

# FINANCIAL TIMES

FRIDAY 26 AUGUST 2022

INTERNATIONAL NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

ASIA

## Cocaine problem

Latin America is failing in its war on drugs — MICHAEL STOTT, PAGE 4

## Off the silver screen

Have streamers really reached their peak TV moment? — ANALYSIS, PAGE 7



## Take note, Fed

Bank needs to send a clear message at Jackson Hole — GILLIAN TETT, PAGE 15

## Myanmar pain Arrests tighten regime's hold

A Rohingya refugee at Cox's Bazar in Bangladesh yesterday, where the minority ethnic group are holding a series of protests to mark five years since their forced exodus from Myanmar. The rally followed the arrest of former UK ambassador to Myanmar, Vicky Bowman, on Wednesday. Bowman is the director of a non-governmental organisation that advocates transparent business practices. She was detained alongside her husband, former political prisoner Htein Lin, over alleged violations of an immigration law. Myanmar's junta has carried out a series of political arrests since returning to power last year, often on security and immigration grounds. **British ex-ambassador detained page 2**



Manal Alam/EPA-EFE/Shutterstock

### Briefing

- **Citigroup to shut Russia businesses**  
The US bank said it would wind down its businesses in Russia after failing to find a buyer following the invasion of Ukraine. The move is expected to cost \$170mn over the next 18 months. — PAGE 5
- **China unleashes \$44bn stimulus**  
Beijing has announced that it will spend \$44bn on measures to revive the country's economy, which has been hard hit by a crisis in the property sector and repeated Covid-19 lockdowns. — PAGE 4
- **End date for California's petrol car sales**  
The US state is to outlaw sales of new petrol vehicles in the state by 2035, imposing a target described by a motor industry group as 'extremely challenging'. — PAGE 3
- **Ethiopia ceasefire breaks down**  
Fresh fighting has broken out in northern Ethiopia, ending a ceasefire and wrecking hopes for peace talks between the government and the Tigray People's Liberation Front. — PAGE 2
- **Pyongyang admits fresh Covid cases**  
Authorities in North Korea have found four suspected Covid-19 cases near the Chinese border, two weeks after leader Kim Jong Un declared a 'miraculous' victory over the disease. — PAGE 4
- **Windhorst in €500mn H20 debt pledge**  
German financier Lars Windhorst has promised to pay more than €500mn to H20 Asset Management within weeks, clearing a chunk of his more than €1bn debt with the investment firm. — PAGE 6
- **The Amazon doctor won't see you now**  
Amazon is to close its US telehealth service, Amazon Care, which promised doctors on demand, but is continuing investment in the sector after buying primary healthcare group One Medical. — PAGE 6

# Short sellers place €39bn bet on Italy's debt crisis growing worse

◆ Biggest wager since 2008 ◆ Political turmoil fans anxiety ◆ Russia gas embargo feared

**LAURENCE FLETCHER AND NIKOU ASGARI**  
LONDON  
Hedge funds have lined up the biggest bet against Italian government bonds since the global financial crisis, acting on rising concerns over political turmoil in Rome and the country's dependence on Russian gas imports. The total value of Italy's bonds borrowed by investors to wager on a fall in prices hit its highest level since January 2018 this month, at more than €39bn, according to data from S&P Global Market Intelligence. The rush to bet against Italy comes as it faces economic headwinds from soaring natural gas prices prompted by Russia's supply cuts and a fraught political climate with elections next month. "It's the most exposed [country] in

terms of what happens to gas prices, and the politics is challenging," said Mark Dowling, chief investment officer at BlueBay Asset Management, which runs about \$106bn in assets. He is shorting Italian 10-year bonds. The IMF warned last month that a Russian gas embargo would spur an economic contraction of more than 5 per cent in Italy and three other countries, unless other nations shared supplies. Italy is also considered among the countries most vulnerable to the European Central Bank's decision to unwind its stimulus programmes by raising interest rates and halting bond purchases that have propped up the country's vast debt market. A period of relative political calm ushered in by Mario Draghi's appointment

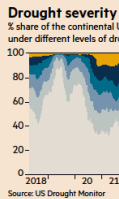
as prime minister in February 2021 was shattered in July when the former ECB chief resigned and his national unity coalition unravelled. Nationalist leader Giorgia Meloni is considered favourite to become prime minister. Draghi this week called on parties in the elections to make good on Italy's financial reform commitments. Eurosceptic parties within the right-wing coalition, which might secure up to half of the vote on September 25, according to polls, have signalled they could review the details of Italy's €200bn EU-funded recovery plan and other reforms such as a new competition law associated with it. "Domestic credibility goes hand in hand with international credibility," Draghi said.



Former prime minister Mario Draghi has urged whoever forms the next government to stick by Italy's financial reform commitments

Italian bonds had already sold off in recent weeks as investors responded to rising uncertainty. The yield on Italy's 10-year debt has risen to 3.7 per cent, pushing the gap, or "spread", with Germany's debt — a risk barometer — to 2.5 percentage points from 1.37 percentage points at the start of the year. One large investor in hedge funds said Italy "seems like it's going to be the most vulnerable" country to worsening economic conditions, adding that such bets were "widespread". Michael Hintze, founder of hedge fund CQS, has been among those profiting from bets against Italy's bonds this year, according to documents seen by the Financial Times. CQS declined to comment. **ECB's fears page 2**

### Datawatch



The US has been experiencing unusually hot and dry weather, with water levels at historic lows. As of August 18, droughts of different levels were affecting more than 66 per cent of the area of the continental US.



## Biden's student debt relief plan stirs inflation fears

Inflationary fire — PAGE 3

Country	AS7000inc.GST
Australia	RM830
China	HK533
Hong Kong	Rup220
India	Rp45200
Indonesia	₩5000inc.ACT
Japan	₩4,500
Korea	Rm150
Malaysia	Rup350
Pakistan	Peso140
Philippines	S\$5.800inc.GST
Singapore	NT\$40
Taiwan	Bh140
Thailand	US\$4.50
Vietnam	

Subscribe in print and online  
www.ft.com/AsiaSubs  
Tel: (852) 5803 3388  
Fax: (852) 2905 5590  
email: subsasia@ft.com

© THE FINANCIAL TIMES LTD 2022  
No: 41103 ★  
Printed in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, Dublin, Frankfurt, Milan, Madrid, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Singapore, Seoul.

# 'Synthetic' mouse embryos raise hope for future of lab-grown human organs

**CLIVE COOKSON — LONDON**  
Scientists have created "synthetic" mouse embryos with growing brains, beating hearts and the precursors for all other organs in place — without using sperm or eggs. The researchers at Cambridge university and the California Institute of Technology said theirs were the most complete mammalian embryos made so far from stem cells. Details were published in Nature yesterday. The team is working to extend its findings to human development — a field in which other labs around the world are already active, although no synthetic human embryos have been created with organs as well developed as their mouse counterparts. Experimental embryology is advancing rapidly, as scientists learn new

methods of manipulating stem cells. One motivation for the research was to help understand why some pregnancies failed and others succeeded, said Magdalena Zernicka-Goetz, the Cambridge-Caltech project leader. "The stem cell embryo model is important because it gives us accessibility to the developing structure at a stage that is normally hidden from us, due to the implantation of the tiny embryo into the mother's womb," she said. "This allows us to manipulate genes to understand their developmental roles in a model experimental system." The synthetic mouse embryos grown by the Cambridge-Caltech team — and in a similar project at Israel's Weizmann Institute — have reached stage equivalent to a natural embryo at eight-and-a-half days gestation, or almost half the normal pregnancy time in mice.

"The embryos struggle to grow beyond that point because they require a placenta which we cannot reproduce *in vitro*," said Gianluca Amadei, first author of the study. If scientists can grow similar embryos from human stem cells, a long-term goal might be to direct the development of specific organs for transplantation. "The knowledge could be used to grow correct synthetic human organs to save lives that are currently lost," said Zernicka-Goetz. "It should also be possible to affect and heal adult organs by using the knowledge we have on how they are made." Luis Montoliu, deputy director of Spain's National Biotechnology Centre, said: "We are undoubtedly facing a new technological revolution — a revolution that naturally also raises new ethical dilemmas."

STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS					
	Aug 25	Prev	%Chg	Pair	Aug 25	Prev	Pair	Aug 25	Prev	Yield (%)	Aug 25	Prev	Chg
S&P 500	4186.76	4140.77	0.63	\$/£	0.988	0.989	£/\$	1.002	1.001	US 2 yr	3.37	3.37	0.00
Nasdaq Composite	1257.96	12457.53	0.86	\$/¥	1.183	1.182	¥/\$	0.846	0.848	US 10 yr	3.08	3.11	-0.03
Dow Jones Ind	33915.74	32969.23	0.14	€/\$	0.844	0.845	\$/€	1.185	1.183	US 30 yr	3.27	3.29	-0.03
FTSE100	1710.52	1704.63	0.35	\$/₹	136.695	136.795	₹/\$	136.443	136.656	UK 2 yr	2.92	3.06	-0.14
Euro Stoxx 50	3674.02	3667.46	0.18	\$/₪	161.641	161.670	₪/\$	78.820	79.010	UK 10 yr	2.61	2.70	-0.08
FTSE All-Share	4103.35	4100.82	0.06	\$/₹	0.982	0.985	₹/\$	1.140	1.141	UK 30 yr	2.89	2.93	-0.04
CAC 40	6391.56	6386.76	-0.08	CRYPTO						JPN 2 yr	-0.09	-0.09	0.00
Xetra Dax	13271.96	13220.06	0.39							JPN 10 yr	0.23	0.22	0.01
										JPN 30 yr	1.15	1.14	0.01

**LONDON GOLF CLUB**

## FAMILY MEMBERSHIP

MEMBERSHIP OPTIONS DESIGNED TO COMPLEMENT YOUR NEEDS.

Family Membership is available for two adults and includes two children less than 18 years of age. Members in this category enjoy full use and access to all the facilities on offer at London Golf Club, including our various social events, exclusive fitting days, and more. Members also enjoy privileged rates at some of the best golf courses around the world.



Subscriptions and Customer Service Tel: (852) 3603 3388, subsasia@ft.com

Advertising Tel: (852) 2868 2868 asiads@ft.com, www.ftasia.net

Letters to the editor letters.editor@ft.com

Published by The Financial Times (HQ) Limited, 6th Floor, Nan Fung Tower, 88 Connaught Road Central, Hong Kong

Printed by Australia: Spotpress Pty Ltd, 24-26 Lillian Fowler Place, Marrickville, NSW 2204

South Korea: Maeil Business Newspaper, 30-11, 1-Ga, Pil-Dong, Jung-Ku, Seoul, 100-728

Singapore: SPH Media Limited, 2, Jurong Port Road, #06088 Representative, Anjali Mahindroo

© Copyright The Financial Times Limited 2022. All rights reserved.

Reproduction of the contents of this newspaper in any manner is not permitted without the publisher's prior consent.

The Financial Times and its journalism are subject to a self-regulation regime under the FT Editorial Code of Practice: www.ft.com/editorialcode

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

THE GOVERNMENT HAS INTRODUCED... by starting another round of conflict, it would be a significant reversal of everything we have been trying for the past six months to get the economy right, not to mention the tragic loss of young lives," said a senior Ethiopian official.

In January, Addis Ababa released opposition leaders from prison and signalled its willingness to talk to its opponents. In late March it declared a "unilateral truce" to allow food aid to get to the blocked northernmost region.

In late April, Tigrayan forces fully withdrew from the Afar region, paving the way for back-channel talks between officials from Addis Ababa and Mekelle.

But bones of contention, including the withdrawal of Eritrean and Amhara forces, the resolution of a land dispute

Amhara began "an extensive offensive" on Wednesday in a "flagrant violation of the cessation of hostilities agreement" that had been in place for months.

Redwan Hussien, national security adviser to Abiy, said about a month ago that talks should start without preconditions, adding that there had been no limit on the number of flights and trucks carrying aid into the region.



Destroyed: a tank in north Ethiopia, where fighting has restarted

More than 5mn in need of food, international agencies said aid had been going into Tigray since a humanitarian truce was declared in late March.

INTERNATIONAL

Biden accused of fuelling 'inflationary fire' with move to cancel student debt

Loan forgiveness scheme delights progressives but opponents fear it will stoke consumer demand

KIRAN STACEY — WASHINGTON

Joe Biden's historic cancellation of billions of dollars in student loan debt, a move long-awaited by progressives, has come at a precarious moment for the US economy.

"This means people are going to start to finally crawl out from under that mountain of debt... to finally think about buying a home or starting a family or starting a business," the US president said on Wednesday.

While that delighted those waiting for Biden to fulfil his campaign pledge to help borrowers hit by student debt, they also worried some economists who believe that with consumer price inflation at a 40-year high, this is the worst time to give it further fuel.

"This is going to worsen inflation and it is going to eat up all the deflationary impact of the Inflation Reduction Act," said Marc Goldstein, senior policy director at the hawkish Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget (CRFB).

Republicans were similarly scathing, with Mitch McConnell, the party's leader in the Senate, calling the move "student loan socialism".

Even some on the left worry that putting thousands of dollars into the pockets of millions of Americans will further stoke demand and help push prices even higher.

Wednesday's announcement follows months of pressure on Biden to do something about the country's soaring levels of student debt. Since 1980, the cost of a four-year university degree has nearly tripled in real terms, according to the College Board.

Donald Trump first instituted a freeze on payments for federal student loans at the start of the coronavirus pandemic, which has since been extended multiple times. Biden said on Wednesday that repayments would be paused for an extra four months and that when they restarted, everyone earning less than \$125,000 would be forgiven \$10,000.

Recipients of Pell grants, which are given to those in particular financial need, will get an extra \$10,000 in debt forgiveness. Borrowers with original loan balances of \$12,000 or less will have the outstanding amount completely cancelled after 10 years, rather than 20.

After repayments resume, they will be capped at 5 per cent of income, and no one earning 225 per cent of the poverty level — roughly equivalent to earning the minimum wage — will have to make repayments.

The White House says 43mn borrowers will have payments cut and 20mn of those will have their balance wiped out entirely. US consumers hold about \$1.6tn in outstanding student debt, with black households typically bearing more debt and facing higher repay-



CLAIRE BUSHEY — CHICAGO CHRISTOPHER GRIMES — LOS ANGELES

California is to enact rules that halt sales of new petrol-powered vehicles by 2035, as the US state that has been a bellwether on environmental policy takes aim at its largest source of carbon emissions.

A carmaker trade group described the target as "extremely challenging". Even as California leads the nation in electric vehicle sales, they still account for less than a fifth of the market there.

The rule, set to be passed yesterday by the California Air Resources Board, would mandate that starting in 2026, 35 per cent of the new vehicles sold in California must not emit tailpipe pollution.

"This is a really critical step forward and reaffirms California's leadership role in reducing vehicle emissions," said Alice Henderson, director of transportation and clean air policy at the Environmental Defense Fund.

The regulation formalises an executive order California governor Gavin Newsom issued nearly two years ago calling for the phased elimination of sales of new cars and trucks powered by petrol.

California has long been seen as a trailblazer on US environmental regulation, dating back to rules it introduced in the 1960s that limited motor vehicle exhaust emissions. More than a dozen states follow its regulatory lead on air quality.

"This is a big deal," said Howard Learner, executive director of the Chicago-based Environmental Law & Policy Center. "California's clean car policies help drive the national, and to some degree, the global auto market."

The state also represents about 12 per cent of the US market, with 1.9mn cars sold in 2021. Given its size, the push on zero-emission cars will press manufacturers to electrify their line-ups faster.

Carmakers are already investing billions to build out their EV offerings, taking advantage of consumer demand and federal incentives such as those expanded in a climate and tax bill passed by Congress this month.

However, John Bozzella, chief executive of carmaker trade group Alliance for Automotive Innovation, called the California regulation "very aggressive".

Achieving the EV sales targets is linked to factors including inflation, charging and fuel infrastructure, supply chains, labour, critical mineral availability and pricing, and the semiconductor shortage, he said.

Ford and General Motors say they are committed to a zero-emissions future.

Good times: New York University graduates celebrate in May. Joe Biden has been under pressure to tackle soaring levels of student debt. Seth Wong/AP

ments. Roughly 16 per cent of borrowers are in default, while two-thirds of black borrowers owed more in 2016 than in 2004, according to a study by the leftwing Center for American Progress. "The Biden administration's policy is going to be transformative for the lives of borrowers," said Charlie Eaton, associate professor of sociology at the University of California Merced.

Canceling debt is not wholly progressive, given that the poorest members of society are less likely to have gone to university.

An analysis by the Penn Wharton Budget Model found that cancelling \$10,000 of debt for those earning under \$125,000 a year would help the top 60 per cent of earners more than the bottom 40 per cent, and those in the middle the most.

Susan Rice, director of Biden's domestic policy council, said: "Targeting this relief to those who need it the most means that 90 per cent of the relief dollars will go to those individuals earning less than \$75,000 a year, and no individual or couple in the top 5 per cent of incomes in the United States will receive a penny of relief."

Others point out that it is more progressive in terms of wealth and race. A paper by Eaton for the Roosevelt Institute found that the people in the second-poorest quintile were helped most by student debt cancellation when calculated by assets rather than income. It particularly helps black borrowers, many of whom have to pay higher interest rates because they had fewer assets to borrow against in the first place.

