator, which has broad powers to intervene in tie-ups touching British consumers even when the parties are based overseas. The Giphy deal marked the first time the regulator had moved to dismantle a completed Big Tech deal.

Meta said it was "disappointed by the CMA's decision" but accepted the ruling as "the final word on the matter".

## Phantom menace Rolls-Royce expects a smooth ride for first electric car next year



Aiming to please: a Rolls-Royce Spectre, the marque's first fully electric car – Adrian Dennis/AFIP via Getty Images

PATRICIA NILSSON

Rolls-Royce will start selling its first fully electric vehicle next year, as the carmaker commits to ditching combustion engines by 2030 to comply with regulations and changing demand.

The 116-year-old company based in West Sussex, southern England, said that the first Spectre electric cars, priced between £250,000 and £500,000, would be delivered at the end of next year.

"Our products aren't seen as a means of transportation – they need to please," said Torsten Müller-Ötvös, chief executive of Rolls-Royce Motor Cars, which last year sold just over 5,500 vehicles. "Our clients say, 'I want to drive something that is unique

rose by almost half last year, which Müller-Ötvös attributed to the company's clients, who own an average of seven cars, on the grounds that "life can be short".

The company was largely able to avoid the supply squeeze of semiconductors that hit the industry, partly because it makes relatively few vehicles and therefore needs fewer chips.

The business's customers own an average of seven cars, on the grounds that 'life can be short'

Müller-Ötvös said that Rolls-Royce had an advantage in the electric space compared with luxury competitors

from 2035, a target challenged by Germany. The UK has said it will ban the sale of new petrol and diesel cars from 2030, with some new hybrid models allowed to be sold until 2035.

Oliver Zipse, chief executive of BMW, said that he would not commit to a single "drive trend" in the future, adding that the company was expecting to launch a hydrogen car in about five years.

Access to charging infrastructure, which Zipse said was expanding too slowly, particularly in the UK, would remain a hindrance to the full-scale adoption of fully electric cars.

Speaking at the unveiling of Rolls-Royce's new Spectre model, he said wealthy drivers were unlikely to be reliant on public charging points.

## BoE says LDI funds 'better prepared' for future shocks

JOSEPHINE CUMBO

The Bank of England said liability-driven investment funds were "significantly better prepared" to manage shocks following the emergency bond-buying programme it launched last month.

In its first full assessment of its 13-day intervention to buy up to £65bn of bonds, prompted by the former chancellor's announcement of unfunded tax cuts, the BoE said its actions had injected liquidity into the system and reduced the risk of more "fire sales" that had damaged pension schemes.

"As a result of these actions, LDI funds have reported to the Bank that they have enough capital to withstand much larger increases in yields than before," said Sir Jon Cunliffe, deputy governor, in a letter to the Treasury committee.

The BoE intervened on September 28 with a £65bn emergency bond-buying programme after then chancellor Kwasi Kwarteng's "mini" Budget prompted a mass sell-off of gilts, leading yields to soar at an unprecedented rate.

The turmoil led to margin calls on thousands of pension plans holding so-called LDI contracts, which in turn rushed to sell gilts to raise cash to meet these calls.

The BoE stepped in with its emergency bond-buying programme after yields were driven lower in the mass sell-off, leading to a lack of buyers in the market.

In the letter, the BoE said: "In aggregate, market intelligence suggests that LDI funds have raised tens of billion pounds in capital and made many billion pounds of gilt sales, both of which will reduce their leverage."

Taken as a whole, LDI funds were now "significantly better prepared to manage shocks of this nature in the future", added Cunliffe.

He said the "risk of LDI fund behaviour triggering 'fire sale' dynamics in the gilt market and self-reinforcing falls in gilt prices has been significantly reduced".

Over the course of its operations, the BoE purchased £12.1bn of conventional gilts and £72bn of index-linked gilts.

It added: "we will continue to evaluate opportunities – including through acquisition – to bring innovation and choice to more people in the UK and around the world."

The battle, which has spanned more than two years, serves as a warning to Big Tech groups that regulators are wary

controversial aspect.

He said: "The decision reaffirms the CMA's desire to pursue global M&A deals that it finds problematic, and its willingness to challenge acquisitions on the basis of dynamic theories of harm based on facts that are not currently observable in the market."

want to arrive emissions-free in urban city centres. That's emotionally very different."

He said Rolls-Royce had the youngest customers of owner BMW's brands, including Mini.

Sales of Rolls-Royce cars such as the Phantom, Cullinan and Ghost models

space compared with luxury sports cars brands.

"Sports cars need to crack the sound, while for us, being without sound is part of the brand."

The European parliament has voted to in effect ban sales of new petrol and diesel cars in its region

Asked whether he would consider following in the footsteps of Volkswagen, which has listed part of its luxury brand Porsche to help pay for its transition, Zipse said: "Where is the corresponding problem? Access to capital is no problem [for us]. I can already fund the electrification."

gins and a 7.40m of index-linked gins, the latter of which it did not add to its purchase programme until October 10.

The rise in gilt yields was most pronounced for inflation-linked bonds, widely held by pension funds, which were not initially eligible for sale in the BoE's auctions.

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**Legal Notices**

**Notice of Annual General Meeting**

**JPMorgan Funds**  
The meeting will be held at the location and time stated in the right-hand column.

**Agenda for Meeting and Shareholder Vote**

- 1 Presentation of the report from Auditors and Board for the past accounting year.
- 2 Should shareholders adopt the Audited Annual Report for the past accounting year?
- 3 Should shareholders agree to discharge the Board for the performance of its duties for the past accounting year?
- 4 Should shareholders approve the Directors' fees for the accounting year ending 30 June 2023? These are €86,000 for the Chairman and €68,000 for each non-executive Director.
- 5 Should Peter Schwab and Suzanne van Dooijnhove be reappointed to the Board for 3 years?
- 6 Should shareholders re-appoint PricewaterhouseCoopers Société coopérative as Auditors of the Fund and authorise the Board to agree on their terms of appointment?
- 7 Should shareholders approve the payment of any distributions shown in the Audited Annual Report for the past accounting year?

**J.P.Morgan**  
Asset Management

To vote by proxy, use the proxy form at [jpmorganassetmanagement.com/extra](http://jpmorganassetmanagement.com/extra). Your form must arrive at the registered office via email, post, by 1800 CET on Wednesday, 9 November 2022 using the contact details below:  
Email: [handinfo@jpmorgan.com](mailto:handinfo@jpmorgan.com)

**THE MEETING**  
Location: Registered office of the Fund (see below)  
Date and time: Wednesday, 18 November 2022 at 10:00 CET  
Quorum: None required  
Voting: Agenda items will be resolved by a simple majority of the votes cast

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Registration number (RCS Luxembourg): 9 8478  
Past accounting year: 12 months ended 30 June 2022

## Tech giant's eclipse by distiller highlights whims of Xi's China



**INSIDE BUSINESS**  
**ASIA**

**Tom Mitchell**

What would it say about US innovation and Joe Biden's stewardship of the economy if the largest US beer company, Anheuser-Busch InBev, had a bigger market capitalisation than Apple? Nothing good, probably, and indeed the very thought is ridiculous. Apple's \$2.2tn market cap is almost 28 times AB InBev's \$80bn.

But that is what happened in China, where Xi Jinping is about to embark on a third term as Communist party leader, military commander-in-chief and state president. Late last month, China's most famous liquor maker, Kweichow Moutai, overtook Tencent as the country's most valuable company.

How can this be?

Tencent is one of the most innovative and successful technology companies in the second-largest economy. It developed the country's most popular instant messaging and social media app, WeChat, and its WePay online payments platform is second only to Alibaba's Alipay.

Kweichow Moutai, which brews a strong-smelling, 76 to 106-proof grain liquor, sells hangovers.

Politics is how – or at least Chinese Communist party politics as transformed by Xi over the past decade. Xi's third term will officially begin this Sun-

day, almost two years from the day on which an impolitic speech by Alibaba's founder, Jack Ma, triggered Beijing's regulatory crackdown on the technology sector.

Speaking on October 24, 2020, Ma castigated China's state-owned banking sector for its conservatism and sloth at a forum in Shanghai.

Ma was correct in his criticism of the banking sector's traditional neglect of the country's small and medium-sized enterprises.

"Jack always understood that in markets dominated by large corporations and state-owned enterprises, technology could be the great equaliser for SMEs," Brian Wong, a former Alibaba executive, writes in a forthcoming book on the company.

"His real mission was spreading opportunity beyond traditional elite circles... [by] developing a platform for neglected entrepreneurs to thrive, compete, and spread prosperity on a far more equitable basis than China had experienced before."

Unfortunately for his shareholders, Ma was not preaching to the converted. Other forum VIPs included vice-president Wang Qishan, architect of Xi's anti-corruption campaign and a former state bank boss, as well as a number of regulators. Ma appeared to forget that Xi and Wang do not appreciate lesser mortals speaking truth to power.

Within a fortnight the initial public offering of Ma's online finance group, Ant, was cancelled by regulators.

Ant's \$37bn IPO would have been the world's largest. Since the speech, Alibaba's Hong Kong-traded shares have

fallen more than 75 per cent. While Tencent's HK\$2.37tn (\$301bn) market cap is at least neck and neck with Kweichow Moutai's HK\$2.38tn, Alibaba's – HK\$1.56tn – is nowhere close.

In his book, Wong documents his former boss's passion and talent for disruption. Anecdotes include the time in 2011 that Alibaba broke China's postal system. He writes that on its November 11 or "Singles' Day" sales festival that year, "it took [China Post] months to finish delivering all the packages ordered that day".

When the same thing happened a year later, Ma decided he would have to develop an in-house delivery arm. The result was Cainiao, "rookie" in Chinese, a revolution in China's logistics industry.

A factory in Guangdong, Wong writes, can ship a mobile phone to a customer 1,500 miles inland in three days for Rmb15 (\$2.08). "A similar package shipped using the UPS three-day service from Boston to Reno, covering roughly the same distance, will cost more than 10 times that."

On October 16, Xi told the party congress that "we will encourage entrepreneurship, move faster to help Chinese companies become world-class outfits, and support the development of micro, small and medium-sized enterprises."

Tencent and Alibaba executives might reply: "Been there, was doing just that."

As for Kweichow Moutai, it, too, might soon discover that its fortunes hinge on one man's whims. Since overtaking Tencent as China's most valuable group, its Shanghai-traded shares have fallen about 8 per cent, partly on rumours that Xi might ban alcohol at party and government functions.

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**Supporting Future Leaders Nationally**

Images by Lewis Patrick

# BCA Chair's Future Leaders Awards & Campaign



## 40 years of Excellence in Black Arts, Culture and Heritage

Over 40 years ago, Black Cultural Archives was founded in the wake of the Brixton uprisings of the 1980s, to tackle racial injustice. Using the power of education, its founder Len Garrison, together with local community activists, worked to collect, protect, and promote the breadth of contributions Black people had made to British life.

Over the years Black Cultural Archives has created a treasure trove of information, to inspire generations to build a future where history can tell a more inclusive story, where everyone's place in society is recognised, valued and respected.

Now located in the heart of Brixton, South London, at 1 Windrush Square, Black Cultural Archives is proud to be one of the oldest black-led organisations of its kind in the UK, working towards a more tolerant, and equitable society.

Although much has changed since the 1980s, we believe our work today is just as urgent. We believe that the time is now, to connect Black History to the realisation of empowered Black Futures.

That's why for Black History Month, BCA focuses on Black Futures, and has launched the '40x40 Future Leaders campaign' conceived and developed by our Chair, Dr Yvonne Thompson CBE|DL. Together with Black Britain and Beyond, our Chair identified an exciting group of African and Caribbean heritage Future Leaders from across the UK.

The initiative commissioned local photographer Lewis Patrick to take their portraits in their communities. The resulting 40 + plus portraits, curated by Sherece Rainford from Gallery OCA which are now featured in the Black Cultural Archives as part of their Black Futures Season throughout Black History Month. These portraits are also featured in a national billboard campaign with the support of Clear Channel.

BCA hopes that Future Leaders identified will become prominent ambassadors for BCA, to further assist our aims to inspire all cultures to learn more, do more, and be more, in building a more inclusive and tolerant society.

Dr Yvonne Thompson CBE|DL Chair, Black Cultural Archives

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### COMPANIES & MARKETS

#### Automobiles

# Foxconn aims to be a force in EV sector

Taiwan business targets rapid growth as pair of prototypes are unveiled

KATHRIN HILLE — TAIPEI

Foxconn aims to manufacture nearly half of electric vehicles sold in the long term, the iPhone maker has said as it introduced two prototype EVs for sale by branded automakers.

The largest contract electronics manufacturer had cornered 40-45 per cent of the market in information and communications technology, especially in personal computers and mobile phones, Foxconn chief executive Liu Young-way

noted. "Hopefully we can achieve the same... as in the ICT industry," he said of the EV market.