Goldwein calculated that the package could end up costing \$500bn. And he pointed out that forgiving student debt

'People are going to start to finally crawl out from under that mountain of debt'

Joe Biden

could make university tuition more expensive in the long run. "If colleges know that debt has been forgiven in the past and might be again in the future, they will be under less pressure to bring down tuition fees," he said.

The administration's supporters believe any short-term inflationary fallacy will be minimal, given that the effect for most borrowers will be spread out over years' worth of reduced payments, rather than all at once.

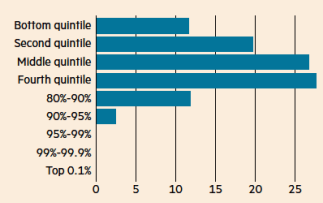
Some progressives want Biden to do even more, with Bernie Sanders, the liberal senator from Vermont, leading calls to eliminate fees altogether for low- and middle-income households.

"Pausing repayments until the end of the year will have a fiscal impact of \$20bn-\$40bn, and the future impact of forgiveness will be less than that," said Kent Smelters, professor of public policy at Penn Wharton.

Eaton said: "When debts are cancelled people are able to do things that were not previously possible. They are able to save, they are able to get loans, they are able to buy homes and build wealth in ways that the previous generation has not been able to do."

See The FT View Gillian Tett sees Opinion

Middle earners gain most from debt forgiveness How much each income group benefits if \$10,000 is cancelled for anyone earning less than \$125,000 (%)



This excludes the impact of additional measures such as giving extra forgiveness to those on Pell Grants. Source: Wharton Business School, University of Pennsylvania

Inquiry. Power grab

Australia rocked by 'mini constitutional crisis'

Former PM under fire after covertly appointing himself to run five departments

power and has tainted Morrison's tenure as prime minister.

Anthony Albanese, Morrison's successor, has launched an independent inquiry into the affair following advice

Yet his pandemic defence was undermined by the one intervention he made when he overruled his resources minister to block an offshore gas project, a decision being legally challenged that

level of transparency one would expect from a government.

Albanese said the inquiry would also consider the legality of a number of decisions made by Morrison's govern-

Reproductive rights

District judge prevents Idaho from outlawing all abortions

KIRAN STACEY — WASHINGTON The US government has won a legal vic-

task of attempting to simultaneously comply with both federal and state law," the judge wrote. He added: "The court is

**TO FOLLOW UP**

**NIC FILDES — SYDNEY**

Scott Morrison took to the stage at the Victory Life Centre, a Pentecostal church in Perth, last month and told the congregation “we don’t trust in governments”.

The former prime minister is a devout Christian and his sermon was delivered two months after he lost a federal election that ended his three-year stint as the country’s leader.

“As someone who’s been in it [government], if you are putting your faith in those things as I put my faith in the Lord, you’re making a mistake,” he said.

Morrison’s arguments are being seen in a different light after it was revealed that he covertly appointed himself to run five ministries – including health, resources, home affairs, finance and the treasury – without telling most of the ministers involved.

The case has shocked Australia’s political establishment. The flouting of convention has drawn comparisons with authoritarian governments around the world that used the pretext of the pandemic to strengthen their grip on

from Stephen Donaghue, Australia’s solicitor-general, who said on Tuesday that the former leader’s actions were neither illegal nor unconstitutional but had “fundamentally undermined” the principles of responsible government.

“Plainly enough, it is impossible for the parliament to hold ministers to account for the administration of departments if it does not know which ministers are responsible for which departments,” Donaghue said.

The scandal has led to calls for Morrison to resign as an MP, including from some within his own Liberal party, and he has been derided in the Australian press as “the minister for everything” who engaged in a cabinet “me-shuffle”.

Morrison said he would assist with “any genuine process” following the announcement of the inquiry after defending his actions in a press conference last week, when he argued that he had taken on the ministerial responsibilities during the pandemic as “emergency powers” that he never had to use.

“I was steering the ship during the tempest,” he said, adding that he had not told all ministers because it would have distracted them from their jobs.

had nothing to do with the health crisis.

Luke Beck, a professor of constitutional law at Monash University, said Morrison’s own views on not trusting governments had been laid bare by his actions. “That statement demonstrates his rank hypocrisy,” he said. “He himself wilfully and deliberately undertook a scheme to breach convention and misled his own government ministers, parliament and the public.”

Anne Twomey, a professor of constitutional law at the University of Sydney, said Morrison might not have broken the law but he clearly broke convention.

Ministers were often sworn in to administer other departments if there was an overlap in duties but the mechanism had been “exploited” by Morrison. “Nobody knew he was there. He was like a ghost minister no one could see,” she said. “It is conduct that is contrary to the



Scott Morrison says he did not tell ministers because it would have distracted them from their job

ment, including the deportation of tennis player Novak Djokovic over his decision not to be vaccinated against Covid-19, the spending of vaccine stimulus funds and an A\$800mm (US\$550mm) manufacturing fund over which Morrison had the final say.

The controversy has also highlighted the role of David Hurley, the governor-general who acts as the Queen’s representative in Australia, who signed off the secret appointments.

The solicitor-general and constitutional experts said Hurley did nothing wrong in approving Morrison’s ministerial grab, adding that he was not required to publicise the decisions.

But Matt Thistlethwaite, the minister for the republic, who is leading a debate about the political system ahead of a potential referendum on ditching the Queen as head of state, said the controversy represented a “mini constitutional crisis” that undermined the monarchist argument that the current structure works. “If we had an Australian head of state swearing an allegiance to the Australian people, then it would be inconceivable that they would not have told the public about this,” he said.

in its battle to protect women’s reproductive rights as a judge in Idaho stopped the state from implementing a ban on abortions in cases in which the mother’s life is at risk.

B Lynn Winmill, a federal district judge, on Wednesday blocked the state from enacting part of a law that would have prohibited emergency doctors from performing an abortion to prevent serious harm to the patient or to save her life. The injunction, which was enacted a day before the rule was due to take effect, will remain in place while the state and federal governments argue their cases in court.

The ruling marks the first significant legal success for the Joe Biden administration in its quest to protect abortion rights since the Supreme Court overturned Roe vs Wade, the decades-old ruling that guaranteed constitutional protection for the procedure, in June.

Winmill said the Idaho rule would have violated a federal law that requires doctors in hospitals receiving public Medicare funds – the vast majority – to stabilise patients who arrive with emergency conditions. “The physician may well find herself facing the impossible

called upon to address ... whether Idaho’s criminal abortion statute conflicts with a small but important corner of federal legislation. It does.”

As a result, he said, the state would be prevented from implementing the law while the case continues.

The decision to overturn Roe vs Wade meant many states automatically enacted so-called trigger bans on abortion – laws meant to snap into place if Roe was overturned.

Idaho’s rule was one of the most conservative of these trigger laws, in effect banning all abortions. But it threatened to contradict not only a decades-old federal law on emergency care but also more recent guidance put out by the White House ordering hospitals receiving Medicare funds to perform abortions in medical emergencies.

Winmill’s ruling runs counter to a decision a day earlier from a judge in Texas, who ruled that the federal guidance should not over-ride that state’s abortion restrictions.

With conflicting rulings beginning to proliferate in the lower courts, some lawyers predict the matter will end up back in the hands of the Supreme Court.

INTERNATIONAL

Stuttering growth

China unveils \$44bn stimulus plans

**Xi refuses to change course on prioritising zero Covid over economy**

EDWARD WHITE — SEOUL

Beijing has announced tens of billions of dollars in stimulus measures in a bid to shore up confidence as China’s economy is battered by a snowballing property sector downturn and President Xi Jinping’s stifling zero-Covid policies.

The State Council, China’s cabinet, added Rmb300bn (\$44bn) in credit support by its policy banks, the state-controlled institutions used by Beijing to spur economic growth, according to an announcement on Wednesday.

“This will expand effective investment, boost consumption and help keep economic activities on a steady course,” said Chinese premier Li Keqiang, who has overall responsibility

for the world’s second-biggest economy. The latest efforts highlighted the tightrope Beijing is trying to walk as it seeks to use central government stimulus and looser monetary policy to arrest slowing growth while avoiding saddling the country with more debt.

But the measures, which analysts viewed as incremental rather than transformational, also reaffirmed Xi’s directive to prioritise combating the health risks posed by the pandemic over economic recovery.

The State Council statement noted that while “the foundation of economic recovery is not solid”, China would avoid “resorting to massive stimulus or compromising longer-term interests”.

Still, Li urged China’s local governments to ratchet up their use of the more than Rmb500bn in funds that have already been made available via increased bond issuance. Beijing also promised Rmb200bn of bond issuance

by state-owned electricity groups. The State Council said detailed implementation plans should be prepared before October.

“We should expedite the delivery of policy measures. The central government will provide facilitation, and sub-national authorities [will be] tasked with policy implementation,” Li said.

Many analysts remained concerned over the deep structural risks posed by a meltdown of the Chinese property sector, which accounts for nearly a third of gross domestic product. Fears over hordes of cash-strapped property developers, including Evergrande, which has liabilities of more than \$300bn, have stunted the economy’s recovery from the initial shock of the pandemic.

Xi’s refusal to budge from his controversial zero-Covid policies, which involve instituting strict lockdowns and mass testing wherever outbreaks of the virus are discovered, has sapped con-

sumer confidence and damped the more productive services sectors.

Some investors and economists have called for a more aggressive stimulus drive as well as longer-term structural reforms to address China’s slowing growth trajectory. Beijing set its lowest growth target in three decades of about 5.5 per cent this year.

Goldman Sachs did not alter its forecast of “sluggish” GDP growth this year of 3 per cent. The bank’s analysts said the stimulus “could help offset the sharp contraction in government revenue and support infrastructure investment growth to some degree in coming months”.

But they added: “With a very weak property sector and headwinds to activity growth from local Covid outbreaks and related control measures, barring major policy easing measures, we think overall growth will remain sluggish during the rest of this year.”

**Distressed debt** see Companies

GLOBAL INSIGHT  
DRUG TRAFFICKING



Michael Stott

Cocaine trade’s spread taints quieter corners of Latin America

**A**n explosion that blew the front off two modest houses, killing at least five people. Two bodies left hanging from a bridge over a busy road. At least 187 inmates murdered, some decapitated, in two prison massacres.

This trail of blood would not be unusual in Mexico or Colombia, scarred by drug violence for decades. Yet it was unleashed over the past year in Guayaquil, the biggest city of once-tranquil Ecuador.

In Uruguay, often described as the “Switzerland of Latin America”, 14 bodies appeared over a 10-day period this year. Three had been burnt and one dismembered. The Caribbean honeymoon of Paraguay’s chief anti-drug prosecutor ended in May with two bullets as a gunman executed him on the beach in front of his pregnant wife.

Behind this alarming spread of violent crime into Latin America’s smaller and formerly more peaceful countries lies the booming cocaine trade. Ever hungry to expand, cartel bosses are devising new routes to reach new markets. “What we’re seeing now is the culmination of the globalisation of the drugs trade,” said Jimena Blanco, head of Americas political research at Verisk Maplecroft. “This is a trend which began five to 10 years ago but has been accelerating in the past couple of years.”

Antwerp seized more cocaine than any other European port last year, almost 90 tonnes. Belgian customs said the three main source countries were Ecuador, Paraguay and Panama, none large producers of the drug.

Most Europe-bound cocaine is smuggled in shipping containers, and “when the seizure rates hit 20 to 25 per cent, the drug traffickers tend to switch routes”, said Jeremy McDermott, executive director of Insight Crime, along with the Brazilian port of Santos and Costa Rica’s Limón facility, Guayaquil is one of what McDermott terms a “second wave of ports” used for cocaine shipment in recent years. Paraguay, Uruguay and Chile are newer additions.

Things are so bad that all but three of Latin America’s 21 mainland nations are now “main countries of source or transit” for cocaine, according to the UN Office on Drugs and Crime. (The exceptions are the tiny nations of Guyana, Belize and El Salvador.)

The drug cartels have not just expanded their routes. They have also grown the total size of the cocaine business and diversified into adjacent criminal enterprises.

After five decades of the US-led war on drugs and billions of dollars spent on interdiction and the pursuit of cartel bosses, the trade has never been larger. Total cocaine production hit a record 1,982 tonnes in 2020, according to the UNODC, more than twice as much as in 2014.

Cocaine in Europe has never been more plentiful or cheaper in real terms, and the traffickers are growing lucrative markets in Russia, China and parts of Asia where the drug fetches two or three times more. As McDermott put it, “cocaine’s popping up everywhere”.

Major cartels have moved well beyond trafficking drugs. They now smuggle refugees, extort from businesses, kidnap the wealthy, and trade illegal Amazon timber or gold. Chilean organised crime has dipped into illicit fishing, while the latest business for Mexican gangs, according to Blanco, is smuggling abortion pills into the US.

The litany of depressing statistics from the failed drug war and its ghostly human toll has prompted an increasing number of politicians in Latin America to call for the legalisation of cocaine.

Yet, as Shannon O’Neil, vice-president at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, points out: “These are no longer really drug cartels. They are organised crime groups. Even if you get rid of the drugs, you still have extortion, robberies, human trafficking, gold smuggling.”

“The focus should be: How do you install the rule of law?” In a region notorious for corruption, weak enforcement and high murder rates, that is a tall order – but a vital one.

Energy. Nuclear pact talks

Saudi oil warning reflects fear of Iran deal

Riyadh signals displeasure to Biden over possible return of Islamic republic crude supplies

DAVID SHEPPARD — LONDON  
DEREK BROWER — NEW YORK  
SAMER AL-ATRUSH — RIYADH

Saudi Arabia this week warned that it could lead Opec+ in cutting oil production, a message apparently aimed at skittish oil traders. But the kingdom also had another audience in mind: the US as it prepares to revive a nuclear deal with Iran.

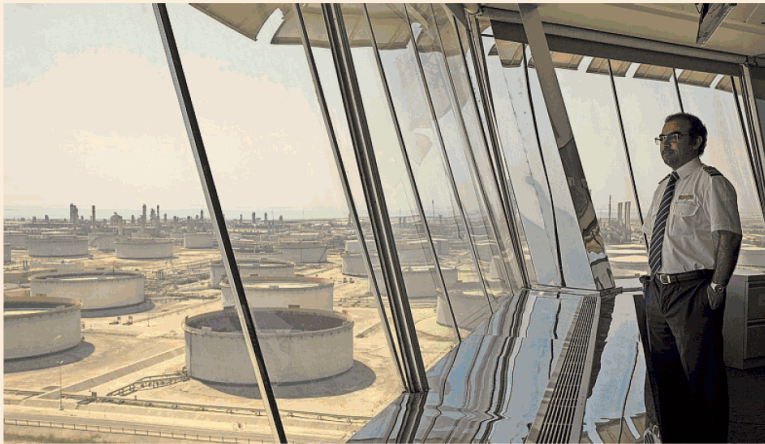
Prince Abdulaziz bin Salman, the Saudi energy minister, was careful not to mention Iran, its regional rival, focusing instead on “volatility” in a market where prices had slid by \$25 a barrel since early June.

People familiar with the kingdom’s thinking, say Riyadh’s sudden intervention, which boosted the Iran nuclear deal, was motivated in part by a desire to make clear to the US the consequences of allowing Iranian oil back on to global markets.

President Joe Biden has pushed Saudi Arabia to raise oil output following Russia’s invasion of Ukraine. That culminated in a trip to Jeddah in July, which the kingdom hoped would lead to an improved relationship between the two countries following the murder of journalist Jamal Khashoggi four years ago.

But little over a month on, the potential revival of the Iran nuclear deal – and with it the return of Iranian oil to the market – has Saudi Arabia worried about both further drops in the oil price as well as implications for its security. The US said on Tuesday “gaps remain” between Washington and Tehran over a draft nuclear agreement. Iran has received the US response to its proposals and is due to answer soon.

“Earlier this year, I think it is fair to say Saudi Arabia and other regional actors were reasonably confident the Iran deal wasn’t going to happen in the near future,” said Helima Croft, a former CIA analyst and Opec specialist



Oversight: an employee looks out over an oil refinery in Ras Tanura, Saudi Arabia (Samer Al-Atrush)

revived, I think they will be focused on both the oil market and the wider security implications of this deal potentially getting over the finish line.”

Saudi Arabia has long opposed a US rapprochement with Iran and in 2017 threw its weight behind US president Donald Trump as he unwound the nuclear deal. Analysts suggested Saudi Arabia wanted to ensure new Iranian supplies did not hit oil prices, undoing more than two years of steady market management by the Opec cartel to prop up the market.

A new nuclear deal could pave the way for Iran to export as much as 1.3mn barrels a day of oil – equivalent to about 5 per cent of Opec’s supply – easing traders’ fears of shortages as Europe tightens sanctions on Russian crude. While it would take time for Iran to raise output, the country has a large volume of crude stored on tankers at sea.

The Saudi signal was also one for Rus-

said analysts. While Riyadh is keen to reaffirm its security alliance with the US, it is also trying to preserve an oil pact with Moscow that has bolstered oil revenues.

“The potential return of Iranian barrels is a destabilising element for the Saudi-Russian duopoly in Opec+, particularly if Iranian barrels hit the market at the onset of winter,” said Roger Diwan, a vice-president at IHS Markit.

The Saudi intervention could be awkward for the Biden administration, which has worked to drive down domestic petrol prices ahead of midterm elections in November.

“From the Biden administration’s point of view, it has to be an unwelcome signal from the Saudis at this time,” said Gary Ross, a veteran Opec watcher and former head of energy consultancy Pira.

“The Saudis are clearly signalling they want \$100 a barrel to be the floor for the oil price and so far Prince Abdulaziz has

Energy Aspects has warned the full return of Iran to the market might send crude prices below \$80 or even \$70 a barrel, without Opec+ lowering output.

Prince Abdulaziz has argued that the oil industry needs more investment, a hint that he believes a higher price is necessary.

But people close to the prince say he is also concerned about meeting demand later this year when sanctions against Russian oil tighten. Saudi Arabia has repeatedly warned that it has limited spare production capacity, having already raised output close to 11mn b/d, with maximum capacity at about 12mn b/d.

Having seen the surge in European gas prices since Russia cut production, they are also wary of the consequences of an uncontrolled oil price rise, which could accelerate a shift away from oil.

“Saudi Arabia does not want to lose control of prices,” said Amrita Sen at

‘What we’re seeing now is the culmination of the globalisation of the drugs trade’



# Intel seeks to regain its edge as new business model takes shape

INSIDE BUSINESS  
TECHNOLOGY

Richard Waters



The capital and technology demands of remaining a world leader in the semiconductor business are becoming extreme. Just how extreme was evident from two announcements at Intel this week. They show how profoundly the company is adapting its traditional way of doing business as it tries to regain its lost technology edge and ensure that the US is home to at least one world-leading chip manufacturer.

The first announcement was that it is selling a 49 per cent stake in two new manufacturing plants under development in Arizona to private equity firm Brookfield. This is an entirely new way to fund chip fabrication plants (fabs) as the cost of building the most advanced facilities soars. The Brookfield deal covers the first \$30bn invested in Arizona, while Intel has put the long-term investment in its new fabs such as the one it is building in Germany at more than \$100bn each.

The deal is a byproduct of Intel's decision to double down on chip manufacturing, even as it struggles to regain the lead it has lost to TSMC and Samsung in the latest process technology.

Most other chipmakers have chosen a different route. Rival AMD threw in the towel a decade ago, quitting manufacturing to focus on design. That decision

to specialise, while outsourcing manufacturing, has started to pay off, as AMD's latest designs have eaten into Intel's dominance in the market for the x86 chips used in most PCs and servers.

The vast scale at which the latest chip fabs operate is likely to exceed the needs generated by Intel's in-house chip design business. That has meant entering the foundry market — making chips for other companies — in order to soak up the extra capacity.

The capital intensity this leads to is mind-boggling. Over the past decade, Intel's capital spending averaged around 20 per cent of its revenue each year. In the future, it predicts that will rise to 25 per cent, and that is before adding in new sources of money such as government grants and co-investment arrangements such as the Brookfield deal. All in, Intel indicated this could push its capital expenditure up to more than 35 per cent of annual sales.

Exactly how the risks and rewards in the new financing arrangement are shared has not been disclosed. But Intel hinted at protections it has offered, such as guaranteeing Brookfield a certain level of output at its new fabs, and said that the investment firm would earn a relatively fixed return on its 49 per cent stake, with some variability. In return for a financing cost that is higher than a straight borrowing arrangement, Intel believes it will keep most of the upside if the plant outperforms, meaning it will also retain most of the risk if it does not.

The second sign of how drastically Intel's business model is shifting came a year earlier, when chief executive Pat Gelsinger showed off several new chip designs. Rather than being based on a single piece of silicon, these are part of the company's move to chips that combine several components, or "chipslets", into a single semiconductor.

One advantage of so-called "disaggregated" chip designs like this is that Intel does not need to produce all of the parts itself. So if it fails to get back to the leading edge of manufacturing technology, it could turn to other companies to buy components it cannot make itself. Producing the other parts would provide a way to keep its new fabs humming.

This might hurt profit margins, since Intel would not be producing the most advanced components in its own fabs. On the other hand, designing and integrating these new processors might provide some margin protection, and would put a premium on the chip packaging technology it has developed.

The company is trying to pull off this transformation in the face of eroding market share and a downturn in chip demand

Whatever the outcome, this week's developments point to a complex and technologically challenging new business model that is likely to take years to play out, as new fabs come online and new generations of chips are developed. It will also require a cultural transformation, as a company that was famous for its highly unified culture learns how to open up to technologies from other companies, while also trying to develop the new service mentality required to run a successful foundry business.

Making matters worse, Intel is trying to pull off this transformation in the face of eroding market share and a downturn in chip demand. Its shares have halved after the brief honeymoon period that followed Gelsinger's appointment, and its stock market value was eclipsed by AMD last month.

A new Intel may be starting to take shape, but there is a long slog ahead.

richard.waters@ft.com

**LUNA JETS**

LEADING PRIVATE JET CHARTER

GENEVA +41 22 782 12 12 | LONDON +44 2074 095 096 | PARIS +33 1 85 16 40 70

LunaJets SA is a flight broker and is not a flight operator. It does not provide flight services. It only acts as an intermediary, does not itself operate aircraft and is not a contracting or an interest carrier.

## COMPANIES & MARKETS

Healthcare

# Amazon to close US telehealth service

Tech group shifts strategy towards goal of disrupting \$4tn healthcare market

DAVE LEE — SAN FRANCISCO  
JAMES FONTANELLA-KHAN — LONDON

Amazon is closing its telehealth service, Amazon Care, ending an ambitious plan to roll out its homegrown platform to "millions" of patients around the country, part of a long-stated goal of disrupting the US healthcare industry.

A memo seen by the Financial Times that was sent to Amazon Care staff by Neil Lindsay, head of Amazon Health Services, said the service — which promised a doctor, nurse or other health practitioner on demand, 24 hours a day — was not the right "long-term solution" for the external companies to which it

had hoped to sell the service. "This decision wasn't made lightly and only became clear after many months of careful consideration," Lindsay wrote in the memo. "Although our enrolled members have loved many aspects of Amazon Care, it is not a complete enough offering for the large enterprise customers we have been targeting."

Analysts said Amazon Care's closure, which will come at the end of the year, should not be seen as a retreat on its efforts to gain a foothold in the \$4tn US healthcare sector.

"This is not a sign of failure by any means," said Natalie Schibell at Forrester Research. "It's a strategic move."

Amazon's decision comes after its recent agreement to acquire One Medical, a large network of primary care providers, for \$3.9bn — its largest deal in the healthcare space.

That takeover, if approved by regulators, would provide Amazon with much of the access to corporate employees it had been seeking with Amazon Care, said Christina Farr, health-tech investor at Omers Ventures, making the in-house platform redundant. Companies

"It is not a complete enough offering for the large enterprise customers we have been targeting"

such as Google offer One Medical to employees.

"One Medical already has all these contracts, and does telemedicine," Farr said. "It made sense for Amazon to acquire an existing network. Physician recruitment is really hard, building

insurance contracts is really hard, building employer relationships is really hard. All of those things take a long time and One Medical was available to purchase."

With a workforce in excess of 1.5mn, more than 200mn Prime subscribers globally, and expansive logistics and cloud computing infrastructure, Amazon has long been considered ideally positioned to take on some of the healthcare industry's incumbents — the share prices of which fall, albeit briefly, whenever Amazon announces deals.

The technology group's ambitions in healthcare have been years in the making, and are set to intensify under the leadership of Andy Jassy, who replaced Jeff Bezos as chief executive last year.

Amazon is also among the bidders for Signify Health, a home healthcare provider, which is courting several offers.

The decision to explore a deal, which would be Amazon's fourth big healthcare sector transaction in recent years, highlights the company's will to test antitrust regulators' appetite to curtail its M&A strategy. Amazon and Signify declined to comment.

"They are calling [Lina] Khan's bluff," said a seasoned investor who is following the Signify bidding, referring to the chair of the Federal Trade Commission and a critic of Amazon's market power.

A person who has worked with Amazon said that it is prepared to handle political and media backlash, but it was confident that a transaction to buy Signify would win regulatory approval.

"They are happy to go to court," the person said. "They know they can win so they are not letting the antitrust rhetoric in [Washington] DC stop them from considering buying an asset."

Airlines

# Qantas marks travel revival with share buyback

NIC FILDES — SYDNEY

Qantas has reported a loss of more than A\$1bn (US\$693mn) for the third consecutive year but said a rebound in leisure and business travel has been stronger than expected, as it launched a A\$400mn share buyback.

The Australian airline, which was 11 weeks from collapse at the height of the Covid-19 pandemic, said cumulative losses in the past three years hit almost A\$7bn, while lost revenue is said to have been A\$25bn.

Alan Joyce, chief executive, said: "To put that in perspective, on a statutory basis, Covid cost us more money in the past three years than we made in the five years before that. The fact we've been able to steer through this is remarkable."

Qantas, which cut thousands of staff during the pandemic, has suffered a hit to its reputation this year as an unexpectedly strong rebound in travel has combined with staff shortages to cause chaos at Australian airports and on its international routes. Cancellations, delays and lost luggage have made Joyce



## EV mission Hyundai plea

The chair of Hyundai Motor has gone on an urgent trade mission to Washington this week after the Korean car giant's electric vehicles were

are immediately out of US tax incentive... and it could have a huge impact on EV exports from Korea," said the Korea Automotive Industry

processing and recycling in order to qualify for a further \$3,750 credit, or \$7,500 in total. "For Hyundai, it's a call to action: if you want to qualify for

the local point for public anger.

"It simply wasn't good enough, and for that we have apologised," Joyce said. He cited improvement in customer service, including the ratio of "on time" flights rising from a low of 52 per cent to 66 per cent, compared with 80 per cent before the pandemic.

The airline known as the "flying kangaroo", reported a stronger financial performance as cost savings of A\$1bn helped it cut debt to less than A\$4bn, from A\$6.4bn at its peak during the pandemic. That enabled the company to announce the A\$400mn buyback. Shares in Qantas closed more than 7 per cent higher at A\$4.86 yesterday.

Anthony Moulder, an analyst with Jefferies, said the combination of strong travel demand, easing operational issues and cost savings would return Qantas to profit in the 2023 financial year, despite fuel costs rising to A\$5bn.

Meanwhile, Air New Zealand yesterday said its full-year pre-tax loss widened by 95 per cent to NZ\$810mn (US\$533mn), despite a 1 per cent rise in revenue after the country reopened its international borders this year.

## to US over tax breaks

executed from generous consumer tax credits contained in a landmark US climate, tax and spending law.

Chung Eui-sun, the billionaire son of Hyundai's founding family, is expected to raise his company's concerns with US officials, as Korean car industry representatives express consternation at what they describe as "discrimination" against EVs produced in Korea.

The Inflation Reduction Act, signed into law by US president Joe Biden this month, envisages tax credits of up to \$7,500 for EVs assembled in North America. Hyundai and Kia, its affiliate, have the second-highest share of the US electric vehicle market by sales volume, but they do not produce any EVs in the US, Canada or Mexico.

A planned \$5.5bn EV plant in the US state of Georgia, announced during Biden's visit to South Korea in May, is not scheduled to begin production until 2025 — making it ineligible for the subsidies until then.

"Upon the enforcement of the Inflation Reduction Act, Korean EVs

alliance, which represents companies including Hyundai.

The trade group wants EVs produced in South Korea to receive the "same incentives" as those produced in the US, Canada and Mexico.

Lee Chang-yang, Korea's minister for trade, industry and energy, said this week: "The act is highly likely to violate WTO regulations as well as the Korea-US free trade agreement."

"We are actively reviewing whether to bring the case to the WTO. We are conveying our concerns to the US via various channels and will send a senior trade executive to the country next week to confirm the intent of the US."

The Inflation Reduction Act is designed to eliminate from the US supply chain battery components coming from a "foreign entity of concern" — most notably China.

From 2024, in order for a vehicle to qualify for a \$3,750 tax credit, no battery component can come from a foreign entity of concern. The restriction will be extended from 2025 to critical mineral extraction,

if you want to qualify for government subsidy, then bring forward your capacity in the US and do it now," said Tim Bush, an analyst at UBS in Seoul. He added that Hyundai was probably looking for a "waiver" of the rules.

Bush said the larger picture was that South Korea was "no doubt the biggest beneficiary" of the legislation because of the demand it would generate for the country's leading battery makers, as Chinese rivals were phased out of the US supply chain. Last month, SK On launched a \$7.8bn joint venture with Ford to build three battery plants in the US, while LG Energy Solution and GM announced a \$2.6bn investment to build a third plant as part of a joint venture in Michigan.

"I think they are aware that they are the biggest beneficiaries — maybe not Hyundai, but everybody else," said Bush. "They just got their biggest competitors basically eliminated from the market."

*Christian Davies in Seoul*

can prevent KSV infection in infants from birth up to six months of age by vaccinating pregnant women.

Annaliesa Anderson, Pfizer's chief scientific officer of vaccine research, said the company would work with the US Food and Drug Administration and other regulators to secure approvals.

"Scientists and researchers have worked to develop RSV vaccines with little success for over half a century. These findings are an important step in our effort to help protect against RSV disease," she said.

A previous attempt to develop an RSV vaccine ended in tragedy in the 1960s when two infants who took part in trials died from lung inflammatory response that developed during their first natural infection after vaccination.

Scientists say the current vaccines would not provoke a similar inflammatory response as all older adults would have already been exposed to RSV. "We know once you are infected with RSV you can no longer prime for that exacerbated response with a vaccine," said Jason McLellan, professor of molecular biosciences at the University of Texas.

Chris Jung/NurPhoto/Getty Images

## Financials

# Windhorst promises repayment of €550mn to H2O asset manager within weeks

**ROBERT SMITH AND CYNTHIA O'MURCHU**  
LONDON

Lars Windhorst has pledged to hand over more than €500mn to H2O Asset Management in a matter of weeks, which would clear a significant chunk of the financier's debts with the investment firm.

The German entrepreneur with a chequered business record is late repaying more than €1bn to H2O, an erstwhile star of the European asset management industry being probed by multiple regulators over its entanglements with the financier.

Windhorst said his investment firm Tendor would soon repay hundreds of millions of euros after an upswing in the fortunes of its eclectic portfolio of businesses, which range from a lossmaking lingerie maker to an African farming company.

"Our diverse set of businesses across sectors and geographies have per-

formed strongly in the first half 2022 and, as a result of that, we managed to increase liquid assets to over €500mn across the various group entities," he said.

"As the reduction of debt remains a priority, we will make payments of not less than €550mn in cash to H2O Asset Management in the coming weeks," he said.

If the repayment clears on schedule, it would pave the way for H2O to provide a first distribution to those with money trapped in its funds, which range from retail investors in France to South Korean asset managers.

Once a well respected money manager that oversaw €30bn of assets, H2O has lurched from crisis to crisis since the Financial Times exposed the scale of its outsized bet on Windhorst in 2019. The following year, the investment firm was forced to halt redemptions on its core funds temporarily after the French markets regulator raised concerns about its

links to the financier. Two years later, investors' money is still stuck in the so-called side pockets H2O set up to house €1.6bn of these hard-to-sell assets.

In a letter to investors last month, H2O revealed that Tendor had missed a January deadline to repay more than €1.1bn.

In lieu of any cash, H2O also disclosed that Windhorst handed over \$106mn worth of convertible bonds linked to Gett, a taxi app start-up that was due to list via a special purpose acquisition company. The planned listing fell apart shortly afterwards because of the company's exposure to Russia, meaning H2O's investors have so far received nothing from the arrangement.

Despite the setbacks, H2O told investors it was "committed to enabling" their first reimbursements this year. When asked why it thought this was the case, it said: "We have understood loud and clear that it is of the utmost importance to our investors to secure repayment on some of the assets held in the side pockets in 2022."

"This is not a guarantee but a strong and active commitment from H2O," the asset manager said.

It is not the first time Windhorst has publicly pledged swift repayment.

A year ago, he said that he expected to "pay down a major part of the H2O debt" by the end of 2021. Instead, H2O ended up writing down the value of its Windhorst-linked investments after a Dutch court briefly deemed Tendor to be insolvent.

Earlier, at the height of the pandemic, the financier struck a deal to buy back these hard-to-sell assets from H2O at a discount. But the agreement fell apart

amid regulatory scrutiny, which led to Germany's financial watchdog BaFin filing a criminal complaint. Windhorst later claimed the issue had been settled.

H2O is under investigation by France's market regulator and the UK Financial Conduct Authority. In recently filed 2021 accounts, the firm revealed it booked an £890,000 provision last year in relation to one of its regulatory probes.

The firm's auditor Mazars warned there was "material uncertainty" around the size of the charge, however, while H2O said it had yet to book a provision in relation to an FCA probe for "alleged non-compliance" with several of the regulator's principles.

H2O said it was "not in a position at this stage to predict the investigations' consequences", but expected to continue as a going concern "based on current cash balance and reserves, the business forecast and the capital resources adequacy forecast".



Debt burden: Lars Windhorst cited an upswing in the fortunes of his Tendor investment firm's portfolio

Friday 26 August 2022

FINANCIAL TIMES

7

## COMPANIES & MARKETS

# Big-budget shows land amid 'peak TV' fears

Audiences to be presented with blockbuster, expensively made programmes from Amazon and HBO Max served up at subsidised prices

**ALEX BARKER IN LONDON**  
**CHRISTOPHER GRIMES — LOS ANGELES**

Since 2016 the veteran US television executive John Landgraf has been predicting the arrival of "peak TV", the moment when the number of new scripted shows reaches an all-time high.