The remarks highlight the scale of Foxconn's ambitions as it pushes into a new growth industry.

The Taiwanese group, which racked up \$215bn in revenues last year assembling and making components for smartphones, PCs and other electronic products ranging from game consoles to industrial robots, started developing an EV business in 2019.

A year later, it formed an industry alliance called MIH with suppliers to develop joint software and hardware platforms for use in the design and manufacture of cars for branded customers.

The company has also embarked on partnerships with carmakers and EV start-ups in its quest for customers.

These include a joint venture with

'Our line-up is to show we can design and build vehicles that are good-looking and stand up to safety'

Taiwanese carmaker Yulon, for which Foxconn recently started mass-producing an EV.

It is also increasing production of an electric pick-up truck for EV start-up Lordstown Motors in Ohio and has a

growing partnership with European-American auto group Stellantis, under which the two jointly develop smart cockpit solutions for EVs. They are also planning to develop auto chips together.

Foxconn has said it hopes to gain a 5 per cent share of the global EV market by 2025, which will be worth about NT\$1,000bn (\$31bn) in revenues. "It looks very likely that we can meet that target," Liu said. "Our line-up of five EVs in the past 24 months is to show our customers and future customers that we can design and build EVs that are good-looking and can stand up to safety."

He said the models introduced last year — a sedan, an SUV and a bus — were going into production in Taiwan, Thailand and the US. Foxconn introduced a crossover model and a pick-up yesterday that it said was fully designed and made in Taiwan.

Foxconn reiterated that it would stick to contract design and manufacturing services and not compete with automakers or EV brands. "Foxconn is not in the business of selling its own EV brand," Liu said. "I hope one day we can do Tesla cars for Tesla."

If Foxconn succeeds, it could transform the company. While its traditional ICT manufacturing was concentrated in China and was only gradually diversifying, Liu said new staff in the EV business were exclusively outside China.

See Lex

#### Banks

# Deutsche HQ raided for second time in tax fraud investigation

OLAF STORBECK — FRANKFURT

Deutsche Bank's Frankfurt headquarters and the homes of 10 current and former employees have been raided by police as part of an investigation by prosecutors into the bank's role in one of Europe's biggest tax scandals.

Yesterday's raid, which was ordered by criminal prosecutors in Cologne, is the second Deutsche Bank has faced over the so-called "cum-ex" scandal, in which billions of euros of government revenues were misappropriated.

Frankfurt prosecutors raided one of the bank's offices in 2017.

Cologne prosecutors said that more than 114 and tax inspectors took part in the raids, which were undertaken "in the context with cum-tax deals and related tax fraud schemes".

The sprawling tax fraud is estimated to have cost the continent's taxpayers billions of euros and involves share deals executed before and after a stock's dividend payment that duped governments to reimburse taxes that were never paid in the first place.

The fraud has been dubbed cum-ex, which is derived from Latin meaning "with without", and refers to the disappearing nature of the dividend payments.

The Financial Times reported in August that an investigation by Deutsche Bank in 2015 found that some staff broke regulatory rules and company policy to enable clients to siphon off millions of euros in government rev-

### M&A outlook. Test case

# Europe telecoms sector awaits deals green light

ECJ view on whether Brussels was right to block big merger is momentous for dealmakers

JAVIER ESPINOZA — BRUSSELS  
ANNA GROSS — LONDON

As European telecoms executives champ at the bit to do more deals, they will be watching Luxembourg closely this week for a crucial decision that could unleash a wave of activity across the sector.

Advocate-general at the EU Court of Justice, Juliane Kokott, will tomorrow



The cost of living crisis and surging inflation meant that any perception of anti-competitive practices and the risk of higher consumer prices were especially undesirable.

Those familiar with the thinking of regulators say the default has been to be sceptical about these deals.

"The house view has been that a reduction of one competitor in the market — from four to three — is anti-competitive and therefore I need to prohibit it," said a person with knowledge of the EU's competition division. "This has been the dogma up to now."

But others find this view outdated. "Whether you've got three players



deliver her opinion on whether Brussels made the right decision in blocking the proposed merger of the UK businesses of Telefonica's O2 and CK Hutchison's Three in 2016.

While harking back to a deal that collapsed six years ago, her verdict will be monitored carefully by France's Orange and Spain's MásMóvil, which earlier this year announced they were in exclusive talks to combine their Spanish businesses.

Their proposed €19.6bn joint venture is likely to be the first of several attempts in the coming months to streamline what the industry argues is a fragmented market in Europe, but first the companies will have to persuade EU regulators that a reduction in participants will not harm consumers.

"This merger will be a test case for the industry," said a person who has advised on telecoms deals in the past in Brussels. "We are at a moment."

A final judgment by the ECJ is expected some time next year and, while it is not bound by the advocate-general's opinion, in most cases it follows their recommendations.

Karen Egan, an analyst at Ender's Analysis, said that the ECJ ruling next year is "going to be absolutely critical for European mergers", adding that regulators' view on the Orange-MásMóvil deal is "more uncertain than the companies are portraying to the market".

Depending on the outcome, the ECJ's view may also improve the chances of a proposed merger between Vodafone and Three in the UK, which would create the biggest mobile operator in the country and is also regarded as a litmus test of investor appetite for consolidation.

"The decision next week is very important in our view here," said an executive from Hong Kong conglomerate CK Hutchison.

At the heart of whether the Orange-MásMóvil deal in Spain will be permitted is a long-running debate between operators and regulators over whether reducing the number of operators in a market from four to three will harm consumers.



Orange is in exclusive talks with MásMóvil to combine their Spanish operations

Defenders of the deal argue that, like the rest of the continent, the Spanish market has become fiercely competitive and a merger will lead to synergies, enabling the combined group to save on

costs and invest in the country's infrastructure, which will eventually benefit customers.

Telecoms executives have long argued that consolidation is the only viable way for Europe to keep up with the rapid pace of development in infrastructure seen in China and North America, both of which have three main mobile operators.

"If operators generate no cash flow, they simply can't invest," said Melina Spenger, founder and chief executive of MásMóvil, adding that finding synergies between operators would be crucial to ensure investment. "Europe cannot afford to lose more speed in 5G development."

But EU officials have pushed back against the premise that consolidation is necessary for innovation.

Competition commissioner Margrethe Vestager argued recently that it was competition rather than mergers that led to investment. She added that although there is no "magic number" in mind when it came to operators in a country, regulators "get nervous" when the pool shrinks.

### Orange and MásMóvil will monitor the verdict delivered in Luxembourg

desperately trying to fill their networks or four isn't that different in terms of competitive intensity," said Egan, pointing to markets such as Australia, Austria and Germany that had three participants in mobile and yet still had prices below the OECD average.

The Orange-MásMóvil tie-up is not the only one that will face deep scrutiny. Last July, Brussels launched an in-depth probe into Orange's acquisition of a stake in Belgian peer VOO over concerns that the transaction might hurt competition. "We will look at this deal very cautiously," said a person with knowledge of the upcoming probe.

Those in the industry expect the Orange-MásMóvil transaction to receive the same level of scrutiny.

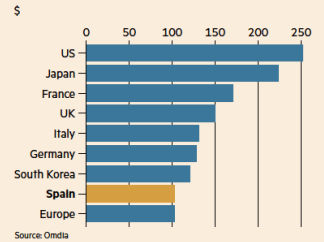
MásMóvil argues that a move from four to three mobile participants is less relevant as a concern for the Spanish market as there are more companies that combine fixed and mobile services and that offer mobile services without owning the network infrastructure than "any other comparable market in Europe".

"The merger of two operators would not significantly change the structure of the Spanish telecom market," said Spenger.

Still, any clearance of the deal is likely to come with requirements for the two companies to sell some assets to foster more competition. EU officials were already discussing the deal with the companies before it was officially submitted for consideration by the end of the year, said people with knowledge of the probe.

Elsewhere, a top 15 investor in Vodafone said the British regulator Ofcom had made some statements to the effect that "the benefit to the consumer has not been apparent" for its proposed deal with CK Hutchison. "I don't think regulators will be a pushover, there will have to be some quite big concessions and promises made."

Telco investment per capita is low in Spain



Source: Omdia

### Pharmaceuticals

## Roche's Covid drug sales suffer \$1bn decline

HANNAH KUCHLER — LONDON

Roche chief executive Severin Schwab said health authorities are holding back from ordering more coronavirus tests and treatments despite a rise in cases, after sales of the company's Covid-19 drugs fell \$1.1bn (\$1bn) in the first nine months of the year.

The Swiss pharmaceutical company sells the antibody treatment ronapreve and the anti-inflammatory atezma, originally developed for arthritis, for Covid.

Schwab said a drop in government orders was probably caused by fewer severe Covid cases, which meant healthcare systems were better able to cope.

Revenue from Roche Covid tests was down 40 per cent year on year to \$F600,000.

"In spite of increasing incidence rates for Covid-19, we actually don't see an increase in the demand for Covid-19 related products," he said. "It has not-

ing to do with inventories... there is simply much smaller demand than we have seen in the previous year."

Covid-19 cases are rising in European countries including the UK, Germany, and France, although they are still far from their Omicron-driven peak earlier this year. In the US, the numbers are falling, after a rise during the summer. Case numbers are widely expected to increase as winter approaches in the northern hemisphere.

Analysts at Jefferies said the drop in Covid drug sales in the third quarter was worse than expected. Its shares were down less than 1 per cent to \$F327.70 yesterday.

Sales were also hit by increasing competition from "biosimilars" — generic versions of biologic drugs — especially for older cancer medicines, reducing revenue by \$1.5bn.

But Roche confirmed its full-year guidance, forecasting stable sales or growth in the low single-digit percent-

ages at constant exchange rates. It expects core earnings per share will increase in the low to mid single-digit range and to increase its dividend.

In the first nine months of the year, total sales rose 2 per cent year on year at constant exchange rates, with growth driven by newer medicines to treat illnesses including multiple sclerosis, spinal muscular atrophy and breast cancer.

Vabysmo, a new drug that treats two of the leading causes of vision loss, is already in Roche's top five selling medicines, after launching in the US at the start of the year. It received approval in the EU in September. "It's a very important new medicine to treat age-related blindness," Schwab said.

Roche expects to report results from a trial of gantenerumab, its Alzheimer's drug, within weeks. Expectations have been raised after Biogen and Eisai reported that their drug, lecanemab, slowed progression of the notoriously difficult to treat disease.

### Insurance

## Swiss Re expects \$1.3bn of Hurricane Ian claims

ROBERT WRIGHT — LONDON

Swiss Re has said it expects more than \$1bn in claims from last month's hurricane that battered Cuba and Florida, meaning the reinsurer is "unlikely" to meet its target for return on equity this year.

The Zurich-based group yesterday forecast a third-quarter net loss of about \$500mn because of an expected \$1.3bn in claims from Hurricane Ian.

While the company had given an overall target for return on equity for the full year of 10 per cent, it had not said what net income it expected to report in the third quarter.

The group is the first big reinsurer to warn about Hurricane Ian's effects on its earnings. It gave a preliminary total insured market loss from the storm of between \$50bn and \$65bn. Those figures would confirm the event as the second most expensive storm in US history after 2005's Hurricane Katrina, whose

\$65bn of insured losses would total \$99bn in 2022 money.

However, Swiss Re's figures were lower than the estimate of \$75bn of insured losses that US investment bank Stonybrook Capital issued last week.

Swiss Re's shares rose 0.66 per cent to \$F73.76 in Zurich yesterday.

Swiss Re's warning follows a difficult year for insurers and reinsurers. Companies face continuing losses as a result

of factors such as Russia's seizure of aircraft following its invasion of Ukraine. Insurers have also been hit by worldwide economic uncertainty.

Swiss Re said in its statement that it expected two of its divisions to meet their targets for 2022.

Life and health reinsurance was on track to meet its target of net income for the year of about \$300mn, while corporate solutions, the commercial insurance division, was forecast to record a "combined ratio" — the balance between payouts and premium income — of less than 95 per cent.

However, the company warned that a third division — property and casualty reinsurance — had been affected during the third quarter by an increase in small to mid-sized claims, driven partly by rising inflation.

"As a result, the business is unlikely to reach its normalised combined ratio target of less than 94 per cent in 2022," Swiss Re said.