The streaming boom has proved him wrong every time but he gamely made the prediction again this month, telling guests at the Television Critics Association press tour that 2022 would mark "the peak of the peak TV era".

Landgraf, chair of Disney's FX network, conceded that he could be wrong this time, too. But there is little doubt that this autumn will present audiences with a flood of some of the most expensive television ever produced.

On September 2, Amazon Prime will release its adaptation of *The Lord of the Rings*, with an estimated budget of \$465mn for the first season, almost enough to make recent hit film *Top Gun: Maverick* three times over.

HBO Max's *House of the Dragon*, the prequel to *Game of Thrones*, is reported to have cost \$200mn for the season's 10 episodes. At Disney Plus, *Star Wars: Andor* will lead a large slate of new programmes that include a *Pinchiko* remake, *She Hulk*, and a spin-off of the *Cars* cartoon franchise.

These shows are being served up at subsidised prices by streaming platforms making record losses. The only profitable exception is Netflix, but the industry pioneer's market value has fallen almost \$200bn over the past year because of slowing subscriber growth. Its share price is at a four-year low.

The imminent crop of new programming was given the green light during a headier time, when Wall Street cheered as streaming services committed lavish sums to compete. But faith in the streaming business model and investor tolerance for profligate spending has waned as Netflix's once-blistering subscription growth has gone into reverse.

On top of that are concerns that inflation will bite into discretionary spending, not least on streaming services.

"Everyone [in Hollywood] is throwing big dollars after big things," said Niels Tuijl, an executive producer of



studios have to cut budgets, it will be on the shows that have smaller budgets — the quirky, smaller shows that have enriched the streaming experience."

The second quarter of 2022 had the highest number of total commissions of any quarter since the start of the streaming wars in 2019, with 415 projects given the green light, according to Ampere.

But the growth is principally driven by Apple and Amazon, deep-pocketed technology groups that are only dabbling in the media business. The rate of commissions at Netflix and Disney has fallen from previous highs.

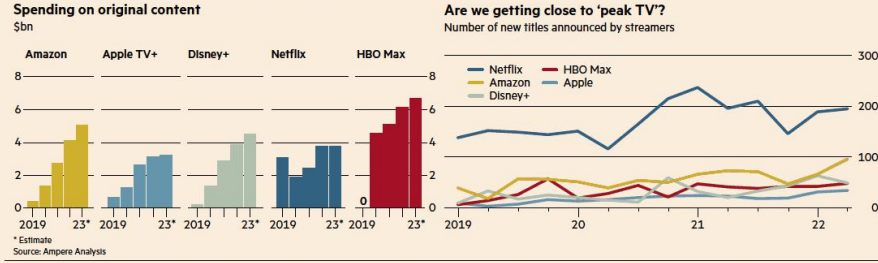
Premiums for producers are also coming down. Where a project might have once secured a 20 or 30 per cent fee on top of costs, that is now more likely to be closer to 10 per cent.

Tom Ara, an entertainment lawyer at DLA Piper, said: "There has definitely been some pullback. There's a lot more scrutiny on budgets and more careful consideration is given to greentighting projects. People are rethinking what the model is and considering all models, old and new."

Producers expect future spending by the streamers to lean towards international markets with more growth potential than the more mature US, where Disney and Netflix are in effect fighting to stand still. That is likely to continue the steady growth of non-English language shows aimed at catching the eye of audiences in South America, Asia and parts of Europe.

This may also see a shift towards more unscripted shows, which are often cheaper and faster to make than high-end drama. Netflix has begun to explore options for live streaming unscripted formats. Amazon Prime, meanwhile, has been buoyed in southern Europe by shows such as *LOL*, which involves 10 comedians being trapped in a room with instructions not to laugh. It beat all viewing records for Amazon in Italy.

If the unscripted trend continues, then Landgraf, who counts only scripted programmes in his measure of peak TV, may finally prove to be correct.



Martin Scorsese's Netflix film *The Irishman*. "But [subscribers] are inundated now to the point where they are looking at their monthly bills and saying, 'Something's got to go - I've got \$140 worth of subscriptions here!'"

Even so, Tom Harrington at Enders Analysis said consumers were still getting a better deal than the streaming companies themselves. "People get through \$100mn of TV in a day and say: 'What's next?' From a consumer point of view that is great. But for a video operator it's clearly unsustainable."

This year's wave is due in part to the bottleneck of Covid-19-delayed productions finally easing up. Yet it is unlikely that it will result in the kind of breakneck subscriber gains that streamers experienced during the pandemic - at least not in North America or the UK. Netflix and Disney, the leading streamers, have had little growth in those markets this year.

Analysts at Morgan Stanley forecast that annual global subscriber growth will slow from 160mn in 2020, when housebound consumers turned to streaming in droves, to just 60mn in 2025. For Warner Bros Discovery and Disney the conditions could hardly be less forgiving as both battle for their platforms to break even by 2024.

The priority is not just expanding audiences but maximising the money extracted from them.

Disney and Netflix are introducing advertising-funded tiers in addition to subscriptions, as well as raising prices for existing subscribers this year. Warner, meanwhile, has embarked on aggressive cuts and other "course-correction measures" to squeeze out at least \$3bn in annual savings by 2024, a target it described as "conservative".

Through greater efficiency and more demanding pricing, Warner's aim is to drive the HBO Max streaming service towards a long-term profit margin of more than 20 per cent. David Zaslav, Warner's chief executive, has even demonstrated a willingness to wield the axe himself on content he finds lacking. This

Amazon Prime's adaptation of "The Lord of the Rings", with a budget of about \$465mn, is due for release in September.

Below, Steve Toussaint appears in HBO Max's "House of the Dragon" Amazon Studios

month he sent a chill through Hollywood by shelving *Batgirl*, a \$90mn movie that the studio had already started marketing, and taking a tax write-off instead. Yet it is unlikely that any amount of cost-cutting will bring the streaming business's profits close to levels Zaslav enjoyed in Discovery's US cable operation, where margins sometimes topped 50 per cent.

Reed Hastings, Netflix's co-founder, still spoke of his "bullish" confidence in the model, even as he unveiled a second straight quarter of subscriber losses. "Looking forward, streaming is working everywhere. Everyone is pouring in. It's definitely the end of linear TV over the next five, 10 years," he told investors.

But for all the C-suite bluster, producers working with the streamers say a greater wariness and timidity is obvious at operational levels, with senior managers displaying a caution that is not shared with the executives above them.

"You sense it a lot," said an executive at a big independent producer of content for streamers. "The middle management, the people taking the day-to-day decisions, they're being incredibly cautious. They want approval from every possible level."

The shift in strategy will take some time to filter through to consumers. All the big media operators are putting the brakes on spending growth, a reflection of both the economic slowdown and the ebbing confidence in the profit potential of the streaming business model.

Outlay on original productions is still expected to increase next year, albeit at a much slower pace of growth than the explosive early days of the streaming wars. Ampere Analysis estimates more than \$23bn will be spent on originals by Apple, Amazon, Disney Plus, HBO Max and Netflix in 2023. That is more than twice the spending of 2019 but only a 10 per cent increase on 2022, a level that barely keeps pace with the soaring costs of productions.

Juul, whose producer credits also include *Ferrari* and *Silence*, says it will be difficult for the traditional studios to pull back on their budgets and remain competitive in the race for subscribers.

"If they want to compete with Apple and Amazon, who have an unlimited amount of money, then the retreat on budgets gets very tricky," he said. "You can't attract the big talent any more because you can't pay the big pay cheques."

Juul added: "What are they going to retreat to - independent movies with budgets of \$12mn? Sorry, that train has gone."

If the studios cut budgets, it likely will be the smaller shows that get the chop, said Robert Thompson, a professor of television and popular culture at Syracuse University.

"Blockbusters are the best way to keep your subscribers," he said. "If the

'Streaming is working everywhere. Everyone is pouring in. It's definitely the end of linear TV over the next five, 10 years'

'The people taking the day-to-day decisions, they're being incredibly cautious. They want approval from every possible level'



COMPANIES & MARKETS

Asset management. Distressed debt

# Chinese funds struggle to profit in property rout



Groups reluctant to invest when there is still no bottom have accurate pricing and you have a structural downturn that could go on for another decade, then there is no way "active" even though they are supposed to thrive in a recession. Local authorities want the asset man- The slowdown in China came after efforts to lions of renminbi from their market value. "We don't know when the worst days

## Cross asset Traders bet on doubling of UK interest rates to 4%

CHRIS GILES AND NIKOU ASGARI LONDON

Financial markets are betting that the Bank of England will more than double interest rates by May next year, as concern mounts about further rises in UK inflation.

The shift in expectations in the swap market, which anticipates interest rates of 4 per cent in May compared with 1.75 per cent today, are among the biggest swings in recent years.

The shift in expectations, fuelled by increases in forecast inflation and soaring energy prices, has been reflected in other markets. In the UK gilt market the cost of two-year borrowing for the government has risen more than 1 percentage point this month in the biggest rise on Bloomberg records since 1992.

The market moves will be reflected in the cost of corporate borrowing and fixed-rate mortgage deals, affecting companies and households even before the BoE decides on interest rates.

Higher borrowing costs will be a further drag on economic activity and household and corporate finances already hit by high energy, fuel and food prices - although City of London economists expect less of a jump in rates.

Traders in the overnight index swap market, which sets prices based on expectations of future official interest

'I just don't see a situation in the short term where





on monetary policy, with Bank of England governor Andrew Bailey and European Central Bank executive board member Isabel Schnabel also set to speak at Jackson Hole.

Interest rates more aggressively. The yield on the benchmark 10-year US Treasury note slipped 0.03 per cent to trade at 3.08 per cent. Asian equity markets made gains, with

In currency markets, the dollar traded flat against a basket of six currencies. The euro briefly rose above parity before slipping back to \$0.995, down 0.1 per cent. Ian Johnston

product growth off course. To this day, the economy still hasn't regained its pre-crisis trend. Even before Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February, the pandemic exposed the vulnerabilities arising from Germany's under-investment. Together with an ageing population, this shortfall contributed to weak growth. Russia's invasion is the latest shock to German supply and demand. The Bundesbank and finance ministry seem to feel this blow to the economy should simply be accepted. But the tighter fiscal and monetary policies they advocate would further suppress demand.

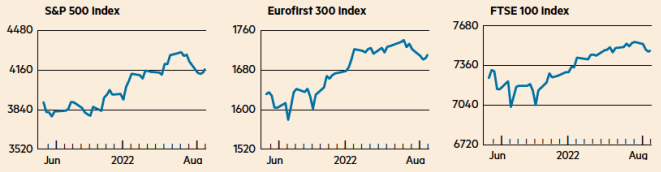
Moreover, there are signs that Germany's credit growth is beginning to decline. Halting this "death by a thousand cuts", where multiple crises add up to a disturbing larger picture, will be in its key trading partners first. The EU is the world's largest and most open trading bloc. But the full benefit of the union will remain unexploited unless Germany steps up to a leadership role. Instead of austerity, to offset actively the damage to supply and mitigate the impact of inflation from the war in Ukraine, German policymakers should engineer a positive shock.

German industry relies on cheap fossil fuels from Russia. In a worst-case scenario of a sudden stop in Russian energy flows to Germany, we estimate that the cumulative impact of inadequate policies pursued since the great financial crisis could approach a staggering 15 per cent of German GDP. Such a shock requires a complete overhaul of the country's energy supply. Higher spending at home would boost the entire EU. In turn, the country's deep integration with the EU economy would see those economic benefits flow back to Germany itself. Germany has the talent and resources needed for the investment we propose. Its leaders should set out a confident vision of its future and trust that investing in their country will deliver a good return. Yes, higher spending means more debt, but future generations stand to inherit the assets that that debt builds. Not investing will lead to a permanent loss of GDP - cold comfort to any generation. Katharine Neiss is chief European economist at PGIM Fixed Income

Markets update

Table with columns for US, Eurozone, Japan, UK, China, and Brazil. Rows include Stocks (S&P 500, Eurofirst 300, Nikkei 225, FTSE100, Shanghai Comp, Bovespa), Currency (\$ Index, Yen, Rmb, Real), Govt. bonds (10-year Treasury, Bund, JGB, Gilt, 10-year bond), Yield, Basis point change, World Index, Commods (FTSE All-World, Oil, Brent, Oil-WTI, Gold, Silver, Metals), and % change on day.

Main equity markets



Biggest movers

Table listing biggest movers in US, Eurozone, and UK. Includes Netapp, Royal Caribbean, Advanced Micro Devices, Carnival, Western Digital, Dollar Tree, Salesforce, Adobe, Kroger Co, Bristol-myers Squibb Co, Oci, Eni, Bayer, ArcelorMittal, Infineon Tech, Saipem, Heineken Holding, Erste Bank, Inditex, Carlsberg, Crh, Pershing Square Holdings Ltd, Rentokil Initial, Antofagasta, Informa, Phoenix Holdings, Coca-cola Hbc Ag, Persimmon, Mondli, B&M Eur Value Retail S.a.

Wall Street

Discount store chain Dollar Tree sank even though its earnings per share increased 30 per cent to a second-quarter record of \$1.60. What spooked investors was a cut to Dollar Tree's outlook, with EPS expected the land between \$710 and \$740 for the full year, down from a forecast of \$780 to \$820 stated in May. The lowered guidance was down to "investment in pricing" at the Family Dollar chain, which was expected to put pressure on gross margins in the back half of the year, it said. A large earnings miss sent Peloton tumbling, the fitness bikes and treadmills group posting a 28 per cent fall in revenue for its fiscal fourth quarter. In a letter to shareholders Barry McCarthy, chief executive, said: "The naysayers will look at our Q4 financial performance and see a melting pot of declining revenue, negative gross margin, and deeper operating losses. But what I see is significant progress driving our comeback," he said, pointing to "renegotiated supply contracts and significantly reduced cash outflow". Telehealth stocks rallied on news that retail behemoth Amazon was set to close its healthcare service. Virtual healthcare provider Teladoc climbed as did peers American Well and Accolade. Ray Douglas

Europe

The Netherlands' Alfen rose sharply on announcing a leap in first-half revenue, driven by "exceptional" electric vehicle charging growth, said Marco Roesleveld, chief executive. The provider of electric grid equipment posted quarterly revenue and core profits 73 per cent and 25 per cent ahead of consensus, respectively, noted Jefferies. Roesleveld said Alfen was benefiting from "a surge in [EV] projects at retail locations and workplaces after Covid measures were relaxed". The group also lifted its full-year guidance, forecasting revenue of between €410m and €470m from an earlier outlook of €350m to €420m. Weak orders weighed on Sweden's Elekta. The group, which specialises in products for cancer and brain disorders, reported an 11 per cent year-on-year drop in orders for its fiscal first quarter after a "slowdown" in the Americas. Operating profit of SK117mm (\$11mm), fell well short of the Refinitiv-compiled estimate of SK342m, as "headwinds from supply chain challenges, component shortages... and increased inflation led to high cost levels and continued pressure on margins", said Elekta. Airline Norwegian Air Shuttle slid after warning that high fuel prices were expected to have a "partly negative impact" on results this year. Ray Douglas

London

An upbeat trading update buoyed Hunting, the oil and gas group, which swung to a half-year core profit of \$20.6m against a loss of \$3.6m for the same period a year earlier. Jim Johnson, chief executive, was bullish about the rest of 2022, expecting further improvement in earnings, which was "supported by our forward sales order book that now exceeded the position seen in 2019". Hunting's Asia Pacific unit this month won an "oil country tubular goods" contract for an offshore project in China estimated to be worth up to \$86m. The company also declared an interim dividend of 4.5 cents per share, up from 4 cents a year earlier. Another oil and gas company, Harbour Energy, rallied on announcing it would be returning more money to investors. The group said it would be increasing its share buyback by \$100m to \$300m after generating \$1.4bn of free cash flow. The UK-listed shares of CRH climbed after its first-half earnings rose 13 per cent over the back of chunky price increases. AJ Bell said this performance owed much to the building materials group's exposure to big infrastructure projects, which provided it with "some insulation against any economic downturn". Ray Douglas

FT FUTURE FORUM WELCOMES NATIONAL GRID TO THEIR SEVENTH YEAR OF MEMBERSHIP. The FT Future Forum is an exclusive and authoritative digital community for business leaders to share ideas with like-minded organisations from around the world, build relationships, and develop solutions to future challenges. To find out how your organisation can get involved, visit forums.ft.com/future-forum

MARKET DATA

WORLD MARKETS AT A GLANCE. FT.COM/MARKETSDATA. Change during previous day's trading (%). Stock Market movements over last 30 days, with the FTSE All-World in the same currency as a comparison. AMERICAS: S&P 500, Nasdaq Composite, Dow Jones Ind, FTSE 100, FTSE Eurofirst 300, Nikkei, Hang Seng, FTSE All World \$, Xetra Dax, Nikkei 225, FTSE Eurofirst 300, Iboxx 35, FTSE Eurofirst 300, CAC 40, FTSE MIB, Shanghai Composite, BSE Sensex. ASIA: Nikkei 225, Hang Seng, FTSE Straits Times. EUROPE: S&P 500, Nasdaq Composite, Dow Jones Ind, FTSE 100, FTSE Eurofirst 300, Nikkei, Hang Seng, FTSE All World \$, Xetra Dax, Nikkei 225, FTSE Eurofirst 300, Iboxx 35, FTSE Eurofirst 300, CAC 40, FTSE MIB, Shanghai Composite, BSE Sensex. Table with columns for Country, Index, Latest, Previous.