Hurricane Ian debris on San Carlos Island, Fort Myers Beach, Florida

Wednesday 19 October 2022

FINANCIAL TIMES

9

### COMPANIES & MARKETS

# Arm lawsuit reveals chip licence dilemma

As its customers move more design in-house, the UK-based company must find a way to keep valuable income streams

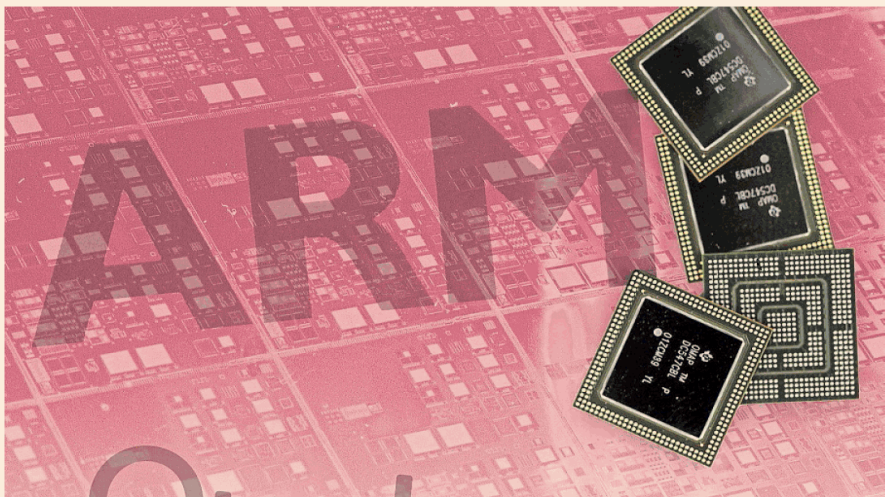
RICHARD WATERS — SAN FRANCISCO

In the run-up to its hotly anticipated initial public offering, UK-based chip design company Arm has resorted to a risky strategy: suing one of its biggest customers. But with the dispute hinging on how revenue from new markets for its technology should be shared, it may have had little choice but to go to court.

The lawsuit, filed in district court in Delaware in late August, accuses mobile chip technology company Qualcomm of using Arm's intellectual property without permission. The case stems from Qualcomm's \$1.4bn purchase last year of start-up Nuvia, which designs chips based on Arm's technology.

The acquisition highlighted the technology interdependence of Arm and Qualcomm, with both companies searching for markets in which to expand beyond the mature smartphone industry. Nuvia's first design was for an Arm-based chip for use in data centres, though Qualcomm has said it wants to use the same design to break into other new markets where Arm's technology has yet to gain a large foothold, including laptop computers and cars.

Arm is dependent on customers such as Qualcomm taking its technology to new markets because it "needs a growth



an extra edge for its products. Apple, which has also developed its own computing cores under an Arm architecture licence, surprised the tech world with the performance of its first M1 chips, which were introduced two years ago.

Another big customer, Nvidia, agreed to pay \$750mn for a broad licence to Arm's technology when it tried to buy the company in 2020. That deal also included an architecture licence, though Nvidia recently said it would use Arm's Neoverse cores for its latest data centre chips.

With some of the biggest chip companies putting more effort into creating their own computing cores under architectural licences, "it looks like licensing rates are going down for some of

'Some have argued Arm hasn't charged enough in the past. Arguably they need to raise the price'

[Arm's] customers", said Rasgon. "Potentially, you have a lot of their customers who are moving to a royalty-based model that isn't worth as much."

Bob O'Donnell of TECHAnalysis Research added that the shift could

story” to attract investors to its expected IPO next year, said Stacy Ras-

### Arm ‘needs a growth story’ ahead of its expected IPO. ‘If it’s just a smartphone story, it won’t go well’

gon, an analyst at Bernstein Research. “If it’s just a smartphone story, it won’t go well.”

However, after months of disagreement over the terms on which Qualcomm could use the Nuvia technology, Arm turned to the courts. It claims the licence it issued to Nuvia was not transferable and demanded that Qualcomm destroy any intellectual property it assumed in the acquisition. Qualcomm responded with a claim that the Nuvia technology was covered by an Arm licence that Qualcomm itself took out some years ago, and asked for a summary judgment dismissing the case.

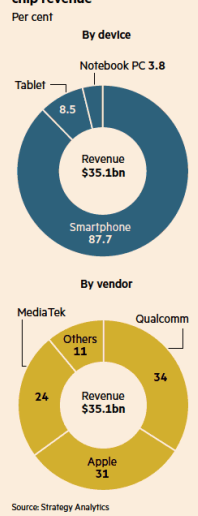
The dispute has shone a spotlight on Arm’s complex licensing arrangements, which in some cases leave it in direct competition with its customers. In the process, it has revealed a potential challenge to Arm’s business model as some of its biggest customers take more of the chip design process in-house in search of new ways to differentiate their devices.

Last year, Qualcomm was the biggest seller of Arm-based chips for use in mobile computing devices, where Arm’s low-power chip designs have been most successful, according to research firm Strategy Analytics. It estimated Qualcomm sold \$12bn of the \$35.1bn worth of Arm-based chips used in smartphones, notebooks and tablets. That was just ahead of the \$11bn of chips that Apple designed for its MacBooks and iPads using Arm blueprints.

Arm’s royalties come from two types



Arm-based mobile computing chip revenue



of licence. One, known as a technology licence, covers sales of Arm-designed computing cores – the central “brains” of a computer processor. Qualcomm buys Arm’s Cortex cores for use in its Snapdragon smartphone processors.

Arm’s other type of licence covers only its basic chip architecture. Nuvia, one of about a dozen companies to have this kind of licence, uses it as a foundation for designing its own computing cores.

Arm negotiates different terms with each customer and does not disclose its licensing rates, but royalties under a technology licence are generally higher because Arm itself puts in the extra work of designing the cores. Arm’s non-royalty income – upfront payments it negotiates when signing a new licence – jumped 61 per cent last year. But its \$1.54bn of royalties, which were up 20 per cent, still account for 58 per cent of its revenue.

Pravraj Kundojalla, an analyst at Strategy Analytics, estimated that Qualcomm pays Arm an average of about 80 cents for each of the 350mm to 400mm chipsets it sells each year, using Arm cores. Qualcomm would probably save 40 to 50 per cent on its royalty payments if it replaced these with Nuvia’s Phoenix cores, he added.

Qualcomm said in a legal response to Arm late last month that with Nuvia’s technology, it would be able to compete directly with Arm, as well as with other

Arm licensees and companies that use the rival Intel x86 chip architecture. It also said it expected to use the Nuvia cores in the all-important smartphone market that makes up much of Arm’s existing business.

Qualcomm is not alone in taking on more of the chip design process to gain

Risky strategy: Arm is suing key customer Qualcomm over use of its intellectual property – FT montage/Bloomberg/Getty Images

force a rethink about how Arm charges for its intellectual property. “Some have argued Arm hasn’t charged enough in the past. Arguably they need to raise the price of their architectural licences,” he said. Adding to the potential pressure on the company’s revenues is the fact that Arm’s business is highly concentrated, with about a fifth of its customers accounting for 80 per cent of its royalties, according to Kundojalla.

Legal brinkmanship over important intellectual property rights ahead of an IPO is nothing new. Yahoo sued Google over a patent it owned on search advertising before Google’s IPO in 2004, forcing a settlement. For Arm, the pressure is now on to show potential investors it can maintain its royalty rates as it looks ahead to a new phase of growth.

### Travel & leisure

## Chinese owner seeks buyer for Inter Milan

SAMUEL AGINI AND JOSH NOBLE LONDON

Bankers will begin the search this week for a buyer for Inter Milan, making it the latest top-tier football club to be put up for sale, according to people familiar with the matter.

US boutique bank Raine Group, which handled the record-breaking £2.5bn auction of Chelsea this year, and Goldman Sachs were working on the sale process, the people said.

Inter has been owned since 2016 by Nanjing-based electronics retailer Suning, which acquired the club during a wave of investment from China in European football.

A number of Chinese owners have since sold out or reduced their exposure, as gathering economic troubles at home and waning political backing for the project prompted a rethink.

Suning, one of China’s largest bricks-and-mortar retailers, has struggled as consumers made the switch to online shopping. The company’s large short-term debt pile also left it exposed to a tightening of credit conditions in the Chinese economy.

In February last year, Suning rushed to raise new financing to plug the funding gap at Inter caused by the coronavirus pandemic, resulting in a \$275m loan from distressed debt specialist Oaktree Capital.

Then in July, Suning itself was rescued

by the local government and shareholder Alibaba in a \$1.4bn bailout, adding to speculation about the long-term likelihood of keeping ownership of Inter. In January this year, Inter returned to the bond market.

Last month, Inter’s board signed off on the club’s latest set of accounts, which showed revenue increasing to €440m and a loss of €140m for the 2021-22 financial year.

The club said that the majority shareholder “had formally expressed his commitment to backing the group by ensuring asset support”.

Inter is led by president Steven Zhang, the son of Zhang Jindong, Suning’s founder, who paid €270m for a majority stake in the “Nerazzurri” in 2016.

Suning is ready to inject capital of €100m this year in tranches, according to a person close to the club. The per-



Inter Milan has been owned by Chinese retailer Suning since 2016

son pointed to previous guidance that Suning is open to new partners and would consider the sale of a minority stake.

The banks and Inter Milan declined to comment.

Italian football has become a popular destination for international investors. Roma, Atalanta, Fiorentina and Genoa are among several clubs now controlled by American owners. This year, US investment group RedBird Capital bought Inter’s local rivals AC Milan in a deal worth €1.2bn, a record for a European football club outside the English Premier League.

But Italian football presents a number of challenges for investors compared with other European leagues.

Serie A has the second-lowest broadcast revenues of the so-called “Big Five” leagues, with Italian football’s international rights fetching about €250m a year, according to Enders Analysis, far below Spain’s figure of €900m.

Many Italian clubs are also sorely in need of stadium upgrades or replacements. Inter shares its home with AC Milan – the San Siro. Plans have been drawn up for a new 65,000-seat stadium, which is expected to cost about €1.5bn and is likely to take many years to complete. The shared stadium model has a drawback for potential investors as hosting double the number of games makes it far harder to generate revenue from other events.

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### COMPANIES & MARKETS

#### Fixed income. Pension funds

# Dutch central bank calls for more liquidity after UK crisis



#### Currencies

## KKR pushes into Japan as yen hovers at 32-year low

ANTOINE GARA — LONDON  
KANA INAGAKI — TOKYO

US private equity group KKR plans to boost its exposure to Japan, taking advantage of low corporate valuations and weakness in the yen to increase its investment in the country.

The New York-based investor, which manages nearly \$500bn in assets including a \$15bn Asian private equity fund, wants to invest more of the firm’s own balance sheet directly into Japan and fast-growing Asian international hubs such as Singapore.

“Our commitment to Japan continues to go up, not only in private equity but in



### Retirement funds in EU's biggest pensions market urged to check for signs of stress

MARTIN ARNOLD — FRANKFURT

The Dutch central bank is calling on the country's pension funds to consider boosting holdings of cash and other liquid assets to ensure they can avoid the turmoil that has hit the UK.

Officials at De Nederlandsche Bank have asked local retirement funds to check for signs of stress, asking that they review liquidity rules and report any need for sales of assets, people briefed on the matter told the Financial Times.

The move comes as UK pension schemes have scrambled to sell assets in response to a drop in government debt prices that sparked collateral calls in hedging strategies, following Westminster's ill-fated "mini" Budget.

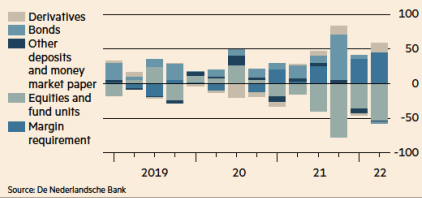
So far, the risk to the Netherlands — the EU's largest pensions market — is deemed to be manageable. But the DNB's cautious approach underlines how the end of the cheap money era and low interest rates demand new scrutiny of the inner workings of financial systems around the world.

"What we see at the moment is that financial institutions basically are coming to the assessment that the period of low and structurally declining interest rates combined with low volatility is over," said Lex Hoogduin, a professor at the University of Groningen and a former board member of the DNB.

France's central bank chief also warned in an FT interview this week that the recent turmoil in the UK's bond market illustrates the "vicious loop"

### Pension funds sell assets to create liquidity

Purchases and sales (€bn)



Source: De Nederlandsche Bank

governments face if they undermine efforts by rate-setters to curb inflation.

The market for workplace pensions in the Netherlands accounts for almost 70 per cent of all eurozone pension fund assets, and the Dutch system shares many similarities with the UK, including large defined-benefit pension liabilities, where schemes commit to pay retirees a fixed amount based on their salary and length of service.

Few other EU countries have such big DB pension systems, with France, Germany, Italy and others relying instead on government pay-as-you-go systems.

Many Dutch pensions also use derivatives contracts open for many years to help them match their assets with their liabilities and protect against changes in interest rates. Overall, Dutch pensions accounted for four-fifths of the derivatives of all euro area pension funds, according to EU regulators.

Such contracts are sensitive to daily moves in market prices and need to be backed by margin, a type of insurance, to cover the risk that one side of the trade defaults.

"Some [commercial] advisers are suggesting they should increase their liquidity buffers to cover this risk. But so far there is no panic selling going on, unlike in the UK," said Bas van Zanden, a senior analyst at Rabobank.

Rising yields are generally positive for pension funds, but the volatile moves in global bond markets mean Dutch funds have also contributed €82bn to margin calls this year to keep their positions open, according to central bank data.

The derivatives that pensions use are typically tied to the Euribor interbank lending rate, which has been less volatile than market prices for UK gilts.

Klaas Knot, DNB governor, also pointed to several structural reasons the local market was more stable in an interview with Financieel Dagblad last week. "Dutch pension funds have diversified their investments more, because they run no exchange rate risk within the eurozone, and the eurozone government bond market is much deeper [than the UK's]," said Knot.

The €1.4tn of assets managed by Dutch pension funds is almost as big as

Urgent checks: the Dutch central bank has recommended funds hold more liquid assets

Yusuf Haneef/Rabobank

the UK sector, but the market for UK government debt — at €2.1tn — is much smaller than the outstanding amount of eurozone sovereign debt at €9.7tn.

This means Dutch pension funds are less likely to resort to selling assets fast at low prices, and if they are forced into sales, these are less likely to cause a vicious circle of falling bond prices.

Knot flagged that liquidity requirements in the Netherlands were tougher than in the UK.

Liability-driven investment strategies were used by many British pension funds to hedge 85 per cent of their interest rate risk, according to actuarial consultancy LCP — making them the main source of margin calls.

But LDI strategies are used by only a 10th of Dutch pension funds — and those are mostly smaller schemes. Dutch pension funds also only hedge about 40 per cent of their interest rate risk. In comparison, UK funds' hedging levels were about twice as high in 2020, according to UK industry estimates, leaving them more exposed to margin calls when rates rise.

However, a harsher stress test of Dutch pension funds' use of interest rate swaps by the European Central Bank in 2020 revealed that if bond yields jumped one percentage point in a single day it would require them to post as much as €47bn of extra collateral and result in an aggregate cash shortfall of up to €15bn. Moreover, the calls would be highly concentrated, with 61 per cent of the overall cash shortfall attributed to 10 pension funds.

The ECB found that 96 per cent of Dutch pension funds could cover this by using highly rated government bonds as well as cash to meet margin calls. Additional reporting by Josephine Cumbo

real estate, infrastructure and our core business," said Henry McVey, chief investment officer of KKR's \$25bn balance sheet.

"You've got attractive stock market valuations, investors have exited and now the country is enjoying the benefits of a cheap currency," noted McVey, who expected to see an increase in public to private transactions. "[AT] current valuations there are some really good businesses that have been dismissed by public investors," he said.

KKR aims to benefit from the softness of the yen, which has lost more than a fifth of its value against the US dollar this year — falling below ¥149 this week to a 32-year low. Its fall reflects the yawning gap between the Bank of Japan's ultra-loose monetary policy and the tightening trend demonstrated by most other global central banks.

KKR sees Japan as one of its most important markets outside the US after a series of carve-out deals by Hitachi, Panasonic and other conglomerates seeking to sell non-core businesses. "There's a secular trend towards corporate carve-outs in Japan," said McVey. "If you look at the number of companies in Japan that have over 100 subsidiaries, it's still a huge proportion of the stock market."

In 2015, KKR acquired Panasonic's healthcare division, which it listed last year. It also owns assets ranging from supermarket chain Seiyu to semiconductor manufacturer Kokusai Electric. This year, it bought real estate manager Mitsubishi Corp-UBS Realty for \$2bn.

Other private equity groups, including Bain Capital, Blackstone, Brookfield and CVC, have also bolstered their investment in the country as the yen's weakness and geopolitical tensions in China have repositioned Japan as a safer and more liquid option for investment.

McVey said the rise of foreign deal-making activity was a result of Japan's business reforms, which have focused conglomerates on profitability.

A KKR report due out today will show that McVey expects Asian economies to outperform large economies in Europe — benefiting from technological trends and rising consumer spending — while inflation remains manageable.

"[We] heard several executives express concern it might be a developed country, like the UK, not an emerging one like Thailand, Malaysia or Indonesia, that could present more global risk this cycle," said McVey of a recent trip to Tokyo and Singapore.

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'So far there is no panic selling going on, unlike in the UK'

### Commodities

## Rio Tinto warns of slowing iron ore deliveries as China construction falters

NIC FILDES — SYDNEY

Rio Tinto has warned of a persistent slowdown in global commodity markets as the threat of recession in Europe and the US along with a property crisis in China weigh on iron ore demand.

The Anglo-Australian mining company said in its third-quarter update yesterday that commodity prices were expected to keep falling as "downside risks to demand" emerge. The price of iron ore contracts in Singapore has fallen more than 46 per cent from its most recent peak in March.

Although Beijing has increased policy support to restore confidence, the recovery has been uneven, Rio Tinto said, highlighting that the Chinese construction sector, the biggest market for Australian iron ore producers, remains weak. "Slowing global demand poses downside risks to China's strong exports, while consumers remain cautious of the property market," it said.

Iron ore prices fell by as much as 1.4 per cent yesterday morning in Singapore to \$90.50 a tonne before recovering to \$91.40 by midday.

Rio Tinto said it would still produce between 320mn and 335mn tonnes of iron ore from its mines in the Pilbara region of Western Australia this year but said its output would be at the lower end of that range due to operational issues, including technical problems at some of its mines and train derailments.

Still, the miner has been expanding its operations in recent months. It has signed a \$2bn deal with the largest Chinese state-owned steelmaker China Baowu Steel Group — Rio Tinto's largest

customer — to develop iron ore mines in the Pilbara. It also moved to take control of the Oyu Tolgoi copper mine in Mongolia for nearly \$5bn (\$3.2bn) and entered a joint venture with China's Winning Consortium to start mining iron ore in Guinea.

Rio Tinto also said yesterday it had entered a deal with Australian miner Wright Prospecting to unlock the value of "one of the biggest and best undeveloped iron ore deposits on the planet" at Rhodes Ridge in the Pilbara.

The project has been stalled for years due to a legal dispute involving Wright and Hancock Prospecting, the company controlled by Australia's richest person, Gina Rinehart, but exploration work is set to start on a mine that could produce up to 40mn tonnes of iron ore a year by the end of the decade, Rio Tinto said.

Peter O'Connor, senior analyst at Shaw and Partners, said the production update was "reasonable", adding "Rio is yet to realise its full potential, although that target is getting closer." The miner's shares dropped as much as 1.6 per cent before ending the day up at \$94.27. Additional reporting by Hudson Lockett in Hong Kong



Rio Tinto's Parker Point loading facility reclaimer in the Pilbara

### Cross asset

## 'Green hushing' on the increase to avoid scrutiny of climate plans, survey shows

MADELINE SPEED

A trend known as "green hushing" is growing as companies are increasingly choosing not to publicise details of their climate targets in an attempt to avoid scrutiny and allegations of greenwashing, a new study shows.

A quarter of the 1,200 companies in 12 countries surveyed said they would not publicise their science-based net zero targets, a road map for reducing emissions in line with the goals of the Paris agreement, said climate consultancy and carbon offsets developer South Pole.

This was despite the proportion of respondents setting science-based targets having more than tripled from the previous year to 72 per cent.

After the COP26 climate summit in Glasgow last year, companies raced to tout their sustainability credentials. But the ensuing flurry of pledges opened them up to allegations that their targets were unsubstantiated or misleading.

Lawsuits over greenwashing in ad campaigns have since been filed against oil companies such as TotalEnergies, while financial regulators are cracking down on lax oversight at ESG-based

investment funds. "There is a high degree of scrutiny now around anything to do with professing your sustainability," said Michael Wilkins, head of Imperial College London's Centre for Climate Finance and Investment. "Together with the ESG backlash, I think it is scaring a lot of companies."

Companies are also aware that the integrity of frameworks used to meas-

'If green hushing becomes a trend, it will make inspiring some climate laggards even harder'

ure sustainability is being questioned. The Science Based Targets initiative (SBTi), which has become the arbiter of corporate climate action, has faced complaints about its governance and potential conflicts of interest. "You have to pay the initiative to be accredited, which leads to the assumption that you're paying to get yourself a good score," said Wilkins. "This can taint the company trying to follow the targets." SBTi charges companies \$9,500 to

have their climate targets assessed. Companies may be implementing legitimate targets but not disclosing them because of the politics around climate change in their region, said Nina Seega, research director for sustainable finance at the Cambridge Institute for Sustainability Leadership.

In the US in 2021, the state of Texas passed a law that attacked ESG investing for damaging the fossil fuel industry and this year accused BlackRock and nine other financial groups of boycotting oil and gas.

Climate groups have long called for stronger disclosure requirements in order to drive competition between companies to up their commitments.

Green hushing, by contrast, makes targets harder to scrutinise and could deter businesses from setting more ambitious goals, said Bethan Halls, sustainability adviser at South Pole. "If green hushing becomes a trend, it will make inspiring some of the climate laggards even harder," she said.

Despite the caution reflected in the survey, South Pole found that companies were setting more net zero targets than ever before.

### COMPANIES & MARKETS

### The day in the markets

#### What you need to know

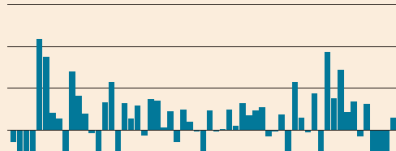
- Goldman results cheer Wall Street
UK tax cut reversal has global impact
Some analysts and investors see recent stock market rises as temporary

US stocks rose yesterday, extending gains from the previous session after Goldman Sachs became the latest company to post better than expected quarterly results.

The benchmark S&P 500 was up 1 per cent by lunchtime in New York, trimming larger gains from earlier in the session. The technology-heavy Nasdaq Composite added 0.8 per cent. Europe's

Global shares posted their worst streak of quarterly declines since 2008

FTSE All World Index to September 30



## Latin America holds inflation lessons for the G7

Michael Stott

### Markets Insight

Latin America rarely leads the world in economic policy. The region has struggled to grow since the last commodity

peak by the year end, with inflation halving next year as a result. Peru and Mexico complete the picture of Latin American monetary prudence

High real interest rates have also kept Latin America's currencies strong. While the pound, euro and yen are willing against the strong dollar, here in Latin



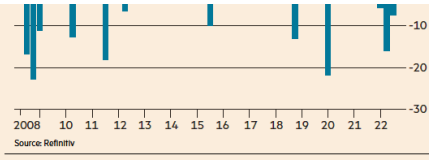
regional Stoxx 600 and Hong Kong's Hang Seng closed up 0.3 and 1.8 per cent respectively.

Those advances in equity markets followed a rally on Monday, with the S&P closing 2.6 per cent higher — supported by better than expected third-quarter results from Bank of America.

Investors have been monitoring the latest flurry of corporate financial statements for signs of strain from high inflation and rising borrowing costs.

The Federal Reserve has led the charge this year on aggressively tightening monetary policy to curb rapid price growth — lifting interest rates by an extra-large 0.75 percentage points over its last three meetings to a target range of 3 to 3.25 per cent.

But the early stages of the new US corporate earnings season have helped



brighten sentiment. Shares in Goldman were up almost 3 per cent yesterday after the bank reported third-quarter net income of \$3.1bn, down from \$5.4bn a year earlier but above analysts' estimates of \$2.9bn.

The strong start to the week for equity markets was also boosted by the UK government's decision on Monday to ditch most of last month's 'mini' Budget measures, which had spooked markets and sparked a fire sale of pension fund assets.

"The UK news has again seemed to heavily influence global markets over the

last 24 hours. ...", wrote Jim Reid, a strategist at Deutsche Bank.

Some analysts and investors continue to see recent stock market gains as temporary. A FTSE index of global shares has fallen 25 per cent this year, closing out its longest streak of quarterly losses since 2008 last month.

In government debt markets, the yield on the benchmark 10-year UK gilt slipped 0.04 percentage points to 3.95 per cent as its price edged higher, following a rally in the previous session. The longer-dated 30-year yield dropped 0.08 percentage points to 4.29 per cent.

boom, lacks competitiveness and remains overdependent on raw material exports. But can it reach the G7 a thing or two about fighting inflation?

While central banks in the UK, US and Europe remain on the back foot in battling stubbornly high inflation, Latin America's central banks have flexed their inflation-busting muscles and are reaping the rewards.

Good timing helped. Latin America was quick off the mark to raise interest rates, starting with Brazil in March 2021 — a year before the US Federal Reserve. "Latin America led the tightening cycle," said Alberto Ramos, Latin America chief economist at Goldman Sachs.

Barely a month after congress approved the central bank's independence from the government, the Banco Central do Brasil started to push up rates aggressively, from 2 per cent to a lofty 13.75 per cent, one of the world's highest levels for a large economy.