Table with columns for Country, Company Name, and various financial metrics like Market Cap, P/E, and Dividend Yield.

Table with columns for Country, Company Name, and various financial metrics like Market Cap, P/E, and Dividend Yield.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

STOCK MARKET: BIGGEST MOVES

Table showing stock market movements for AMERICA, EURO, ASIA, and UK. Includes columns for Stock Name, Change, % Change, and Volume.

UK MARKET WINNERS AND LOSERS

Table showing UK market winners and losers with columns for Stock Name, Change, % Change, and Volume.

CURRENCIES

Table showing currency exchange rates for various countries including Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, and others.

FTSE 100 INDEX

Table showing FTSE 100 index performance with columns for Sector, Change, % Change, and Volume.

FTSE ACTUARY SHARE INDICES

Table showing FTSE Actuary Share Indices for various countries like Australia, Bahrain, and others.

FTSE 30 INDEX

Table showing FTSE 30 index performance with columns for Sector, Change, % Change, and Volume.

FTSE 100 SUMMARY

Large table summarizing FTSE 100 performance across various sectors like Oil & Gas, Consumer Goods, and Healthcare.

UK STOCK MARKET TRADING DATA

Table showing UK stock market trading data including volume, value, and price changes for various sectors.

UK RIGHTS OFFERS

Table listing UK rights offers with columns for Company Name, Issue Size, and Issue Price.

UK COMPANY RESULTS

Table showing UK company results with columns for Company Name, Revenue, and Profit.

FT500: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table listing the FT500 world's largest companies with columns for Rank, Company Name, and Market Cap.

UK RECENT ISSUES

Table showing UK recent issues with columns for Company Name, Issue Size, and Issue Price.

Figures in £. Exchange shown below. Figure in \$ for corresponding period year earlier.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

© ICD Dow Jones. All rights reserved. For subject of official publication. For subject of official publication.

Main financial data table containing various market indices, company shares, and commodity prices. Includes sections for FT 500: TOP 20, FT 500: BOTTOM 20, and various international market data.

BONDS: HIGH-YIELD & EMERGING MARKET table with columns for Index, Price, Change, and various bond metrics.

BONDS: GLOBAL INVESTMENT GRADE table with columns for Index, Price, Change, and various bond metrics.

BONDS: BENCHMARK GOVERNMENT table with columns for Index, Price, Change, and various bond metrics.

BONDS: INDEX-LINKED table with columns for Index, Price, Change, and various bond metrics.

BONDS: TEN YEAR GOV SPREADS table with columns for Index, Price, Change, and various bond metrics.

COMMODITIES table with columns for Commodity, Price, Change, and various market metrics.

FT 500: TOP 20 table listing the top 20 companies by market cap.

FT 500: BOTTOM 20 table listing the bottom 20 companies by market cap.

BONDS: HIGH-YIELD & EMERGING MARKET table (repeated).

BONDS: GLOBAL INVESTMENT GRADE table (repeated).

BONDS: BENCHMARK GOVERNMENT table (repeated).

BONDS: INDEX-LINKED table (repeated).

BONDS: TEN YEAR GOV SPREADS table (repeated).

Here's a conundrum: laughing at pretentious people is fun, and the film industry is full of pretension. And yet, satirical looks at the industry are seldom funny — or even fun. There are some exceptions, of course, such as François Truffaut's *Day for Night* and the Coen brothers' *Barton Fink*. But there is also a lot of only mildly amusing spoofery, like the Coens' other Hollywood-set satire, *Hail, Caesar!*, or works thought to be thrillingly acidic when they came out, such as Robert Altman's *The Player*, that haven't aged well.

We will have to wait to see how *Official Competition* weathers, but it looks good from the vantage point of this week, thanks to the low bar set by its competitors and the fact that it's irresistibly silly. Honestly, what's not to love about a film that adds half a metre of height on to Penélope Cruz with a curly red wig possibly inspired by Sideshow Bob from *The Simpsons*? Cruz doesn't play a psychopathic clown, but she's the next best thing: a film director keen on power games, big glasses and long rehearsal periods.

Her Lola Cuevas, who may or may not be modelled on some of the many auteurs Cruz has worked with over the years, has been hired by dilettante squallorist Humberto Suárez. (José Luis Gómez) to film an adaptation of a novel about two rivalrous brothers. Humberto is upfront about his desire to burnish his legacy, so the choice was either build a suspension bridge or produce an award-winning film.

Lola's motivations are more abstract, but she likes the idea of casting two actors for the lead roles from opposite ends of the spectrum. High-minded, classically trained Argentine import Iván Torres (Oscar Martínez) will take time out from crushing the dreams of his acting students to play one brother. Swaggering Spaniard Félix Rivero (Antonio Banderas), a huge movie star



spelled by the luxurious contract riders and flattery from underlings, will play the other in a bid to up his credibility.

As they rehearse endlessly in a cavernous, marble-walled building owned by Humberto, the two men soon grow to loathe one another. Maybe that's just what Lola wants to get them into character, or maybe she just likes to make them suffer (she also insists they read lines dozens of times with fractionally different intonations). Co-directors Mariano Cohn and Gastón Duprat adeptly keep the comedy deadpan and timed with enough precision to prevent the film feeling like a long sketch from a TV variety show.



Above, from left: Antonio Banderas, Penélope Cruz and Oscar Martínez in 'Official Competition'. Left: Freida Pinto and Sophe Dirisu in 'Mr Malcolm's List'

you really want to see survive, even if he does make extremely stupid decisions like taking on a 600lb bitey lion armed only with a steak knife. Why do heroes like this never just stay in the safe house and wait for help? Humans, unlike cats, still have some evolving to do.

In UK and US cinemas now

Set mostly in Toronto, just after the legalisation of marijuana shook up the criminal supply chain, the bloody gangland drama *Akilla's Escape* offers a moorish mix of familiar genre tropes and stylish excess. Some might find writer-director Charles Officer's film too overwrought, its tragic trajectory as straight as a gun barrel, but, like its flawed hero, played as an adult by actor-poet-polymath Saul Williams, there's more good than bad here.

Weed distributor Akilla has been thinking about retiring from the business (always a mistake for any fictional character) when the newly legal dispensary that sells his product in collaboration with the local mafia gets robbed by some street kids. The invaders kill one of Akilla's crew and leave behind a kid, Sheppard (the gifted Thameia Mpumulwana), a child soldier turned mute by a combination of PTSD and epilepsy. Thanks to an arty sleight of casting, Mpumulwana plays both Sheppard and the younger Akilla in flashbacks — underscoring how much Akilla sees himself in the boy. Like Sheppard, Akilla was pressured into a life of crime at a vulnerable age, in his case by his own abusive father (Ronnie Rowe).

That's a lot of plot, which makes the dialogue dense even before we get to the scenes in which child prodigy Akilla quotes great chunks of Homer's *Iliad* to demonstrate his intellectual prowess.

**Beast**

Baltasar Kormákur  
★★★★★

**Akilla's Escape**

Charles Officer  
★★★★★

**Mr Malcolm's List**

Emma Holly Jones  
★★★★★

Meanwhile, the evocative, jazz-and-hip-hop-infused soundtrack by 3D (aka Massive Attack's Robert Del Naja) and Williams features the latter reeling off some of his own cosmic poetry, which doesn't have that much to do with the story but still sounds great.

The editing and cinematography are heavily stylised, which can make the film feel like a flighty distended music video at times, but Williams and Mpumulwana's alert, compelling performances keep things grounded in grit.

In UK cinemas now

Much like hit Netflix series *Bridgerton*, *Mr Malcolm's List* unfolds in a world that resembles Regency England, with Empire-waisted gowns and much Jane Austen-inspired ado about who marries whom, but with an ethnically diverse ensemble. As with the colour-blind casting seen often in theatre, the guiding concern seems to have been who would be best for the part, regardless of their appearance. So Naoko Mori, an actor of Japanese descent, plays the mother of Zawe Ashton, an actor of English and Ugandan descent. And no, it's not just a *Bridgerton* rip-off — the short film this is based on (which was made to raise funds for the feature) came out before the Netflix show.

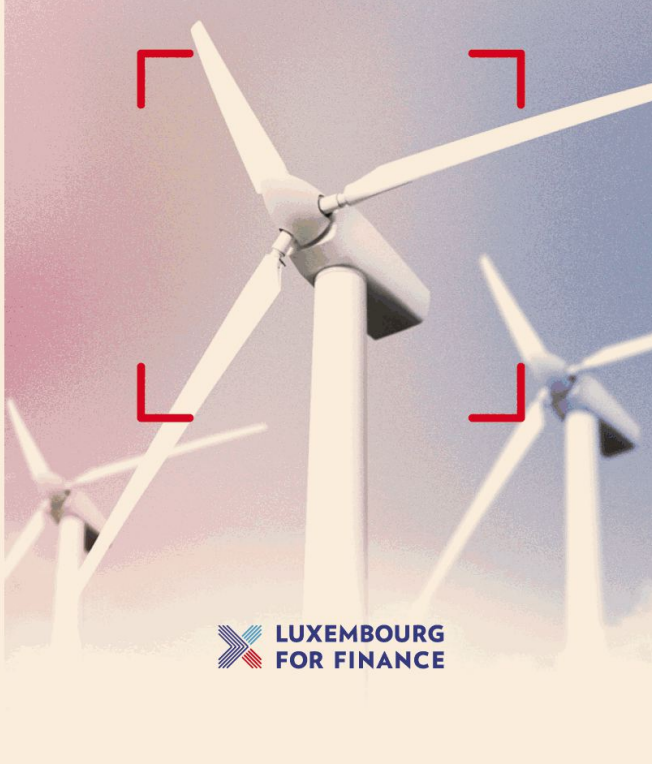
The casting inclusivity means that *Mr Malcolm's List* can assemble an impressive team of much buzzed-about young performers that includes not just Ashton but Sophe Dirisu (*His House*), Freida Pinto (*Slumdog Millionaire*) and Theo James (*The Time Traveler's Wife*) to play the other three corners of a love quadrangle. What a shame the script, adapted by Suzanne Allain from her own novel, is such a pallid reshuffle of Austenian conceits. There's the high-born man and lower-upper-middle-class lady romance troubled by misunderstanding that occupies Dirisu's eponymous *Mr Malcolm* and Pinto's Selina, while Ashton is an Emma-like delicate heiress, hoisted by her own petard of vanity and vengeance.

Sadly, Allain and director Emma Holly Jones can't channel Austen's wit or her granular attention to social mores and morals. Also, if a period drama has no real understanding of the period it's set in, isn't it just playing around with pretty costumes and nice sets? At least it has macaron-hued frocks and neoclassical architecture in enough abundance to distract from niggling concerns about how colonialism and industrialisation really fit into this world.

In UK cinemas now

HELPING FINANCE GO GLOBAL  
WE BUILD A BETTER TOMORROW TODAY

Finance plays a critical role in building a better tomorrow. Ensuring the flow of capital between markets and making it available where needed is the best way to achieve a more balanced, fair and sustainable future. Luxembourg has been a pioneer in sustainable finance and today is a recognised leader in this field. Our expertise in international finance enables financial institutions to achieve their ambitions and build a better tomorrow.



With the tiny cast of characters, who are often arranged in space at some distance from each other, it's no surprise to learn that *Official Competition* was shot in 2020 during the first Covid-19 lockdown. But that somehow enhances the humour, making this feel like an old-school screwball comedy, albeit one with very dark edges. It helps that all three of the main players have both the comic and dramatic skill to handle the film's quicksilver transitions in tone. All three deserves plaudits, as does wig of Cruz, which is a star in its own right.

In UK cinemas now

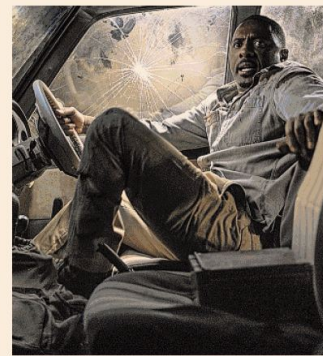
A veterinarian once told me, in tones of admiration and awe, that it's pretty hard to kill a cat. Perfected by natural selection about a million years ago, their basic design (unlike, say, dogs) hasn't changed much since then, apart from a bit of tinkering engineered by breeders. That may explain the indestructibility of the male lion at the heart of *Beast*. This big cat, sadly unnamed in the film but let's call him *Beast*, gets shot at dozens of times by sharpshooters, jabbed in the bum with a tranquilliser dart by a feisty American girl (Leah Jeffries, the movie's most valuable player), even set on fire — and yet keeps going. He must have not nine lives but 90.

The secret may be that *Beast* is made not from sinew, muscle, teeth and claws but pixels. The CGI lion has been hired to take on roughly the same role that Bruce the shark played in *Jaws*, but in a South African wildlife park setting. American A&E doctor Nate Samuels (Idris Elba) arrives in this fragile paradise with his two daughters in tow, Norah, the aforementioned younger one, and teenager Mere (Iyana Halley), hoping to pay respects to the girls' recently deceased mother, who was from the region.

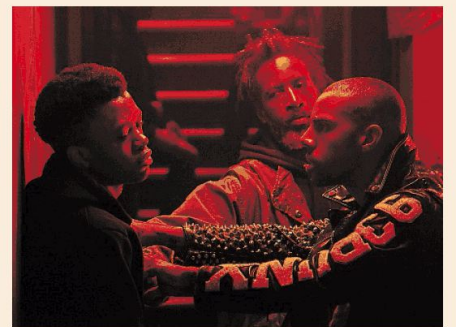
The couple's friend Martin (Sharito Copley), a keeper who protects the park's lions, takes them on safari, only to discover *Beast* out there wreaking bloody havoc, having "gone rogue" after poachers killed his entire pride. Now he's exclusively hunting humans for revenge, although uncharacteristically he's not stopping to eat any of them, just mauling and moving on, which seems a bit wasteful. My Norwegian Forest Cat Tango eats everything he catches, even squirrels and rabbits, but then he's motivated by gluttony, not vengeance.

It's easy to take the mickey out of this movie, but the makers and everyone in it clearly know that, which makes watching it an absolute gigglefest, albeit one filled with blood and jump scares. Icelandic director Baltasar Kormákur finesses the tone expertly, delivering a thrill ride that still has warmly likeable characters. It helps that Elba is this generation's dad we all wish was our own — manly but also vulnerable, funny but a bit of a nerd.

He and his kids are the kind of humans



Left: Idris Elba comes under attack in 'Beast'. Below: from left, Thameia Mpumulwana, Saul Williams and Vic Mensa in 'Akilla's Escape' Anasida Mafbeck



The world's largest active fund manager is a slow-moving giant with an idiosyncratic culture that has brought it decades of success. But it faces the threat of being left behind by its rivals.

By Brooke Masters

# Capital Group in dangerous waters



**E**arlier this year, with markets in turmoil, Capital Group, one of the world's largest money managers, arranged for two guests to speak to its investment professionals.

Both were retired portfolio managers. One was known for his ability to "look around corners", spotting long-term winners others overlooked. The other was contrarian and cynical. He loaded up on volatile airline and steel stocks, resulting in a white-knuckle ride, with poor years followed by great ones. But, as he told the March gathering in California, he had an iron stomach.

What the managers had in common, says Jody Jonsson, a 52-year veteran of Capital and a management committee member, was a "belief that you must have the conviction to wait out a market that doesn't favour your investing style. It takes incredible courage... We brought them both in to help our next generation of investors understand how we manage money and why we respect and need their individual approaches."

Her comments reflect an unusual philosophy that has turned Capital into the world's largest active fund manager, with \$2.1tn under management as of the end of June. Its funds are run by multiple people but, instead of reaching agreement, each is encouraged to stake out a different position. That means one part of Capital is often selling shares in a company even as another is buying — and some managers in the same fund may be bearish while others are bullish.

For decades, the long-term results have been excellent. All but one of its 18 equity mutual funds have beaten their benchmark since inception by an average of 150 basis points annually, even after fees are deducted. The company controls about 8 per cent of US mutual and exchange traded fund assets.

In a sea full of predators, Capital is like a whale shark: slow-moving, friendly and enormous. Its collaborative culture, low fees and dedication to active stock picking make it a well-respected outlier in the increasingly cut-throat world of asset management. But on the cusp of its second century, the group is facing a profound challenge. Retiring clients are drawing down savings and its flagship product — equity mutual funds — are falling out of favour. Net equity inflows have been negative every year since 2016, bar 2018 when they were flat.

Buoyant markets may have kept its assets under management rising until this year, but 2022's volatility hit hard: AUM slumped by 19 per cent and several flagship funds are having bad years. Competitors such as Vanguard and BlackRock, which offer exchange traded funds and ultra-cheap passive products that track indices, have grown much faster.

Capital's leaders may scorn "asset gathering" for its own sake, but they cannot ignore the dangers of refusing to move with the times. Without change, shifting investor preferences could leave a company — even one as large as this — irrelevant.