Its tactics worked. Brazil is now making gains in the war on inflation, which is down from a peak of 12.1 per cent in April to just under 8 per cent last month.

That price-fighting success has not killed growth: JPMorgan expects Brazil's economy to expand 2.6 per cent this year, not far short of the 5 per cent it predicts for Chile.

Chile and Colombia were not far behind Brazil. The two Andean economies pushed up interest rates to 10.75 and 8.25 percentage points respectively and are now almost done with rate-rising. Citi economists expect their rates to

with increases of 6.5 and 5 percentage points respectively. By contrast, the Fed has tightened just 5 percentage points and the Bank of England 2.15 points, despite the US and the UK suffering inflation rates similar to those of some Latin American nations.

The lesson Latin America offers the world, says Ilan Goldfajn, the IMF's western hemisphere director, "is that if you tighten ahead of the curve, if you react fast and you go immediately to

'In Latin America, central bankers understood that when inflation crosses 5%, there is a regime shift'

where you need to go, that helps to win the fight against inflation".

The Latin American exception, as so often, is Argentina. Its government-controlled central bank is printing money to fund a budget deficit and it is losing control of inflation, which is projected to end the year at 100 per cent.

Latin America's central banks did loosen monetary policy by more than the G10 during the pandemic. But their subsequent assertiveness was not just a reaction to higher inflation. "Every country in LatAm has tightened the real ex-ante policy rate [the policy rate adjusted for one-year ahead inflation expectations] to positive territory, while every central bank in the G10 is still below zero," Bank of America said in a recent study.

By contrast, he said, Latin American central bankers use models "but they also use their experience and their experience of inflation is much more recent". Ramos also believes Latin America's painful experience of high inflation helped bring home to its central bankers how dangerous the inflation threat was.

"Developed world central banks have never seen anything like this but in Latin America, central bankers understood that when inflation crosses 5 per cent, there is a regime shift," he said. "At 5 or 6 per cent, inflation feeds on itself and becomes a monster. They [developed world central banks] never understood that."

American currencies have appreciated against the US currency: Brazil's real, the Mexican peso and the Peruvian sol.

So why did Latin America's central banks act so decisively while developed world counterparts dithered?

Alejandro Werner, director of the Georgetown Americas Institute and Goldfajn's predecessor at the IMF's western hemisphere department, believes that G7 central banks put too much trust in flawed economic models.

"We are much more model-based in the advanced economies," he said. "And when you put into your model 25 years of data, in which inflation has been around 2 per cent, whatever you put on the independent variable side will not give you an inflation rate that is much higher than 2.5 per cent. . . the data that you feed the model is giving you an answer that leads to complacency."

Ramos also believes Latin America's painful experience of high inflation helped bring home to its central bankers how dangerous the inflation threat was.

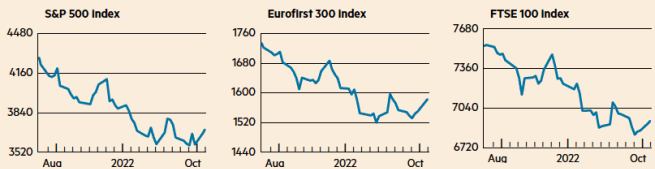
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Michael Stott at ft.com

Markets update

Table with columns for US (S&P 500), Eurozone (Eurofirst 300), Japan (Nikkei 225), UK (FTSE100), China (Shanghai Comp), and Brazil (Bovespa). It includes sub-sections for Stocks, Currency, Yield, and World Index with various metrics like % change on day, index values, and yields.

Main equity markets



Biggest movers

Table listing the biggest movers in the US, Eurozone, and UK. It includes company names and their percentage changes, such as Carnival (+9.49%), Intel (-3.04%), and Harbur Energy (-4.36%).

Wall Street

Some positive elements of Goldman Sachs' results lifted the investment bank, which reported net earnings of \$2.96bn — 7 per cent ahead of what analysts had expected.

An earnings miss weighed on toy maker Hasbro, which posted a 28 per cent year-on-year fall in earnings to \$1.42 a share for the third quarter.

Rival Mattel also fell after the update. Salesforce climbed on news that activist hedge fund Starboard Value had taken a stake in the cloud software group and had called on the company to increase its margins.

Gene therapy group Akouos soared on news it was being bought by Pharma Group Eli Lilly for \$487m.

Europe

Better than expected profits pushed Sweden's Avanza Bank up sharply. For the third quarter, net profit slid 10 per cent year on year to Skr433mn (\$39mn), although the lender beat a consensus estimate by 20 per cent, noted Cit.

Rikard Josefson, chief executive, said the bank's performance was "largely thanks to higher market interest rates", which increased the difference between what Avanza paid on deposits and what it earned from loans and other assets.

Telecom Italia, which has been at the centre of mergers and acquisitions chatter, rallied following renewed rumours of a potential takeover.

Italian newspaper Milano Finanza said private equity fund CVC might launch a bid for the telecoms group. Back in April, Telecom Italia rebuffed a takeover approach by US buyout group KKR.

Luxembourg-based Eurofins Scientific slid despite reporting "record high" nine-month revenue of €5.03bn.

London

An upbeat update sent Moneysupermarket.com rallying, with the price comparison site forecasting full-year core profits "towards the upper end of market expectations", it said.

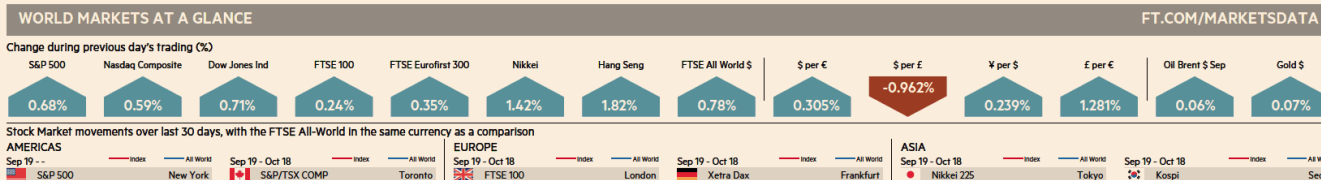
Third-quarter trading was running ahead of expectations, particularly in its money division, which offers information on mortgages, credit cards and loans.

The performance underlined Citi's thesis that "businesses offering consumers an opportunity to save money [are] highly appropriate for this point in the economic cycle".

Car dealership Lookers jumped after increasing its profit expectations and announcing moves to return money to investors via a share buyback scheme.

Management expected underlying pre-tax profit for the full year to be "not less than £75m", which was 14 per cent ahead of what analysts estimated, said broker Numis.

MARKET DATA



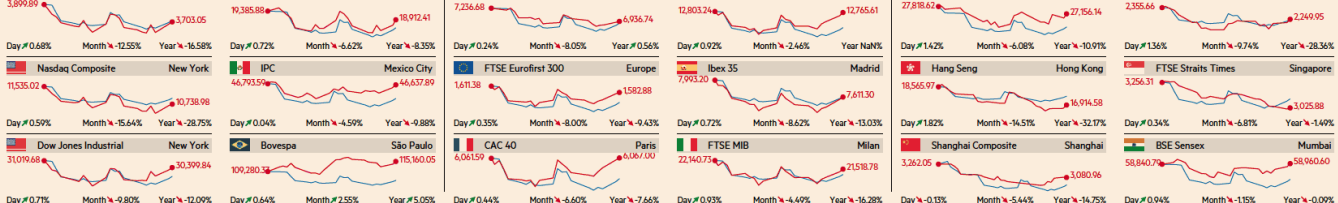


Table of stock indices with columns for Country, Index Name, Latest Value, Previous Value, and % Change. Includes indices from Argentina to Singapore.

STOCK MARKET: BIGGEST MOVERS

Table of stock market biggest movers, categorized by Gains and Losses, with columns for Stock Name, Price, and % Change.

UK MARKET WINNERS AND LOSERS

Table of UK market winners and losers, categorized by Gains and Losses, with columns for Stock Name, Price, and % Change.

CURRENCIES

Table of currency exchange rates for various countries, including Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, and others.

FTSE 300 INDEX

Table of FTSE 300 index components, listing stock names and their respective values.

UK MARKET WINNERS AND LOSERS

Table of UK market winners and losers, categorized by Gains and Losses, with columns for Stock Name, Price, and % Change.

FTSE 100 SUMMARY

Table of FTSE 100 summary statistics, including index value, change, and sector performance.

UK STOCK MARKET TRADING DATA

Table of UK stock market trading data, including volume, value, and average price.

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Table of FTSE Actuaries Share Indices, listing various actuarial funds and their performance.

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Table of FTSE Global Equity Index Series, listing global equity indices and their performance.

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Table of FTSE Sectors: Leaders & Laggards, listing sector performance metrics.

UK STOCK MARKET TRADING DATA

Table of UK Stock Market Trading Data, including volume, value, and average price.

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Table of UK Stock Market Trading Data, including volume, value, and average price.

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Table of FTSE 100: The World's Largest Companies, listing the top 100 companies by market capitalization.

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UK RECENT ISSUES

Table of UK Recent Issues, listing newly issued securities and their details.

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Table of UK Recent Issues, listing newly issued securities and their details.

Main financial data table with columns for various indices (ASX, FTSE, Nikkei, Hang Seng, etc.) and their performance metrics (Price, Day, High, Low, YTD, etc.).

FT 500: TOP 20 and FT 500: BOTTOM 20 tables showing top and bottom performing stocks in the FT 500 index.

BONDS: HIGH-YIELD & EMERGING MARKET and BONDS: GLOBAL INVESTMENT GRADE tables showing bond market data.

INTEREST RATES: OFFICIAL and INTEREST RATES: MARKET tables showing interest rate data for various countries.

BOND INDEXES table showing performance of various bond indices.

CREDIT INDEXES table showing performance of various credit indices.

COMMODITIES table showing prices for various commodities like oil, gold, and copper.

BONDS: INDEX-LINKED table showing data for index-linked bonds.

BONDS: TEN YEAR GOV SPREADS table showing ten-year government bond spreads.

BONDS: INDEX-LINKED table showing data for index-linked bonds.

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ARTS

# Korea's killer of the movie cliché

Director Park Chan-wook is subverting expectations again with his new thriller 'Decision to Leave'. He talks to Danny Leigh

Park Chan-wook likes to surprise. Over a three-decade career, the vastly respected South Korean writer-director has made a signature of intricate and beautiful cinema, goosed with eye-popping shocks. (His 2003 masterpiece *Oldboy* is still the benchmark – a dizzying revenge story that also featured the devouring of a live octopus.) And then, as with so many gifted modern film-makers, came television.

In 2018, Park directed *The Little Drummer Girl*, a well-regarded six-part BBC adaptation of the John le Carré novel, starring Florence Pugh. Now, however, he is back at the movies with a new film, *Decision to Leave*. A heady romantic thriller filled with flights of visual invention, it could only have been directed by a man desperate to make cinema again: one driven back to the big screen.

"Well, yes and no," Park, 59, says with a smile when we meet in London. More than yes, it turns out. For one thing, he saw *The Little Drummer Girl* as almost a movie, making it with the same painstaking eye for detail. In South Korea, it was even screened in cinemas. "What is most heartbreaking as a film director is not being able to give space to every small back-story that gives a narrative life. TV has room for those. So actually, I find working in TV a relief."

Bang goes that theory. Still, *Decision to Leave* lacks no richness of character. The virtuoso style is still intact as well. The mayhem of Park's early films has grown less confrontational, but you could still pick any shot at random and hang it on your wall.

Yet all that only comes after another twist on expectations. In the six years since his last movie, *The Handmaiden*, South Korean film and TV has achieved

a stellar global profile. The 2020 Best Picture Oscar was won by *Parasite*, directed by Park's longtime associate Bong Joon-ho. Netflix monster hit *Squid Game* followed. And in the wake of those successes, the streamer has released a string of South Korean crime series.

Now the first scenes of *Decision to Leave* seem designed to mimic them: a weary detective tackling an underworld murder case. "I intended to totally mislead the audience," Park says. "I wanted people to think they were about to see a traditional police procedural, before taking them somewhere unexpected. And I wanted those first moments to feel so sincere they could have been part of a regular crime drama. I wouldn't be the one to release it, though. The world has enough clichés already."

The script was drafted with regular writing partner Jeong Seo-kyung; Park only had his trick opening in place when she joined him to plot the rest. The film dully shape-shifts from whodunnit into



Above: Park Chan-wook shot for the FT by Antonia Adomako. Below left: Choi Min-sik in Park's 'Oldboy'

love story, a chase but obsessive romance between the married detective and Seo-rae, a murder suspect originally from China, played by Tang Wei.

You may be reminded of Hitchcock's *Vertigo*, a film Park has named as a formative influence. If audiences and film-makers were first dazzled by his sheer technique – Quentin Tarantino was an early admirer – important too has been Park's place as a reminder of a time when movies were undisputed art. He is a former film critic, and his passion for Luis Buñuel, Fritz Lang and a hundred other great auteurs is a subtle but constant presence in his films.

Another surprise? *Decision to Leave* also makes wildly inventive use of that most banal modern prop, the phone.

Apps and lockscreens become key plot points. Park's love for the masters of the past is mature enough to know they would urge him to keep pace with the present.

"At first I resisted," he says. "I didn't want to use a single text message. I felt the love story I wanted to make should involve letters handwritten with Mont Blanc pens. But ultimately, who wants to make a romance so out of touch with the world as it is now? And I have developed a habit in my career, which is that when I am forced to do something I originally didn't want to, I turn around and embrace it to the maximum."

One of the many roles Park finds for a phone is an AI interpretation app, used when Seo-rae doubts her ability to express herself in Korean. You wonder how much that resonates with a director whose films have led a double life: made for both Korean and international audiences, subject both to cultural differences and the vagaries of translation. In his acceptance speech at the 2020 Golden Globes, where *Parasite* won Best Foreign Language Film, Bong Joon-ho spoke of subtitles as a "one-inch barrier" for English-speaking audiences.

They also, of course, leave a storyteller as exact as Park at the mercies of paraphrasing. (Though he speaks conversational English, he still has a human interpreter accompany him to interviews.) "Language and translation have always fascinated me," Park says. "And of course, mistranslation too."

**'I didn't want to use a single text message. I felt the love story should involve letters written with Mont Blanc pens'**

A wider idea of international relations has touched his recent films as well. *The Handmaiden* saw Sarah Waters' novel of Victorian London, *Fingersmith* relocated to Korea and adapted as a tale of early-20th-century Japanese colonialism. Now *Decision to Leave* is bound up with the place of Chinese immigrants in Korea.

Park says he had no deeper reason to make Seo-rae Chinese than wanting to



Tang Wei in 'Decision to Leave'

cast Tang Wei, the talented actress who made her debut in Ang Lee's 2007 wartime romance *Lust, Caution*. But that apparently simple casting call is not unloaded. The sexual frankness of Lee's film saw Tang blacklisted by Chinese authorities, the actress only rebuilding her career after years off-screen. Park says that after casting Tang, he added "layers" to her character, revealing a family connection to Korean émigrés in China, first exiled during independence protests in the 1910s. With Park, there are always layers.

And yet, as he points out himself, the credit is rarely his alone. *Decision to Leave* is the sixth film he and Jeong Seo-kyung have co-written. Even now, Park says, people make simplistic assumptions about his co-writer only being responsible for female characters. "In fact, our voices are so entwined throughout that a single line might have a noun written by me and the verb by Ms Jeong." The one problem, he says, is that she alone recently wrote *Little Women*, a Netflix adaptation of the Louisa May Alcott novel set in modern Seoul. The series has been a huge hit in South Korea. "So now she's a star and will be even busier. It's a headache for me." He is, you suspect, only half-joking.

Once his co-writer is free again, Park's future will involve more projects in both English and Korean; further platform-hopping between film and TV. But life can be circular too. He is aware that new audiences for his work may likely come to it first as fans of *Parasite* or the South Korean Netflix series, a cultural explosion he helped lay the groundwork for. Does he feel the world looks differently at his work now?

"I don't believe my films are seen differently. But I do sense an important change. Now outside Korea, film industry people always say how nice it is to meet me – then ask for the email address of the director of *Squid Game*."

*'Decision to Leave'* is in cinemas from October 21

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## Black British gamers move a level up

GAMING

Tom Faber



In 2015, Danielle Udogarany had a realisation while playing *The Sims*: There were no cosmetic options to make characters who looked like her. "There was a lack of Afrocentric hairstyles and clothing," she says. "This is meant to be a game where we simulate life, so why can't I make Sims who are representative of me or the people in my world?"

Udogarany decided to create her own solution, teaching herself 3D modelling to make hairstyles that she found conspicuously absent, sharing them online for people to download and add to their games. "In 2022, we should not be an afterthought," she says. "We shouldn't be struggling to see ourselves in games."

Udogarany started livestreaming games on Twitch under the name Ebonix, becoming the first British black woman to be named a role model or "ambassador" for the platform. She soon realised, however, that most black streamers on the platform were American. Where were all the Brits? This led her to found the Black Twitch UK collective with fellow streamer GeekyCassie. "We started this because we couldn't find each other," Udogarany says. "And now we've found each other, let's allow the world to find us as well. And let's create opportunities so that we aren't just a token or a nuance, we're very much here and present."

The collective has grown to encompass almost 300 black British streamers and is a key contributor to Twitch's current celebrations of UK Black History Month, for which black stream-



A customised character for 'The Sims' created by Danielle Udogarany

writer Chella Ramanan. "It polices black experiences elsewhere and the voice is so dominating that it just becomes exhausting."

Partly in response to this tendency, Ramanan is creating *Windrush Tales*, a game that explores the experiences of the Windrush generation who came to the UK from the Caribbean between 1948 and 1971. She is working with writer Corey Brotherson, whose grandfather wrote about his complex feelings on moving to England from Saint Kitts

**'Maybe we don't want the job with the big corporation but we want to do our own thing'**

In 1955, it is important to the pair that the core team working on the project are black Brits with Caribbean heritage who can ensure sensitive and accurate representation of a subject which has never been broached in games before.

Outside of the UK, however, in recent years several complex black protago-

*Blackhaven*, where an intern working at a historic house in America uncovers troubling links to slavery in its past.

Last year saw the release of *Aerial Knight's Never Yield*, created by independent black developer Neil Jones after a decade of struggling to break into the gaming industry. Despite many game developers publicly supporting movements such as Black Lives Matter, few have meaningfully addressed a lack of diversity within their own studios.

To address this, games companies such as Humble and Riot have established funds to support black developers, while organisations such as POC In Play campaign for better representation in the industry. Ramanan, who is on POC In Play's team, says games will only better represent black people when there are more black people making them.

Outside of the big studios there are several companies run by black people breaking into the industry, including Silver Rain Games, Kiro's Games in Cameroon and the Jamaican Game Developer Society. "If the black community is anything, it's resilient," says Ramanan. "We're used to doing everything for our



ers are provided a dedicated space on the homepage. This is a marked improvement over last year's rocky rollout, when Twitch struggled to distinguish the British celebration from its American counterpart. "North America dominates the entire conversation about the black experience," says game

nists in gaming have emerged, including Nadine Ross in the *Uncharted* series, Miles Morales in *Spider-Man* and both the hero and villain of *Deathloop*. There are also games that thoughtfully explore black experience such as *Hair Nah*, where you swat white hands away from an exhausted black woman's hair, and

own damn selves. Increasingly I'm seeing the younger generation saying, "Maybe we don't want the job with the big corporation but we want to make our own space and do our own thing. We'll make the table that we're going to sit at, instead of waiting for crumbs from yours."

FT BIG READ. PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

A dozen current and former employees at the Big Four accountancy firm's Riyadh office describe living in fear of being summarily fired and worse. Some are now speaking out following the death of a colleague.

By Madison Marriage

Four months ago, Abdullah al-Fozan, the head of KPMG's business in Saudi Arabia, broke some troubling news to his staff. In an email sent to employees on the afternoon of June 13, he wrote that a popular director who had worked at the firm for more than 20 years, Danie de Waal, had unexpectedly died.

Fozan described De Waal, who led the firm's learning and development initiatives within its advisory team, with warmth and affection. The straight-talking South African had "a great sense of humour, loved cats and plants and always enjoyed a good meal", Fozan wrote, adding that he "constantly enriched the lives of those around him".

Later that week KPMG Saudi Arabia, part of KPMG International's global network of professional member firms, posted heartfelt condolence messages for De Waal's family and friends on its public Twitter and LinkedIn accounts on behalf of the "KPMG family". The posts triggered an outpouring of shock and grief from De Waal's colleagues and clients, with many sharing anecdotes about the 59-year-old's "big heart, happy character, and inspiring stories".

But as news of De Waal's death spread through KPMG and its network of alumni, so too did a sense of anger and unease among some of his former colleagues. His death came just days after he had been unexpectedly fired and told to leave Saudi Arabia by the end of that month.

De Waal had lived in Riyadh for almost five years while working for KPMG and expected to work there until his retirement, according to a family member and former colleagues. Two people close to De Waal say the official cause of his death was suffocation, leading them to believe he may have died by suicide.

But there was another reason for the brewing sense of anger. KPMG's treatment of De Waal is typical of how the firm operates in Saudi Arabia, according to interviews with 12 current and former employees at the Big Four accountancy firm. Those interviewed say unethical employment practices at KPMG Saudi Arabia are commonplace and have led expatriate staff fearing for their personal safety and struggling with their mental health.

These employment practices appear at odds with the values KPMG claims are adopted throughout its international network. They stand in stark contrast to the governance advice the firm sells to prestigious clients, who include governments, companies, and universities.

The experience and concerns of the expats working for KPMG Saudi Arabia come as Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman and his government are seeking to project the kingdom as an increasingly modern society that could become a leading hub for multinational companies in the region.

The government's ambitious reform agenda, which includes massive investments in tourism, sports and a futuristic megacity named "Neom", have gone hand-in-hand with efforts to persuade multinationals to relocate Middle East headquarters to the kingdom. In 2021, Saudi Arabia said it would only award contracts to foreign companies that have their regional headquarters based in the kingdom within three years.

An important step to persuading foreign companies to shift operations to Riyadh is convincing their workers that the kingdom can offer the infrastructure and lifestyle benefits offered by rival business hubs, namely Dubai. But the experience of the KPMG expats in Saudi Arabia shows that concerns about worker rights and the rule of law are still an issue in the autocratic kingdom.

The Financial Times has reviewed the circumstances surrounding the departures of seven western expatriates from KPMG Saudi Arabia since 2018. The business is an important hub for the global accountancy firm with 1,800 staff, annual revenues of \$200m, and clients including the Public Investment Fund, Saudi Arabia's sovereign wealth fund; the Saudi ministries of defence and finance; and Saudi Aramco, one of the world's most valuable companies.



FT Montage/Dreamtime

Testimony from former KPMG Saudi Arabia employees

"They have literally just run a wrecking ball through everyone's lives. [The Article 77 labour law] is a mechanism that terrorises the individual and is completely alien and incomprehensible to expats"

"I was in fear for my own safety. I would not have taken my young family to the Middle East had I known. [That fear] just should not exist today"

"They were cutting me off from all financial resources with two days' notice and this is unheard of. They are messing people's lives up"



KPMG International's

paid positions in KPMG Saudi Arabia was a thrilling one. Riyadh has been driving a highly ambitious plan to modernise the conservative kingdom under the leadership of Prince Mohammed – and the offer of tax-free earnings from a reputable employer was a seductive one.

The expat lifestyle in the kingdom often involved living in a tight-knit community in one of several extravagant compounds for foreigners – offering luxuries including swimming pools, cinemas, hammams, golf, art galleries and shopping plazas. One former employee likened his compound to a "slice of the western world in the heart of Riyadh... it was like a model village in a Disney movie".

Several of those interviewed say it was a complete shock when their relationship with KPMG was suddenly and unexpectedly terminated. In four of the instances reviewed by the FT, the firm applied a local labour rule, Article 77, which enables an employer to instantly fire someone without cause. In these four cases the employees' work and residency permits – known as iqamas – were also cancelled, meaning their right to remain in Saudi Arabia was suddenly revoked.

The abrupt terminations wreaked havoc. Several of those interviewed had moved their entire families to the Middle East and enrolled their children in local schools. But even for those without dependants the sudden dismissals were emotionally distressing and logistically complicated. Rental agreements, car leases and households filled with possessions – in short, their entire lives in Saudi Arabia – all needed to be immediately unwound.

"They were cutting me off from all financial resources with two days' notice and this is unheard of," says one former employee. "They are messing people's lives up." Another says he felt

governance, to potential fraud on the part of a client.

A former KPMG partner, who worked frequently in Saudi Arabia, says he witnessed colleagues being fired abruptly for no reason. He and several other former KPMG employees put this down to hostility towards westerners from the largely Arab leadership team at KPMG Saudi Arabia.

Racial tensions within the firm were a problem, several current and former insiders added, with xenophobic language towards certain nationalities commonplace and factionalism along ethnic lines the norm. "You wipe your nose wrong as a western expat and you can be dealt with harshly," the former partner says.

KPMG Saudi Arabia says it launched an "internal transformation project" in 2021 aiming to "review and suggest improvements" to its human resources



policies and processes, including a review of its employment contracts. The project is being spearheaded by members of its senior management team and their work has started to be put into practice this year, according to the firm.

"The health, safety and wellbeing of our people is the priority of KPMG Saudi Arabia," it says.