For executives like Matt O'Connor, a management committee member who joined in 2008, that risk means offering new products to attract a new generation of investors. "We always need to evolve," he says. "Today, we have the

In a sea full of predators, Capital is like a whale shark: friendly and enormous.

FT Montage: NOAA/Dreamstime

right strategies and a history of consistently strong investment results," he adds. "Now it's about... the way we offer those results — ensuring we have the right products in the right places to appeal to more clients."

To that end, the group launched its first ETFs in February, making its active investment strategies available to a new group of investors. It boosted offerings of bond and "solutions" funds, which are popular for retirement and education savings. It has also embarked on a hiring spree to support the new products, as well as a serious push into European and Asian markets.

### Capital culture

Founded in 1951 by Jonathan Bell Lovelace, Capital has shunned the limelight for almost that long. Its best known products, called the American Funds, without reference to the group name, are sold through brokers and advisers rather than marketed directly.

The corporate culture frowns on self-aggrandisement: top staff almost never appear in the financial media and the company name doesn't appear on the outside of its Los Angeles headquarters. Capital also refuses to comment on investing decisions, even when they are so big that they move share prices, as happened earlier this year with the sale of €7bn of European bank stocks.

That has left the company shrouded in mystery even as its funds amassed an investing record that few rivals can match. Morningstar, the investment research group, gives 65 per cent of its funds four or five stars out of five. "They are the Microsoft of asset managers. They will not be the first movers but they will go to where there is demand," says Tom Nations, the Morningstar analyst who follows Capital. "They have a very competitive line up."

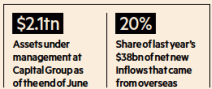
The atmosphere can feel friendly to the point of cultish. Employees are known as "associates" and, since the 1940s, everyone has been referred to by a unique combination of capital letters rather than a name. Early hires simply used their initials but duplication problems led to the assignment of a string of four letters bearing some resemblance to the name of each new individual.

Under Jon Lovelace, the founder's son, the family spread the ownership to 400 top employees, known as partners, and the company aims to be in the top quartile for pay for all roles. Every associate also gets two bonuses and an annual company top up of their individual retirement equivalent to 15 per cent

of salary. "Everybody who joins Capital has this moment where they go, 'I can't believe someone was just so nice to me,'" says Guy Henriques, or "GMQH", as he became known when he joined from UK asset manager Schroders in 2019 to lead the company's overseas expansion. "If I had made that mistake at X, Y, Z, I would have been pumelled but, at Capital Group, someone put an arm around me and said, 'Let's work out how we do better next time.'"

Annual employee turnover is roughly 6 per cent, less than half the 15 per cent norm for financial services. The average tenure of associates is 10.2 years and for portfolio managers, it is 21.8. Women account for 36 per cent of senior managers globally and under-represented minorities are 10.9 per cent of US top executives. The comparable US industry numbers are 25 per cent women and 6 per cent minorities, according to the Investment Company Institute.

But this culture could be threatened as the group staffs up for a plunge into new products and markets. Roughly 2,200 of Capital's nearly 9,000 employees have joined since the start of 2020, and the firm is seeking to hire another 2,000 in the next 18 months.



Morningstar's Nations says it makes sense for Capital to look abroad as traditional US fund markets are "saturated". But he warns that "increased focus and execution are two different things. We're not talking about the most nimble organisation in the world."

### Extreme collaboration

Nowhere is the focus on collaboration more intense than among Capital's 450-plus investment professionals. Since the early 1960s, the firm has assigned multiple independent managers to each fund. The \$115bn New Perspective Fund, for example, has nine named portfolio managers. Younger managers, who are not named publicly, and research analysts also run smaller pots of money.

"The beauty of our system is that each person can focus on what they do well," says Jonsson (JJ), who serves as the fund's overall co-ordinator. "I'm terrible at energy and commodities... But I make sure there's someone else in the fund who is good at it."

Since the 2000s, the company has also broken the equity group into three teams working separately, although their investment choices are co-mingled in all of the funds. Six members of the 10-person management committee personally run money, highlighting the power of the investment team.

Insiders argue this structure is what has allowed Capital funds to grow larger than competitors with a single star manager or traditional committee. With more people running money, the funds track a broader range of companies. Decisions to buy and sell are less likely to disrupt the market than if the whole fund shifted its position. Bonuses are based on long-term investment results without regard to assets managed.

"It takes a lot of the 'it's mine' ego tripping and a lot of the tension out and allows you to focus on the long term," says Charley Ellis, an expert on the asset management industry and author of a book on Capital Group.

The model has seen the firm through good times and bad. Capital saw massive retail inflows after the 2003 mutual fund scandal tarnished rivals, but it endured a grim period after the 2008 financial crisis when overall assets slumped and staff had to be cut. Since 2011, actively managed products like those Capital offers have fallen from 79 to 57 per cent of the total US investment market, according to the ICI.

Now, EU regulatory changes have forced investment advisers to offer independent funds as well as in-house products, creating an opening for outsiders such as Capital. Extreme market volatility has underscored the attraction of steady long-term returns.

The firm, which first tried to crack Europe in the 1960s, has been steadily building its non-US staff for years. Overseas headcount has more than doubled in the past decade. More than 20 per cent of last year's \$38bn in net new inflows came from overseas, even though 97 per cent of AUMH is from North America. "I'm hoping that we're the overnight success of 60 years of planning and testing," quips vice-chair Rob Lovelace (RWL), a grandson of the founder. "We know we need to grow. That's important for hiring and for health. But it's about growing well."

### Late to the party?

Capital Group was years, if not decades, late to the ETF party. It has also been cautious about plunging into offerings that explicitly promise to invest based on environmental, social and governance factors — although the group has been using ESG metrics to inform its ordinary funds.

It eschews alternative investments, even as rivals have expanded into private equity and credit in search of profits. Lovelace points out that Capital has dabbled in the area: venture giant Sequoia was founded under its aegis in the 1970s. It has also stuck to selling through intermediaries, even as retail investors have flocked to online brokers and DIY platforms. Salespeople have had a smartphone app since 2017, but a version for retail investors was only made available in 2020.

These strategies have left the group vulnerable to complaints that it is old fashioned and failing to keep up with



Each person can focus on what they do well. I'm terrible at energy and commodities but I make sure that there's someone else in the fund who is good at it'

Jody Jonsson

investor demands. Chief executive Tim Armour (TDA), who joined the firm as a trainee 39 years ago and has served as CEO since 2015, has been pushing for less dependence on equity mutual funds. A 2020 strategic plan prioritised finding ways to bring Capital's investing prowess to a wider range of customers.

"We made a clear commitment to being a global asset manager. We're clear on that being a north star," says Heather Lord (HRTL), who heads strategy and innovation.

Rebalancing required strengthening bond products that had underperformed in the financial crisis. Capital has doubled the size of its fixed income team since 2015 and redrew its bonus curves to make sure that portfolio managers are not motivated to take outsized risks. It also tweaked its methods to reflect differences between equity and credit investing. Bond portfolio managers still follow their convictions but must stay within parameters set by a leadership group.

Fixed-income assets under management have doubled to \$470bn since 2015, putting Capital among the top global active bond managers.

Capital's slow move into ETFs is also starting to pay off: it gives investors a way to put money in directly and has attracted more than \$2bn in assets since the February launch. Nearly one-quarter of the firm's assets are now in something other than a traditional US mutual fund, up from less than 5 per cent in 2015; \$163bn of net fixed-income inflows over the period have helped it keep growing — albeit more slowly than some of its competitors. Total AUM has risen 62 per cent since 2015; Fidelity and Vanguard more than doubled.

The group remains committed to its giant army of salespeople, crediting the high-contact model with driving a 50 per cent increase in the number of advisers who put client money in Capital products since 2012. "We are doing something different and it's not simple. We've got to explain it over and over again," Lovelace says.

But the group has also had to rethink hiring. Historically staff were brought in after gaining experience elsewhere, but that has made it hard to meet diversity commitments because the sector remains so white and male. "We used to say we weren't an early career shop. We have had to flip that," says Andrea Gill (AJNG), co-head of human resources.

The overseas expansion brings other strains. Those offerings are smaller scale, which drags on profitability and makes it harder to compete on fees. The multi-manager system works best in large, highly liquid markets, which means the firm has had to turn down requests for narrowly tailored products such as those that exclude specific countries and sectors.

For now, the quandary for executives is much like the one faced by some of its portfolio managers: should they wait out a market that doesn't appreciate them? Or must they change with the times? "The way we manage our business is the way we invest," says Armour. "Sometimes it may seem a little boring or staid, but it's like the tortoise and the hare. If you keep doing what you can do well over a long period of time, the compounding really works."

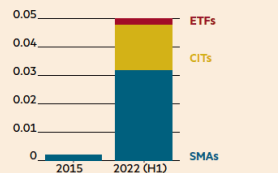


'We know we need to grow. That's important for hiring and for health. But it's about growing well'

Rob Lovelace

### Capital Group's new investment products have been growing rapidly since 2015...

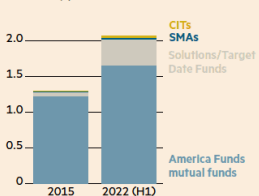
Assets in separately managed accounts, collective investment trusts and exchange traded funds, \$tn



Source: Source: Capital Group

### ...but they are still tiny compared to its core American Funds mutual funds

Total AUM, \$tn



The FT View



FINANCIAL TIMES

"Without fear and without favour"

ft.com/opinion

Trump now owns the Republicans as midterms loom

They may pay an electoral price for their submission to the former president

Nine months ago, there was still some doubt whether the US Republicans were Donald Trump's personal possession...

The decay of the GOP is existential for the republic. A two-party system cannot afford one of those parties to turn feral...

Establishing cause and effect is difficult here. The slowing of inflation has naturally helped the incumbents...

A party that hitches itself to him is more likely to please its base over the pragmatic few who decide elections

Democrats find themselves in an odd place: the most radical policy of the past two years was taken by the opposition party...

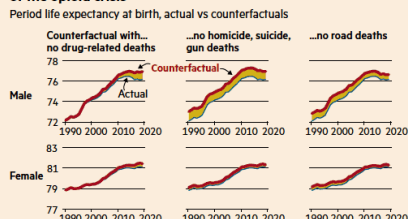
Opinion Data Points

How life expectancy fell off a cliff with US opioid crisis

John Burn-Murdoch



US life expectancy would not have fallen in the absence of the opioid crisis



Source: FT analysis data from HMC Global Burden of Disease 2019; US CDC Wonder; National Records Scotland; ONS FT graphic: John Burn-Murdoch / @burnmurdoch

Two decades ago, people in the US enjoyed reasonably long lives, comparable to most peer countries...

countries, I have created a series of counterfactuals for how life expectancy would have evolved...

Some influence the level - if we equalise rates of obesity in all countries, the US deficit by 2019 shrinks from 3.6 years to 2.2...

While the picture was slightly less rosy for her brother, he would live to 72 on average, roughly neck-and-neck with the same cohort in western Europe...

As recently as 10 years ago, you might have struggled to pick the US out of the pack on a chart of life expectancy...

There are several other areas that, if addressed, could also narrow the gap between the US and the rest - gun deaths (both homicide and suicide) and elevated rates of road accidents...

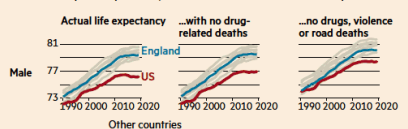
Governments and businesses threw their biggest brains and untold billions at battling the pandemic over the past two years...

Dig beneath the surface, and the driving factors are clear. By stripping out deaths from specific causes in all

john.burn-murdoch@ft.com

US life expectancy would be tracking peer countries more closely were it not for opioid deaths, gun violence and poor diet

Period life expectancy at birth, actual vs counterfactuals for developed countries



Letters

Jackson Hole is a chance to prepare for a financial shock

Age may or may not bring wisdom. But those of us who were active during the geopolitical nightmare of the 1970s can perhaps use this experience to help today's central bankers...

Two points seem particularly critical at this juncture. One is that they need to be more cautious in identifying the role they play. It would be marvellous if monetary policy could

indeed determine the course of the global economy. But experience suggests this is impossible in reality. It would therefore be sensible for them to downplay their own role in future, and instead leave the "heavy lifting" to fiscal policy and governments...

1970s. Gas not only impacts energy costs, but also food prices and availability via its critical role in the production of ammonia and hence fertiliser...

Russia's war in Ukraine then created a further challenge. And now we face the risk of famine as fertiliser costs become unaffordable...

What happens when trust in central banks erodes

In your timely editorial "A pivotal moment for the world's central banks" (FT View, August 25) you note that "to blame monetary policymakers wholly for the cost of living crisis would be unfair. A lot has been outside their control, and shrouded in uncertainty..."

Your editorial also states that "history offers ample proof that politicians cannot be trusted with deciding monetary policy". Maybe. Yet I remember it was politicians who raised base rates in the early 1980s to about 16 per cent in an effort to control inflation of about 16 per cent...

In all, we can go round in circles blaming and pointing the finger but let us not forget: central bank independence was granted because politicians were viewed as being unreliable in controlling inflation...

FT editorial sits at odds with the Fed's mistakes

Your editorial ("A pivotal moment for the world's central banks", FT View, August 25) suggesting that central banks' mistakes look obvious only in hindsight sits oddly with the fact that the Federal Reserve allowed the broad money supply to balloon by some 40 per cent over two years...



growth to slow abruptly, by aggressively raising interest rates even when the US economy is showing clear signs of weakening, and by withdrawing market liquidity by contracting its balance sheet by \$95bn a month even when both the equity and housing markets are now on the back foot...

Let's be realistic about hitting inflation targets

Your editorial "A pivotal moment for the world's central banks" (FT View, August 25) is correct to note that by viewing rising inflation as only "ephemeral", central banks have been slow to raise interest rates...

Such monetary policy action would cause unnecessary economic uncertainty. So although it makes sense

Russia is a black comedy - but with nuclear weapons

We are perhaps about to skate closer to the thermonuclear threshold than at any time since 1962 and the Cuban missile crisis. If Vladimir Putin was a keystone in Russia's mafia-constructed bridge, and if his role in the 2000s was to introduce structure and rules into that mafia, then last week's assassination of Daria Dugina, daughter of the prominent Russian ideologue and Putin supporter Alexander Dugin, shows the cement under the keystone is eroding...

Can NDTV's brave owners save Indian press freedom?

Your news story on Gautam Adani's hostile bid for the Indian broadcaster NDTV (Report, August 24) reports on the fears expressed by local media executives about the threat posed to freedom of the press in India. You quote N Ram of the Indian daily "The Hindu" as saying "this is a very bad development for the independent media, and not just for news television". This is absolutely correct because NDTV is the only national news channel in India that has had the courage to constructively criticise the policies of the governments in power both at the federal as well as state levels...

Be wary of those using whisky investment rules

Lukanyo Mnyanda's recent article about the boom in Scottish whisky (Report, August 13) is great news, not just for the industry but also for the local economy. However, this heightened interest has also unfortunately led to an increase in certain individuals looking to cash in on this wave, often by taking advantage of customers in the growing whisky investment sector...

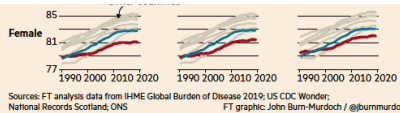
It would warn anyone being offered "must buy now" deals with guaranteed, too good to be true ROI (returns on investment) to be taken carefully. This is an unregulated industry, so there is little that can be done when individuals realise they have overpaid for a cask - or worse, that the cask doesn't exist.

Simon Aron Managing Director, Cask Trade London W1, UK

Banx's denim take needs a bit of invisible mending

A quick fix of Banx first thing sets me on the day, but he's behind the curve with his Winter Collection talkshow (Cartoon, August 24). Has he not noticed that young and not-so-young people have been buying and wearing shredded jeans for several years? And some higher-end brands sell garments that are unhemmed and frayed. I often wonder what the makers, probably mostly working in unsafe conditions for a few dollars a day, make of this strange western taste.

Judith Martin Winchester, Hampshire, UK



buying \$120bn a month in bonds, including mortgage-backed securities, even when both the US equity and housing markets were on fire. Falling to own up to these errors, the Fed now risks making these same mistakes but in reverse. It seems to be doing so by allowing money supply

to be open minded about the possibility of reviewing the BoE's mandate, we should also be realistic about the challenges of keeping inflation at the official target. Professor Costas Milas, Management School, University of Liverpool, Liverpool, UK

of the Adani group, which is very close to the present government, to take control of India's most independent news channel may be foiled by NDTV's brave owners, Pranjoy Roy and his family. Mahesh Nalani, Madhya Pradesh, India.