"It feels very unsafe" Aside from the inconvenience and damage to careers and livelihoods, many of those who were dismissed say they felt real fear for their personal safety, in particular when the terms of their exits were being negotiated. Three former employees say they

there. Fears were exacerbated by the fact that KPMG Saudi Arabia has close ties to the government through its advisory contracts, causing staff to worry that levers of the state – including arrest, detention and imprisonment – could be pulled if they pushed back against the firm.

Several former employees suspected they were under some form of surveillance by KPMG Saudi Arabia while working in the kingdom. One says he was followed by a car whenever he left his compound while exit negotiations were ongoing. He says he had safety concerns "every day" during this period "and any time I stepped out of the security of the compound".

Another former employee only agreed to speak to the FT from a hotel landline while travelling in Europe in case their mobile phone was being monitored. "As you know we are being watched in Saudi," the person said.

A third former employee says that when he finally left Saudi Arabia for good, he deliberately took a circuitous route via Bahrain so as to avoid being tracked or blocked from leaving by the firm or its government contacts. He compared the behaviour of KPMG Saudi Arabia's leadership and the fear it instils in employees to the John Grisham novel *The Firm*, a thriller in which a lawyer becomes entangled in a corporate plot. "I was in fear for my own safety," he says. "I would not have taken my young family to the Middle East had I known. [That fear] just should not exist today."

Half of the dozen interviewed say KPMG Saudi Arabia failed to pay them their salaries and bonuses in full, prompting some to resort to legal action to attempt to recoup their losses. Others chose to leave quietly rather than challenge the firm. One of the latter group says his priority was leaving the country with his family in safety. "Any professional services

The statement added: "At KPMG Saudi Arabia we create a safe environment for our people which is based on mutual trust and respect, where our people can fulfil their potential."

Whistleblowers

The FT has seen copies of three whistleblowing reports sent to KPMG International and chair Bill Thomas since 2018, alleging issues in the Saudi Arabia practice, including wrongful terminations, failure to pay staff and concerns about personal safety in the region.

The individuals who sent the reports say there is no indication that KPMG International has taken any action as a result. The firm continues to be run by Fozan, its chair and senior partner since 2000, while its all-male senior leadership team has barely changed over the past five years. The whistleblowers cannot comprehend KPMG International's inaction. "When whistleblowing is triggered, the full force of KPMG International should kick in, and it doesn't. They were hostile and aggressive to me. There is nothing of respectability in that firm – it's the wild west," says one.

Another two former employees say they raised concerns verbally with KPMG International leaders about practices in Saudi Arabia, to little effect. One says: "Global seem to turn a blind eye to this for the most part and hope it goes away. KPMG [Saudi Arabia] is not the KPMG I am used to and proud of. You wonder how bad it is to become before somebody actually takes action."

In a statement, KPMG International said: "As a global organisation, KPMG's priority, at all times, is its people. Ensuring that they feel supported and cared for is a fundamental part of our global values. "We encourage our colleagues, no matter where in the world they are located, to speak up if they feel something isn't right, and we have a number of internal and publicised mechanisms in place to enable them to do so as easily as possible. This includes our International Hotline. All reports to this hotline are confidential, so we are unable to comment on individual cases. Any concerns raised are, and will continue to be, reviewed and we take any action as needed. We never lose sight of the need to do what is right."

One reason why the problems at KPMG Saudi Arabia are so conspicuous, insiders say, is because it is structured differently from the other Big Four firms in the Middle East. Deloitte, PwC and EY have each brought their Middle Eastern operations under the control of one large entity run from Europe, so common standards tend to apply throughout the region.

KPMG, on the other hand, is a network of firms operating under the same brand but managed in each country by a local chief executive and chair, who often tends to own a large stake of the local entity. This makes each local partnership more independent and harder for KPMG International to control. One former partner, who worked in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere for the firm, says: "What is fundamentally wrong with KPMG is its structure. Before that is fixed, there is no way on God's earth that things will improve. Because it does not matter what KPMG [International] says, any partners in any region in the world will turn around and tell global – mind your own business. It is a franchise, not a real firm."

Several insiders say a recent attempt by KPMG International to encourage its Saudi business and Lower Gulf practice, which operates in the United Arab Emirates and Oman, to merge was intended to improve standards at the two firms. But infighting meant the merger collapsed last year. With complaints seemingly ignored



These accounts are supported by documents, including employment contracts, termination notices, copies of internal emails sent to certain staff and whistleblowing reports sent to KPMG International.

Some of those interviewed say they are speaking up reluctantly as they are fond of KPMG and have significant respect for the firm's operations elsewhere. But they feel the issues in the Saudi Arabia business have been repeatedly ignored by KPMG International and want to protect others from similarly harrowing experiences.

Life in the kingdom

For many western expatriates the prospect of working in exciting and well-

response

'As a global organisation, KPMG's priority, at all times, is its people. Ensuring that they feel supported and cared for is a fundamental part of our global values'

like he had been suddenly 'put out on the scrapheap' and endured 'complete and utter hell' in the years that followed. Once he returned to his home in Europe, he says he felt 'a mix of shock, relief, exhaustion and in some respects, terror'.

'They have literally just run a wrecking ball through everyone's lives,' says a third former employee. '[Article 77] is a mechanism that terrorises the individual and is completely alien and incomprehensible to expats.'

No valid reasons were given for the sackings, according to those interviewed. The termination of three of the employees via Article 77 came after they had raised concerns internally about issues ranging from bullying, to poor

were verbally threatened by certain members of KPMG Saudi Arabia's senior leadership team — told to comply with the firm's proposed exit agreement or face unpleasant consequences. 'When people say [refusing to co-operate] will be very bad for you... it feels very unsafe. You don't know what that means,' says one former employee.

None of those interviewed had any proof that KPMG Saudi Arabia would do anything to harm them. But the fear for their personal safety was shared by 10 individuals interviewed by the FT — some of whom held very senior roles in Saudi Arabia.

It demonstrates a breakdown in trust between the KPMG leadership team in the Kingdom and the western expats

firm is about the people who make up the firm — these are people who know people in authority in the country. If they needed something to be done, they could have done it... I boarded a plane and never went back, and I hope I never have to.'

KPMG Saudi Arabia said in a statement: 'We do not recognise the allegations that have been made, including those concerned with the safety and welfare of our people. As a responsible employer, we take them seriously and will continue to keep people matters as a top priority. We have robust processes in place to deal with complaints and grievances and continuously look to review and enhance our processes based on feedback from our people.'

by KPMG International and little sign of change at the Saudi practice, some of the insiders say speaking to the FT was their last resort to prevent other professionals from facing similarly abusive practices in the country.

For others, De Waal's death was the final tipping point in terms of speaking out. 'If the firm takes a serious look at the methods they use [when making employees redundant]... then his death is not in vain,' says one former employee.

Another adds: 'You would expect KPMG to hold higher standards. It is unbelievable. This was a case of abuse. It has taken me three years to get over that saga. They really push people mentally to the edge.'

The FT View



FINANCIAL TIMES 'Without fear and without favour'

ft.com/opinion

Xi's control of fortress China is a watershed moment

His likely reaffirmation as leader comes amid efforts to combat threats

Xi Jinping is set at this week's 20th National Congress of the Chinese Communist party to be reappointed to a third term as leader. The expected reaffirmation is a watershed moment politically, militarily and economically for the world's emerging superpower.

by the fact that relatively little attention has focused on the many personnel changes due at the congress. A new central committee, comprising about 200 full members and 170 alternates, a 25-member Politburo and a seven-person Politburo Standing Committee are all due to be unveiled.

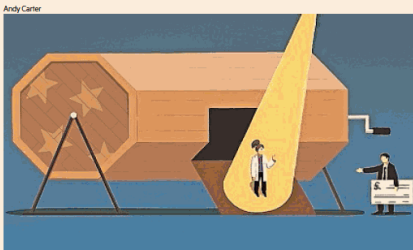
taking control of Taiwan, potentially by military force. It is this threat mentality that dominates Xi's world view. A national security strategy for 2021 to 2025 — which was adopted in late 2021 but has not been made public — seeks to galvanise party and state bodies to combat all internal and external threats to China's expanding security sphere.

If Beijing hunkers down and throws a security straitjacket over its economy, it risks smothering its entrepreneurial spirit

ments on exports to China-based plants that made advanced chips. If, however, Beijing's response is to hunker down and throw a security straitjacket over its economy and people, it risks smothering the entrepreneurial spirit that has driven the country's remarkable economic transformation over the past three decades.

Opinion Science

Research funding lottery could tackle 'status bias'



Anjana Ahuja

Star names wield an outsized influence over research, as well as in sport and entertainment. A recent analysis revealed that a research paper written jointly by a Nobel laureate and a novice was rejected by 65 per cent of reviewers when only the novice's name was made visible as the corresponding author — but by just 23 per cent if the laureate's name was used instead.

receives twice the number of applications it can fund. Selection will become a two-stage process. First, proposals must meet a minimum-quality threshold, decided by peer review. All those making the grade will enter a lottery, with grants of up to £10,000 allocated using a random number generator.

Peer review panels pick winners and losers, but they can be as prone to tribalism as other groups

comes to publishing papers and winning grants.

Now, two UK funding agencies, the British Academy and the Natural Environment Research Council, will try to counter that bias by awarding some of their research grants by lot.

Letters

Give Ukraine the arms it needs to defeat Putin's invasion

This week, across Ukraine, homes and energy infrastructure have come under fire again ('Russia bombs Kyiv with kamikaze drones', Report, October 18).

dark, military supply lines crippled. We can beat Putin but, with winter closing in fast, the clock is ticking. Ukrainians have been waiting for the NASAMS air defence systems since May. One German system, IRIS-T SLM, has at long last arrived.

European friends to take up arms, to die on the Ukrainian steppe, to militarise their economies or even change their lives much. We will fight this war with everything that we have, and we will fight it to the very end.

A better use for the billions spent on energy subsidies

I can't help thinking if the war in Ukraine ended earlier and more decisively, the challenges of higher global energy prices and interrupted supply chains could be obviated far more quickly.



Let's call out oil bosses who play down climate change

Mike Wirth, chief executive of Chevron, claims the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change concluded that 'anthropogenic climate change is a real thing and that the use of fossil fuels has contributed' ('Chevron pins energy crisis on climate policy rush', Interview, October 14).

What investors fear most is being wrongfooted

Chris Giles points out the virtues of a policy reversal for the UK government (Opinion, October 14) but what investors need is frameworks to be able to anticipate future movements in fiscal as well as monetary policy.

Why biodiversity best practice is not enough

You write that the theme of biodiversity is quickly rising to the top of the agenda for investors, policymakers and regulators (Special Report, September 20). Slightly so.

...of which research grants by lottery. Given that about £15bn of public money is spent annually on research and development in the UK, the move should prompt other funding agencies to rethink how they can best spread their bets.

Most agencies usually use peer review to pick winners and losers: a selection panel in a particular research field appraises the applicants (their peers, who can also sometimes be rivals). Panels can, however, be as prone to confirmation bias, motivated reasoning and tribalism as other groups. Nesta, which describes itself as the UK's innovation agency for social good, says peer review can be "biased against radical new thinking, geography, ideology and gender".

It certainly tends to reward seniority over youth, orthodoxy over originality, and incrementalism over conceptual leaps. That is why the British Academy, which champions research in humanities and social sciences, is piloting a "partial randomisation" approach for its small Research Grants programme, which

...not just one aspect to support a proposal's chances.

Random allocation, he maintains, can be fairer — and easier on those who miss out. Unlucky applicants can be reassured that they were just that: unlucky, not undeserving. The potential downsides are that abandoning merit-based rankings could undermine the credibility of the research enterprise and foster public mistrust. Shah said the scheme would be evaluated over the coming years and that, so far, the reaction had been surprisingly positive.

Lotteries have been adopted by a handful of progressive grant-giving bodies, including the Volkswagen Foundation, the Swiss National Science Foundation and the Health Research Council of New Zealand. It is encouraging to see British organisations testing the waters. Brexit has all but cut off the UK from the progressive dream, not just the libertarian one. With little money to spend, the point of the next Labour government is — what, exactly? A more equitable kind of fiscal restraint? A bit more stress on tax rises and a tad less on spending cuts? That is something. But it is also much less than the party and its keenest supporters are prone to expect. Tony Blair tripled NHS spending in cash terms and still ended up persona non grata with the left. Stamer should brace for a similar fate as a disappointment of millions.

When Labour last took office in 1997, the budget was heading towards bal-

...then only possible if it was to have more sanctions over alleged weapon supplies to Russia", Report, FT.com, October 17).

Ending sanctions would drop the price of oil and ease tensions in the Middle East. Second, the west must change course on the war in Ukraine. No matter what people think of who is right or wrong, the war is pushing the world into both economic chaos and dangerous avenues.