OPINION ON FT.COM What's the story, hunky Tony? Matt Hancock, the former Conservative health secretary, is launching into the 'Metaverse' this summer to talk about Web 3.0 and becoming the first British MP to have a personalised avatar – and it is quite some likeness, writes Jenima Kelly www.ft.com/Alphaville

# Opinion

## Democracies can use AI to defend open societies



develop artificial intelligence systems that are increasingly adopted by the military. Excited though they are about the peaceful uses of AI, researchers know it is a dual-use general purpose technology that can have highly destructive applications. The Stop Killer Robots coalition, with more than 180 non-governmental member organisations from 66 countries, is campaigning hard to outlaw so-called lethal autonomous weapons systems, powered by AI. War in Ukraine has increased the urgency of the debate. Earlier this month, Russia announced that it had created a special department to develop AI-enabled weapons. It added that its experience in Ukraine would help make its weapons "more efficient and smarter." Russian forces have already deployed the Uran-6 autonomous mine-clearing robot as well as the KUB-BLA unmanned suicide drone, which its manufacturer says uses AI to identify targets (although these claims are disputed by experts). Russia's president Vladimir Putin has spoken about AI's "colossal opportunities." "Whoever becomes the leader in

this sphere will become the ruler of the world," he has said. However, the Kremlin's efforts to develop AI-enabled weapons will surely be hampered by the recent exodus of 500,000 Russians, many from the tech sector, and the poor performance of its conventional forces. The Russian initiative followed the Pentagon's announcement last year that it was intensifying efforts to achieve AI superiority. The US Department of Defense was "working to create a competitive military advantage by embracing and leveraging AI," said Kathleen Hicks, the deputy defence secretary. China, too, has been developing AI for both economic and military uses with the clear aim of overtaking the US, in what has been called the AI arms race. While much of the debate about the

use of nuclear weapons has been relatively clear-cut and confined for decades, no matter how terrifying, the discussion about AI is far more confused and kaleidoscopic. To date, only nine nation states have developed nuclear weapons. Only two atomic bombs have ever been used in modern warfare, at Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Their appalling destructive power has made them weapons of last resort. AI, on the other hand, is less visible, more diffuse and more unpredictable because of its lower threshold for use, as the veteran strategist Henry Kissinger has written. It is perhaps best seen as a force multiplier that can be used to enhance the capabilities of drones, cyber weapons, anti-aircraft batteries or fighting troops. Some strategists fear that western democracies might be at a disadvantage against authoritarian regimes because of heightened ethical constraints. In 2018, more than 5,000 Google employees signed a letter saying the company should "not be in the business of war" and calling (successfully) for its withdrawal from the Pentagon's Project Maven, designed to apply AI to

the battlefield. The Pentagon now stresses the importance of developing "responsible" AI systems, governed by democratic values, controls and laws. The war in Ukraine may also be swaying public opinion, especially in Europe. "Young people care about climate change. And now they care about living in open societies," Torsten Reil, the co-founder of Helsing, a German start-up that uses AI to integrate battlefield data, tells me. "If we want to live in an open society we have to be able to deter and defend and do that credibly." To some, this may smack of a cynical rebranding of the death industry. But as physicists learnt during the second world war, it is hard to be morally pure when awful real-world choices have to be made. To their great credit, many AI researchers are today pressing for meaningful international conventions to constrain otherwise uncontrollable killer robots. But it would be reckless to forsake the responsible use of AI technology to defend democratic societies.

## Why it is right to worry about ministerial ethics



Once they reach Downing Street, prime ministers rarely stop to ponder, "Who will guard the guards?" The ultimate check on a British leader's power comes either at the ballot box or in a party leadership challenge. But the constraints on their day-to-day conduct are far weaker. Since 2006, Whitehall has sought to monitor the conduct of the government through the independent adviser on ministerial interests. The holders of this post have tended to be retired senior mandarins who take on the part-time duty to ensure the ministerial ethics code is observed. Ministers can refer themselves to the adviser, or are referred by the prime minister, and if their conduct is found wanting, resignation is expected. Until the era of Boris Johnson that is. When his former standards adviser Sir Alex Allan resigned – he concluded that the home secretary Priti Patel had bullied officials, Johnson disagreed and he quit. Lord Christopher Geidt, Allan's successor, endured an even more turbulent stint trying to maintain ministerial standards. He was forced to investigate the prime minister personally over "wallpapergate" – a scandal about who funded the refurbishment of his Downing Street flat – and clashed with Johnson over the "partygate" controversy over breaches of Covid regulations in Downing Street. Geidt also resigned, after feeling he could no longer carry out the role. Since June, there has been

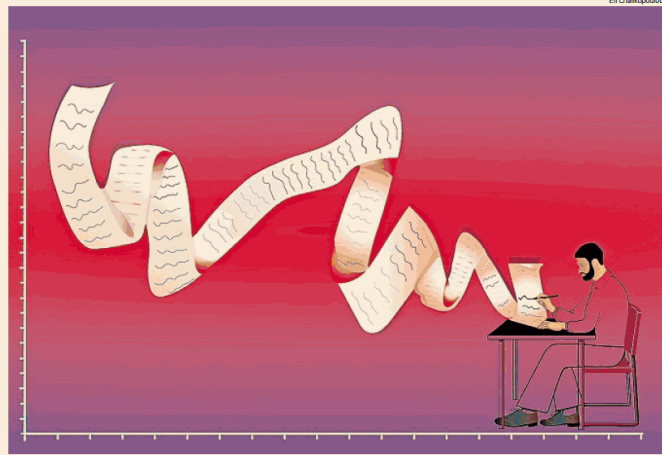
## With a new prime minister due to take office in less than two weeks, replacing Geidt has to be a priority

no adviser and no effort to find one. With a new prime minister due to take office in less than two weeks, replacing Geidt should be a priority. Not so, Liz Truss, who is almost certain to win the Tory leadership race, has refused to say whether she thinks the role should even exist. The foreign secretary claimed "numerous advisers and independent bodies" were one of the country's problems. Instead, she stressed her personal integrity. "For me, it's about understanding the difference between right and wrong," Truss said. There are some fair criticisms to be made of having a ministerial standards adviser. An unelected official should not wield the power to force a minister out, though he or she should be able to hold them accountable. There should also be punishments short of enforced resignation. One of Geidt's problems was the absence of any mechanism to challenge the prime minister in the event of disagreement. A solution may be to add a recourse mechanism through parliament. If the standards adviser is at odds with the prime minister, or uncertain of the right sanction, their findings should be put to the respective standards and privileges committee of the Commons or Lords. The committees sit above partisan politics and are formed with the agreement of chief whips. Truss's position reflects the so-called "good chap" theory of government, according to which we do not need codified structures to protect Britain's unwritten constitution because the people of unimpeachable moral character will always do the right thing. One lesson from the Johnson era is that the theory is stone dead. The prime minister's fall began with the botched attempt to save disgraced former minister Owen Paterson in Octo-

## The Fed should recognise power of a good story



However, after the 2008 financial crisis, Robert Shiller, the Nobel Prize-winning economist, urged his colleagues to study how "narratives" shape sentiment and thus economic trends. And one encouraging post-crisis development in economics is that a swelling number of young behavioural finance economists have heeded Shiller's call. Last year a team spearheaded by Peter Andre surveyed 10,000 households and 100 economists and concluded that whereas economic "experts" attribute price jumps to cyclical demand swings, consumers blame supply issues such as government mismanagement. That perception, which is heavily influenced by media, causes consumers to project higher inflation for longer. This year another group led by Yongmiao Hong used machine learning tools to analyse inflation narratives in 880,000 Wall Street journal articles. They concluded that "narrative-based forecasts perform better in the long-run forecasting" than numerical models, seemingly because the latter miss subtle economic signals and shifts. And this month Chad Kendall and Constantin Charles released research about extensive psychological experiments into how humans create explanatory frameworks to frame economic data. This shows that people almost always seek to fit new information into pre-existing narratives. But what is most interesting is that the shape of our storytelling matters, since "narratives with a particular structure



may affect people's actions by influencing the subjective beliefs they form from the data they observe". More specifically, the experiments suggest that "lever" narratives, which present linear causality frames (A leads to B leads to C, and so on) have the strongest grip on people's minds. So-called threat narratives, which describe how offsetting forces both avoid and cause particular outcomes, are less potent. The research also notes that people love "to share their homegrown narratives with other subjects, who are then persuaded by them". All of this has practical implications for Powell, given that the Fed faces an increasingly bitter fight over inflation. Some Fed critics, such as former US Treasury secretary Lawrence Summers,

are currently promoting one causality narrative – that this year's spiralling inflation arose because of lax monetary policy. This implies that interest rates must rise to stop inflation. Fed officials, however, prefer another causal story according to which prices have jumped because of high energy prices and supply side shocks. This suggests that prices will fall if (or when) the initial shock of the war in Ukraine subsides, and/or economic activity slows down. There is a political tussle too: Republicans blame the Biden administration for inflation; Democrats blame it on external events. One consequence is that Pew research suggests that 84 per cent of Republicans think inflation is "a big problem", but only 57 per cent of Democrats agree. This is a striking demonstration of why narrative causality matters. Of course, an intellectually honest economist might note that all these simplistic causal stories are essentially fictions, given that economic phenomena arise from complex interactions in

the economy. The causality narrative being presented by the White House around its Inflation Reduction Act is also somewhat fictitious. While some measures in the legislation are sensible, they are unlikely in themselves to influence short-term price trends much, if at all. But Powell's problem is that if he does not present a convincing causality narrative at Jackson Hole, others will offer one in its place. Simply describing what has happened in the past year, or proffering complex and competing explanations, is unlikely to pack much of a punch – or shape sentiment in the way that the Fed needs. So if I were his speechwriter, I would take a leaf from Paul Volcker's book and argue that inflation will fall when rates go up, and promise to keep raising those rates until price growth is at a sensible level. That will not be politically popular ahead of a crucial midterm election. But it is at least a crystal clear message – or it would be if the Fed actually does it.

**This has implications for Powell, given the central bank faces an increasingly bitter fight over inflation**

## Europe must become a global political actor



Russian invasion of Ukraine, beyond the speedy implementation of sanctions against Moscow, the EU has been taking concrete actions in four areas. First, "defence Europe". The EU is acquiring a new dimension in defence. Following on from the Versailles summit in March, the EU has been reinforcing, enhancing and coordinating national and European investments

This will begin to make energy union a tangible reality. But it is only the start. The accelerated energy transition strategy, adopted in June, will be key to ensuring that European energy sovereignty is being established on a sustainable footing. Furthermore, thanks in part to Next Generation EU, the €750bn funding programme launched in the wake of the

Third, the "Europe of democracy". The EU will continue to affirm its identity as a democratic power strongly anchored in the rule of law. There is, not, and nor will there ever be, any compromise with or indulgence shown to those, both within Europe and outside, who seek to obstruct the freedom and integrity of our electoral processes, our independent and impartial justice systems

belong geographically, historically and culturally. We are not naive; we know that the EU must reform to be able to operate efficiently and effectively in a wider Europe. This concerns institutional governance, as well as decision making, such as reconsidering the unanimity rule and qualified majority voting in certain areas of common European



into a fully hedged sovereign political power, complementing its existing economic strength.

The EU has grown more powerful through several crises. "Economic Europe" has evolved into a strong and stable single currency, making the devaluations of the era of flexible exchange rate systems a distant memory. And since the eurozone sovereign debt crisis, the bloc has also strengthened its financial system and monetary tools.

More recently, in response to the Covid-19 pandemic, the EU has developed converging economic structures and a common budgetary capacity. It also pooled the purchase of vaccines and laid the groundwork for a "Europe of health". And now, in response to the

in defence capabilities. It has also established common financing initiatives such as the European Defence Fund and a new organisational structure to respond to cyber risks. The referendum vote in June in favour of Denmark joining the European defence policy is a sign of this accelerating dynamic.

Second, the "Europe of industrial sovereignty", focused on the energy, digital technology and industrial sectors. In the coming months, Europe will continue to drastically reduce its energy dependence on Russia through co-ordinated energy savings, as approved by the EU Council at the end of July, diversification of supplies and solidarity mechanisms based on the energy needs of each member state.

Covid crisis, Europe-wide programmes are also building up strong capabilities in the areas of digital technology, health, hydrogen and semiconductors.

To help support the large-scale investments needed in these defence and industry plans, EU fiscal rules need to evolve, as prime minister Mario Draghi of Italy and French president Emmanuel Macron argued in December.

or the right against corruption.

Finally, there is "Europe as a geopolitical power". The EU must become an anchor of stability for the European continent as a whole. There can be no half-measures in the midst of the hybrid war being waged by Russia: its imperialist war in Ukraine and its use of energy and food as weapons to destabilise the whole world.

It is within this context that we ought to understand the historic step of granting candidate status to Ukraine and Moldova, recognising the European perspective in Georgia, as well as the opening of accession negotiations with North Macedonia and Albania. The EU must anchor the western Balkans in the European family, to which they

security policy, or on tax matters.

This is the aim of the European Political Community proposed by Macron: to consolidate European stability through co-operation on matters of foreign policy and security, and interconnections in trade, research and education.

Jean Monnet, one of the original architects of European integration, famously said: "Europe will be forged in crises, and will be the sum of the solutions adopted for those crises." Russia's assault on Ukraine and European values has made the transformation of Europe into a global political power an urgent collective priority for us all.

The writer is France's minister of state for Europe

der. His standing fell further with partygate. His premiership was effectively ended by the mishandling of sexual harassment allegations regarding the former deputy chief whip Chris Pincher. Johnson's demise had nothing to do with policy. It was about competence and morality.

Truss's challenges go beyond government: one Tory MP is in prison on sexual assault charges and another resigned, prompting a by-election. Every profession has rules and arbiters and Westminster should be no different. Restoring standards is vital – to the fortunes of the Conservative party and the reputation of politics itself.

sebastian.payne@ft.com

### The EU needs to turn into an anchor of stability for the continent as a whole

# Lex

Twitter: @FTLex

## BoE/banks: post-QE stealth tax

Banks have waited years for higher interest rates to revive their fortunes. But in the UK, where markets predict interest rates will hit 4 per cent by May, taxpayers could end up contributing via the Bank of England.

This would play badly with voters during a cost of living crisis. The government and the BoE might therefore stop paying interest to banks on the so-called reserves created during quantitative easing.

QE converted long-term government liabilities into overnight borrowing. The BoE bought £847bn of gilts, financed with the new "interest-paying reserves". The interest paid by the central bank has been at a lower rate than the coupon payments it receives on the gilts. That has allowed it to hand the Treasury a cumulative profit of £123bn to the end of April. But once interest rates rise above 2 per cent, that cash flow will turn negative. The left-of-centre think-tank New Economics Foundation has put the UK bill at up to £57bn over the next three years.

The UK is in a tight spot because its vast amount of index-linked debt, nearly a quarter of the whole, is forecast to more than triple debt interest spending to £65bn in the two years to next April. A further sustained 1 percentage point increase in interest rates and inflation would cost an additional £18.6bn the following year. Going back to paying no interest on reserves would help ease the pain.

The dire state of public finances will make it tempting for the government to rewrite the rules so that the reserves – or at least a big part of them – carry no interest.

Advocates point out that paying no interest on reserves was the norm before the financial crisis. Even so, the rule change would be equivalent to imposing a higher tax on banks.

The obscure nature of the implicit levy will appeal to politicians who like to find ways to pluck feathers from geese with minimal hissing. It is a subtler way of transferring money from banks to the government than Spain's €1.5bn annual windfall tax. Hungary has imposed a similar levy.

Politicians would not care that saddling commercial banks with a non-interest-bearing asset would make

them even less attractive to investors. But they should weigh up the totality of disadvantages. Making commercial banks less competitive would increase flows to shadow banks. That would create new risks to financial stability.

## US housebuilders: foundation miffs

US house prices continue to go through the roof. Across America, home prices – as measured by one closely watched benchmark, the S&P CoreLogic Case-Shiller index – rose nearly a fifth in May from a year ago.

Yet that has done little for homebuilding stocks. The S&P Homebuilders Select Industry index is down 25 per cent so far this year, outpacing losses on the S&P 500 index. Shares in big builders – DR Horton, Lennar, NVR, PulteGroup and Toll Brothers – have pulled back to trade at a deal that could be worth almost half a billion dollars.

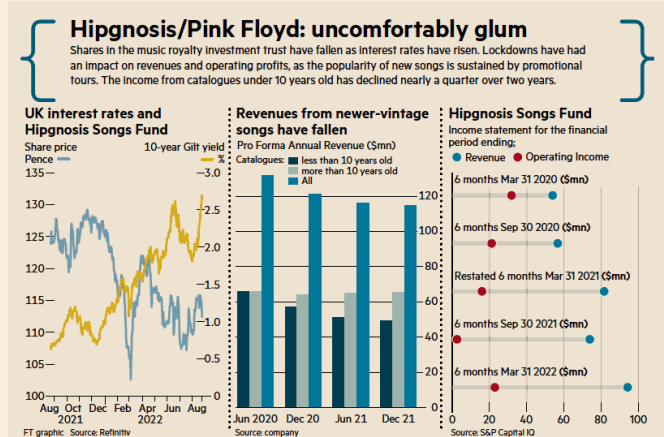
The deal would put the spotlight on Blackstone and majority-controlled business Hipgnosis Song Management, run by Merck Mercuriadis, a music industry executive and former manager of artists such as Elton John, Guns N' Roses and Beyoncé. But UK-listed investment trust Hipgnosis Songs Fund, set up by Mercuriadis in 2018, might not even participate.

hard foundation of the US housing market is suffering some cracks but an outright collapse is nowhere in sight.

Recent readings on construction starts and mortgage applications provide little solace. New home sales in July fell 13 per cent month on month and were 30 per cent lower compared with last year. The National Association of Home Builders' index of builder sentiment fell in August for the eighth consecutive month.