Offering a solution that begins with dropping sanctions on Russia, restores its access to the Swift banking system, and allows freedom of movement could provide its leaders with a face-saving opportunity to end the war.

A ceasefire based on a negotiated settlement to be arranged in 2023 would provide a point of readjustment for all concerned, both Nato members and the US and Russia.

This would give the world economy a breathing space for recovery and energy costs and arrest inflation.

**Niccolò Caldararo**  
Department of Anthropology  
San Francisco State University  
San Francisco, CA, US

...ing to state governments about the consequences of reduced dependence on their products.

Perhaps the heads of other fossil fuel companies could demonstrate their commitment to a rapid and orderly transition away from oil, coal and gas by calling out Wirth and others within the industry who attempt such obfuscation?

**Bob Ward**  
Policy and Communications Director  
Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment  
London School of Economics and Political Science, London WC2, UK

**Truss is a Marxist — a GroUCHO Marxist**

We now see Liz Truss ("Liz Truss apologises for chaos caused to Britain by mini-Budget", Report, October 17) revealed as a Marxist — a GroUCHO Marxist, living the great man's rule of life: "Those are my principles and if you don't like them... well, I have others." (*Duck Soup*, 1933).

**Anthony Murray**  
London KTI, UK

...the UK — which evaluating executive education. I note that three of the top five schools are based in places where the internet is censored and where national security laws permit the authorities to jail people for expressing "wrong opinions" online, even outside the countries where these supposedly leading business schools were located.

How can business education flourish where dissertation topics on corruption, embezzlement and nepotism could land a student in prison, where the internet is censored and where students, journalists and academics cannot freely express their opinions in class or online without fear of arrest?

The FT's executive education rankings make a mockery of the spirit of free discussion, of the open sharing of ideas and opinions, and of high quality, transparent research.

Rachman is right — and maybe next year these important criteria which lie at the heart of executive study could be considered as well.

**George Horsington**  
ESCP Business School Executive PhD Candidate, Zug, Switzerland

**Family state just politics on naughty chair**

Use of the negative term "family state" by commentators unfortunately concedes the point that state guidance is not just unnecessary but somehow demeaning, for example to suggest ways of saving energy this winter ("Liz Truss vetoed campaign urging UK public to cut energy usage", Report, FT.com, October 7). After all, who needs a nanny above a certain age?

Ironically, I would guess that libertarians fond of this expression may well have had a nanny themselves and retain a sentimental attachment to those worthy persons for the very best of reasons.

Wasn't it business secretary Jacob Rees-Mogg who took his nanny with him when canvassing a former mining town in Fife during the 1997 election, introducing her to nonplussed voters? Introducing a nanny around the constituency at the time can't have helped. Let's keep the nanny by all means, but drop the expression.

**Conor Magill**  
London E1, UK

# Opinion

## Labour's progressive dream has died along with the Tory libertarian one

### POLITICS

Janan Ganesh



Don't assume, even now, even after everything, that Britain will elect a Labour government next time. Sir Keir Starmer would make a fine prime minister. From afar, in the US, he always struck me as Joe Biden-like in his low standing among pundits who over-index charisma. But the exorbitant privilege of having Liz Truss as an opponent will soon end. And his party has liabilities of its own that time will expose. Vestiges of the hard left survive in its grassroots, its backbenches, its bureaucracy.

Little left UK history suggests the soft left is much more electable. Mid-term polls, like sterling, are only worth so much.

Even if Labour wins, there is no social democratic Shangri-La at hand. What has died in Britain over recent weeks is the progressive dream, not just the libertarian one. With little money to spend, the point of the next Labour government is — what, exactly? A more equitable kind of fiscal restraint? A bit more stress on tax rises and a tad less on spending cuts? That is something. But it is also much less than the party and its keenest supporters are prone to expect. Tony Blair tripled NHS spending in cash terms and still ended up persona non grata with the left. Stamer should brace for a similar fate as a disappointment of millions.

When Labour last took office in 1997, the budget was heading towards bal-

ance, public debt was 45 per cent of national output and inflation was low. There was scope to borrow in order to spend. Even at the time, it felt strange that Labour did not begin the process sooner. Now, on all three counts — the deficit, debt and prices — Starmer is hemmed in. And if he can't borrow, nor

The left has to adjust its view of the future. But it also has to revise its account of the recent past

can he raise taxes, at least not much. He will inherit a corporation tax rate that is already going up. The top rate of income tax will be higher than the last Labour government thought appropriate for 12 of its 15 years in office. And this is before

the present government raises other levies (value added tax, I suspect), as it surely must.

"In the end," goes an old Tory line, "Labour governments run out of money." This time, through no fault of its own, a Labour government will run out of money at the start. The implications should induce a shiver in the shadow cabinet. Improvements in healthcare and other services will have to come from structural reform of the kind that unions loathe, not raw cash. Higher benefits for the poor will force the government to economise on state pensions or other kinds of social security. Power is still better than its absence. But Labour will hate every minute of it.

The left has to adjust its view of the future, then. But it also has to revise its account of the recent past. And this will be much more painful. Progressives

have got through the last decade or so with a story about an ogre called "austerity". Had the Tories not been so tight from 2010 — according to this tale — Britain would have grown faster, at minimal risk to its financial stability.

What is troubling is not the argument itself, which may be right, but the certainty with which it is held. What began as a plausible thesis has become an article of dinner-party faith. And, like all religions, it is heedless of contradiction. You meet people who say growth is too complex a thing to be stimulated by tax cuts and that more largesse in 2010-15 would have had a profound effect.

It is fruitless to revisit the substance of a dispute that is over a decade old. But recent events have at least changed the politics around it. The new intellectual confidence of the austere since the "mini" Budget is unmistakable. Their central point, that governments cannot

know what will trigger a loss of credibility, has been made for them. Labour's account of the past 12 years now looks, if not wrong, a shade overconfident.

Politics is downwind of such shifts in the intellectual atmosphere. It is impossible, for now, to picture the Tories salvaging respectable defeat, let alone victory. From the polls. But a Rishi Sunak and Jeremy Hunt hydra of an administration would change a lot. And the hot light of scrutiny turns from government to opposition as an election nears. Everyone says this, I know, but without recalling quite how savage and exposing the beam is. In its market-enforced retreat from pie-in-the-sky economics, the government has been likened to that of François Mitterrand, the Socialist president in early 1980s France. He didn't leave office until 1995.

janan.ganesh@ft.com

# Eurozone countries must act together

### Martin Wolf Economics

A common energy policy is essential if citizens are to be protected against the worst of the crisis



The economic challenges facing the eurozone are not the same as those facing the US. On balance, however, they are even more difficult.

The eurozone economy is not suffering from overheating of domestic demand to the same extent as the US. This should make the task of monetary policy easier for the European Central Bank than for the Federal Reserve. But the supply shock buffeting the eurozone is far bigger, with a huge rise in the price of energy, especially gas, after Russia's invasion of Ukraine. That shock is both inflationary and contractionary: inflationary, in that it has raised the price level sharply; and contractionary, in that it has lowered real incomes for households and the terms of trade for countries.

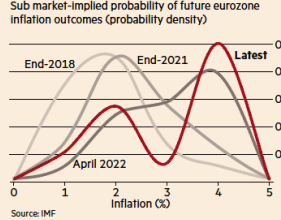
Crucially, the eurozone is more fragile than the US. Its national economies are diverse and cross-border insurance mechanisms remain undeveloped. Above all, politics relatively national. As a result, fragmentation is always a risk. Nevertheless, the eurozone does have advantages in handling the Covid and energy shocks compared with the financial crises of a decade ago. Recent shocks have affected members in quite similar

year to August 2022, headline consumer price inflation was 9.1 per cent in the eurozone and 8.5 per cent in the US. But core inflation (without energy and food prices) was only 4.3 per cent in the eurozone against 6.3 per cent in the US. Thus, 4.8 percentage points of eurozone inflation were due to increases in energy and food prices, against 2 percentage points in the US. Data on labour market data similarly indicate substantially less overheating than in the US.

This explains why the ECB has tightened later and less than the Fed — a 1.25 percentage point rise in the intervention rate, from minus 0.5 per cent, in the former, against a 3 percentage point rise, from 0.25 per cent in the latter. Nevertheless, the ECB was right to start normalising monetary policy, too, partly because policy had been so aggressive and partly because it needed to prevent the price effects of the shocks from being embedded in expectations. Its actions were also not premature: the IMF's *Global Financial Stability Report* reveals that the inflation expectations of many market participants have already shifted upwards to about 4 per cent.

Nevertheless, the ECB needs to be cautious about how quickly and how far it moves. One reason for this is that the

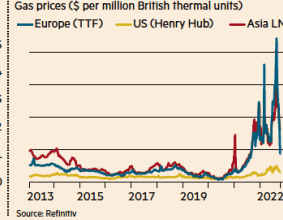
Markets show a significant upward shift in eurozone inflation expectations



economist. A particular worry is the uncertainty about the lags. It is quite possible that headline inflation will be falling fast quite soon, because gas prices have been falling. If so, the main impact of today's monetary tightening may occur long after inflation expectations have already adjusted downwards. Indeed, it is possible that "normal" monetary policy for the eurozone remains very loose, as it was pre-Covid.

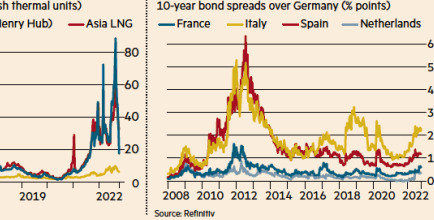
A particular concern is the rising spreads on government bonds, which

European gas prices soared relative to the US, but have fallen sharply



would then be transmitted to borrowers in the most vulnerable economies. So far, these spreads are far smaller than during the eurozone crisis. Moreover, the ECB has several tools — on its own or in co-operation with other institutions, notably the European Stability Mechanism — to deal with fragmentation. These include asset reinvestment, a new "transmission protection instrument" and, if all else fails, the "outright monetary transactions" developed in 2012, after Mario Draghi's "whatever it takes" speech. Implementing these pro-

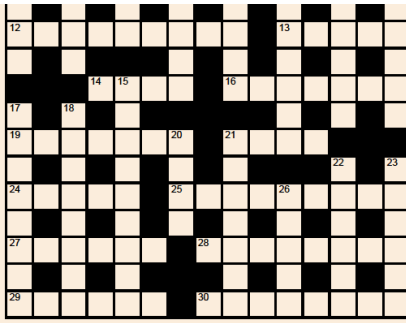
Bond spreads have risen, but not as much as after the financial crisis



everybody. It also means shaping a common energy policy, notably one that accelerates the shift to renewables; helping member states cushion their citizens against the worst of the energy shock, agreeing a common policy towards Vladimir Putin's Russia in conjunction with Nato, shaping a trade and economic policy that manages relations with China, and even moving towards more stable relations with the UK.

The compromises needed to address the energy shock and Ukraine war will be painful. But they must be made.

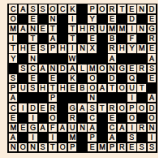




- (2,4)
- 12 Philosopher starts to analyse rhymes TS Eliot constructed (9)
  - 13 Sponge the sheltered side with cold water, then hot (5)
  - 14 Prison disturbance (4)
  - 15 One fights old PM endlessly dividing Britain (7)
  - 19 Bone from bird used in exercise at school? (7)
  - 21 Declare it hurts, sitting on collection of books (4)
  - 24 Swimmer in tropics leaves around a pair of trunks (5)
  - 25 Garden of Eden exhibit's guarded by special rails (7-2)
  - 27 Insect one hears defacing small branch (6)
  - 28 Flimsy edging of villa, full of holes (8)
  - 29 They go out, quietly leaving punt on river (6)
  - 30 Vehicle's parked outside residence of retiring nurses (5,3)
- DOWN**
- 1 Signalling system gets twitching feline back (3-3)
  - 2 Devious lady from city repeatedly taking centre-stage (6)
  - 3 Having spent millions, US president's backing jef (5)
  - 4 University official trained on cold peak (7)
  - 6 Nick, perhaps bitter, upset extreme artist (9)
  - 7 Mailman regularly maintains place for sorting, unaccompanied (1,7)
  - 8 Anarchist once studied, we hear - is it kept buttoned up? (3,5)
  - 11 Basil maybe the latest to scrub beneath that boat (4)
  - 15 Shade covers short eccentric Scotsman, resident in Africa (9)
  - 17 Wonder about model soldiers, so to speak (2,2,4)
  - 18 Ancient coin having unusual crest, found in Durham, say (8)
  - 20 Small comes from river alongside motorway (4)
  - 21 Popular type of novel, whichever way you look at it (3,4)
  - 22 Informer might pronounce this refuse centre unavailable (3-3)
  - 23 Rope wife into trading share (6)
  - 26 Sunbathing? Ultimately, not a thing that's worn (5)

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