Housebuilders will have to offer discounts and other incentives to avoid an inventory pile-up. That will weigh on margins and profits near term.

For investors that take the long view, the investment case for homebuilders remains intact. America has a structural shortage of homes – estimated at 3.8mn units. The rock-



"Grab that cash with both hands and make a dash."

Almost 50 years on from the 1973 hit "Money", Pink Floyd are still living up to their byline. US private equity group Blackstone is vying to buy the UK band's back catalogue in a deal that could be worth almost half a billion dollars.

The deal would put the spotlight on Blackstone and majority-controlled business Hipgnosis Song Management, run by Merck Mercuriadis, a music industry executive and former manager of artists such as Elton John, Guns N' Roses and Beyoncé. But UK-listed investment trust Hipgnosis Songs Fund, set up by Mercuriadis in 2018, might not even participate.

The trust's debt was 25.4 per cent of net asset value (NAV) at the end of March, not far below the 30 per cent cap. And it can hardly repeat last summer's cash call, when it raised £150mn.

That is because a yawning discount has opened up. The shares have fallen 9 per cent since June 2021, while the NAV has risen 50 per cent to 154.76p per share in the 13 months to July. This is partly explained by the weakness of sterling, down almost a fifth against the dollar. It was also driven by a 9.5 per cent uplift in the value of the portfolio to \$2.7bn for the year to March.

But the extent of the discount suggests scepticism about the NAV. It is unclear why the portfolio should be valued at 23 times revenues, compared

with 19 times for its peer Round Hill, using Stifel numbers.

The company says one positive factor is the number of newer-vintage song catalogues reaching the end of their "decay cycle" ahead of expectations. Investors, though, may be unwilling to cheer a drop-off in revenues from newish songs of almost a quarter over two years.

Adding to the unease is an independent valuer's insistence that an 8.5 per cent discount rate does not need to be increased as interest rates go up.

Hipgnosis set out to rewrite the rules of the song business. But taking an unorthodox approach to valuation will make it harder to establish music rights as an asset class.

## Bitcoin Depot: cash withdrawal

The special purpose acquisition companies boom has fizzled. The cryptocurrency bubble has burst. Leave it to Wall Street to find a way to merge these out-of-favour asset classes.

Bitcoin Depot, a Bitcoin ATM operator that allows users to buy bitcoin or other digital currencies with cash at more than 7,000 kiosks across North America. It is going public by merging with blank cheque company GSR II Meteora Acquisition at a \$755mn enterprise value.

Higher interest rates, a weaker stock market and heightened regulatory scrutiny have dulled investor appetite for Spacs. Only 72 such investment vehicles have listed in the US so far this year, raising \$11.9bn, according to data from the London Stock Exchange Group. That is a fraction of the \$116.8bn raised during the same period last year. Among this year's newly listed Spacs just three have found a company to merge with. None has yet closed.

Yet Bitcoin Depot has managed to negotiate a rich valuation. The deal values its equity at 147.5 times net income reported for 12 months to June. A year ago, the company might have justified this lofty multiple with even loftier projections. But US regulators are clamping down on the practice. Bitcoin Depot has chosen not to provide any forward guidance.

Instead, the Atlanta-based company points to transaction volume growth – which it claims is decoupled from crypto prices. Revenue for the first six months of this year rose 30 per cent to \$322mn, while bitcoin prices fell to a third of their November 2021 peak.

It is hard to see how growth can be sustained. Bitcoin Depot's fees are high. It takes a 20 per cent commission on the value of the transaction plus a \$3 handling fee. In addition, the FBI has sounded the alarm over a rise in bitcoin ATM scams.

Spac merger deals are falling apart at a rapid pace. It is an awkward time to go through with a transaction like this.

FT Lex on the web For notes on today's stories go to [www.ft.com/lex](http://www.ft.com/lex)

## NIKKEI Asia The voice of the Asian century

### CROSSWORD

No 17,183 Set by LEONIDAS

- ACROSS**
- Dish of peeled eggs in spinach regularly repulsed (6)
  - Aristocratic lady boozers collecting jokes (8)
  - Old author and swimmer sharing small undergarment (8)
  - Spot of fortune inspiring politician (6)
  - Island dog picked up satellite that fell to earth (6)
  - Not looking forward to daughter attending recital (8)
  - Lovers of altitude climb huge hill mostly drunk (4-4,4)
  - Outcry in support of extremely tame channel (12)
  - Fellow wounded officer gets a dance (8)
  - Show's drummer echoed beat in centre of stage (6)
  - It might be Scotch that's covering the engine (6)
  - Coin with old VP next to Trump's head (8)
  - Winds stopping fish going west? It's baffling (8)
  - The Spanish fair being a prime example (6)
- DOWN**
- One of fifty that might be baked (6)
  - Bird's cunning circling large cat in ascent (9)

## SOAS University of London

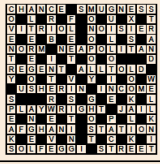
# Postgraduate Diploma in Asian Art

Object-based study of the arts of India, China, Japan & Korea, Southeast Asia, and the Buddhist and Islamic worlds.

Join us in London for unique access to the British Museum and Victoria and Albert Museum reserve collections.

JOTTER PAD

Solution 17,182



- 4 Gets bigger and bigger drinks (9)
- 5 Funds covering half of this spread (7)
- 6 Bit in Delhi game originally played early evening (5)
- 7 Migrant relative overwhelmed by positive gesture (5)
- 8 Periodically 34 emus line up (8)
- 13 Remains of Hindu retreat after stuff stolen (3)
- 15 Fly solo in gale too high (2,2,5)
- 16 1200 inches of creepy-crawly? (9)
- 17 Poet struggling to accept turn as novelist (8)
- 19 25 in wood reported (3)
- 20 One of twelve staff drenched in beer (7)
- 21 Clumsy cowboy finally replaced by European (6)
- 23 Organisation that assesses unoccupied Iraq? (5)
- 24 Compound somewhat disconcerting after revolution (5)

Online courses available

Contact Us:  
asianart@soas.ac.uk

Find Out More:  
www.AsianArtDiploma.co.uk



In Association with

The British Museum



Get the business insights you need to succeed in Asia  
Visit [asia.nikkei.com](http://asia.nikkei.com)

FT SPECIAL REPORT

# African Development

Friday August 26 2022

[www.ft.com/reports](http://www.ft.com/reports)

## Continent's search for a lasting route out of poverty

Despite limited gains, global crises are further slowing long-term development, says *David Pilling*

When KY Amoako was growing up in 1950s Ghana, he hung on every word of Kwame Nkrumah, the liberation leader and, later, the country's first prime minister and president. Amoako, who spent a lifetime working in "development", remembers the heady feelings that Nkrumah inspired in a young man whose country and continent were on the verge of throwing off colonial oppression.

"Africa was going to be prosperous, strong, united, and respected," he wrote of Nkrumah's project to "raise up the lives of our people" in what would become 54 independent nations.

Amoako built a career at the World Bank in the 1970s and became head of the UN Economic Commission for Africa — two institutions he believed could help realise Nkrumah's vision.

Writing in his memoir some five decades later, he was clearly disappointed: "So why is Africa still poor?" he asked.

The answer to that question is complex and disputed. Much research points to factors such as poor leadership, weak institutions, corruption, and lack of infrastructure. But these proximate causes fail to explain why those elements are present or lacking — and why similar obstacles have been at least partially overcome elsewhere, particularly in Asia.

The depredations of the transatlantic slave trade and the short, brutal history of European colonialism go some way to explaining subsequent disappointments. New countries with random borders struggled to build modern nation states and to break free of the extractive economic models they had inherited.

Yet such analysis goes only so far. As Stefan Dercon, professor in develop-



Africa remains the world's poorest continent by almost any measure — Luis Tato/Bloomberg

ment economics at Oxford university and author of *Gambling on Development*, says: "The only lesson here is: get a better history." The key to breaking free, he argues, is what he calls an "elite bargain" in which those who control the levers (and wealth) of their new states agree to roll the dice in favour of development and expanding economic opportunity.

In Dercon's view, development is primarily a matter for countries themselves. Outside assistance in the form of overseas development aid, loans, or technical transfer can only play a

One view is that outside help can only play a marginal role, by helping nation building along

peripheral role, he says, bolstering nation-building projects that are already under way. In some cases, he argues, overseas assistance can warp incentives and actually do damage.

Whatever the reasons, Africa remains the world's poorest continent by almost any measure — a picture that did not seem inevitable when leaders like Nkrumah were fighting for independence.

According to the World Bank, in purchasing power parity (PPP) terms, which adjusts for local costs, oil-rich Equatorial Guinea, at \$18,000, has the highest per capita income of any continental African country, though highly unequal distribution renders that figure near meaningless. The poorest country is the Central African Republic which, along with others such as South Sudan, Niger and the Democratic Republic of Congo, barely clear income levels of \$1,000 per capita.

To take another measure, the average gross domestic product per capita in sub-Saharan Africa, again in PPP terms, is \$4,120. But that compares with south Asia's \$7,000, east Asia's \$20,300, and a world average of \$18,700. Nkrumah's Ghana, though a relative African success story, is often contrasted unfavourably with South Korea — which was equally poor at independence but now has a per capita income of \$47,000, making it nearly eight times richer.

"From that point of view, African development has been disappointing," says Akihiko Tanaka, president of the Japan International Cooperation Agency, which administers Tokyo's overseas development budget. "But, since the beginning of the 21st century, many sub-Saharan countries have registered quite significant economic growth, with a 5-6 per cent growth rate

*Continued on page 2*

Inside

**Abe's development legacy revisited**  
Tokyo faces urgent need to engage with continent  
Page 3

**Continent targets vaccine independence**  
Covid exposed reliance on overseas production but local initiatives show potential  
Page 3

**Smallholders need to go beyond subsistence**  
Raising crop yields could be vital in driving national development  
Page 4

**Resistance to putting emissions first**  
Countries point to hypocrisy from the west and cite need for expansion  
Page 4

**Wanted: big business**  
Africa needs companies that can harness talents of its young workforce, writes Paul Collier  
Page 6



**Committed to Africa**  
Hand in hand in support of the TICAD cause



African Development

# Abe's legacy scrutinised at Tunisia conference

**Japan Critics say Tokyo must focus on effective delivery of assistance, writes Kana Inagaki**

On the day of Shinzo Abe's assassination in early July, Akinwumi Adesina, the president of African Development Bank, mourned the death of Japan's longest-serving prime minister by calling him "a great friend of Africa."

"He drove Ticad [the Tokyo International Conference on African Development] for a very strong Japan-Africa partnership," Adesina said in a condolence message posted on social media, referring to the investment conference held every three years to discuss African development.

Abe had stood out among a long series of Japanese prime ministers who had come and gone without an apparent concrete interest in Africa. When he returned for a second term as premier in 2012, he revamped the country's policy on Africa in a bid to show why Japan remained relevant, despite China's overwhelming presence in terms of both manpower and financing capability.

As part of that effort, Abe reshaped Ticad to focus more on attracting private-sector capital following a contraction in Japanese official development assistance. With promises of a boost in corporate investment, Japan sought to reposition itself as a business partner for Africa, instead of simply a donor, according to Keiichi Shirato, a former journalist and expert on Africa at Ritsumeikan University.

Abe also brought his vision of a "free and open Indo-Pacific" to the continent, trying to distinguish Tokyo from Beijing by pushing for the rule of law, human rights, freedom and democracy. "Instead of having an isolated foreign policy on Africa, former prime minister Abe applied in Africa the same principles promoted in the Indo-Pacific and Asia," Shirato says.

But, as the eighth Ticad takes place in Tunisia this weekend, Japan's investment record in Africa is once again under scrutiny. Originally drawn to Africa to win UN votes, Tokyo now has a much more urgent need to engage with



**Picking up:** Toyotas on the production line in Durban, South Africa. Toyota Africa's revenues exceeded ¥1tn (\$7.5bn) in its last fiscal year

Ward Swingers/Diamondberg

the continent, given the global hunt for rare metals and other commodities.

For companies wrestling with shrinking populations at home, chief executives in Japan are also attracted to the potential for expansion in one of the world's fastest-growing regions.

A few businesses, including Toyota Tsusho, which has 22,000 employees in Africa, have been successful through a mix of organic growth and aggressive acquisition of local companies. On the back of accelerating vehicle sales, revenues at the Toyota Africa unit exceeded ¥1tn (\$7.5bn) in its last fiscal year — a first for a Japanese company.

"Africa has about 20 or 30 vehicles per 1,000 people, compared with an average of 500 to 600 in developed countries," says Toshimitsu Imai, executive vice-president at Toyota Tsusho. "Even if that grows to 100, that would be five times the number of vehicles now, so there is nowhere else in the world with this much growth potential."

For many other Japanese businesses, however, Africa remains a challenging and alien market, and Abe leaves a mixed legacy on his repeated pledges to boost investment by Japanese companies to \$20bn over three years.

According to the finance ministry, Japan's foreign direct investment (FDI) to Africa fell from \$12bn at the end of 2013 to \$5.8bn last year. That was even as FDI flows to Africa reached a record \$83bn in 2021. Among the top 10 investors in the continent, the UK accounted for \$65bn of foreign assets in Africa, while the US held \$48bn in FDI stocks, and China held \$45bn, according to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

"There are only about 8,000 Japanese people in Africa, while there are an estimated 1mn people from China — the level... is far too different," says Ryuki Kato, vice-president of Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), which funds international

development. "Japan is also a relative newcomer, while China has longer history in Africa."

After three decades, Ticad, which in recent years has drawn as many as 11,000 participants and an entourage of senior Japanese leaders, is also struggling to redefine itself. Prime minister Fumio Kishida, who will attend virtually after testing positive for Covid-19, plans to strengthen Japan's investment pledges with a focus on start-ups and green technology. With a hybrid live and online format due to Covid, numbers attending in person are expected to be down.

Critics say Japan needs to move beyond the unrealistic ambitions for private-sector investment and focus more on where it can actually deliver to promote African development.

For Kato, that means going back to Ticad's roots of encouraging self-sufficient growth in African countries and long-term partnerships in projects for sustainable infrastructure, such as

roads and water systems, as well as food-supply chains and green energy.

Those efforts will be even more important in light of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which has pushed up the costs of food, energy and other daily goods — adding to the pressure on Africa's already fragile economies.

For Kishida, the success of Ticad will also be measured by whether he can convince the African governments to deliver a unified message of condemnation against Moscow. So far, the response of African nations has been mixed, with 17 of the 54 countries on the continent having abstained from the UN vote to condemn the invasion, while eight simply did not vote at all.

"The invasion of Ukraine has threatened food and energy supplies, and the international community must show solidarity with Africa," Kato says.

"This is now the timing for us to deliver action and, in that sense, Ticad is very important."

**Abe leaves a mixed legacy on his repeated pledges to boost investment by Japanese companies**

## Abuja and Accra's health systems stand in contrast



Health

deliveries with untrained personnel and

## Pandemic sets continent's sights on vaccine independence

### Healthcare

Covid exposed Africa's dependence on overseas production but local initiatives show potential.

excellence — including the Pasteur Institute in Dakar, which produces the yellow fever jab, and Aspen Pharmacare, a South African drug manufacturer that has a licence to produce hundreds of millions of doses of Johnson & Johnson's one-shot Covid jab.

develop jobs for other diseases. The partnership with the NIH includes developing potential vaccine candidates against HIV, tuberculosis, malaria, influenza and other diseases prevalent in Africa.

Professor Trudie Lang, head of the Global Health Network at the University

Despite similar income levels, Ghana has delivered better outcomes than Nigeria, writes **Aanu Adeoye**

When Covid-19 hit Nigeria in early 2020, there was fear it chronically understaffed healthcare system would be overwhelmed. Frustrated by the pay and conditions, many of its most qualified workers had left for better opportunities abroad.

that's why it's important for them to understand that, if they go to quack workers, they're putting their health in danger," he says. In Nigeria, 917 women die per 100,000 live births and 72 babies die per 1,000 live births. That compares with 508 and 33 respectively in Ghana, where people on average live nine years longer than in Nigeria.



Nurses with supplies sent by drone

investment is disproportionate to the impact. That needs to be addressed." Only a handful of African countries meet the WHO-recommended ratio of 10 doctors per 10,000 people. For Nigeria and Ghana, the figures are 3.8 and 1.7 respectively.

writes **David Pilling**

It was John Nkengasong who first saw the opportunity presented by the Covid-19 crisis. In early 2021, the then director of the Africa Centres for Disease Control and Prevention was boiling over with frustration that, as vaccines were being rolled out across the world, African nations found themselves at the back of the queue.

Salm Abdool Karim, a South African infectious disease expert, says these examples disprove the common assumption that Africa lacks the physical infrastructure or scientific base to produce existing or even new vaccines.

of Oxford, says the beauty of the new generation of vaccines is that they can be easily adapted to other diseases. So called "plug and play" technology — in which the genetic code of a virus is used to teach the body to fight an infection — means that, in theory, the vaccine platform can be quickly applied to new infections, she explains.



A healthcare worker prepares the first dose of the AstraZeneca vaccine in Lagos, Nigeria, in March 2021

The investment is disproportionate to the impact'

primary healthcare to keep up with the growing population, especially in rural areas, where health services are sometimes non-existent.



ADVERTISEMENT

In Advance of a Pivotal African Development Confab

Nikkei Inc. and Nikkei Business Publications, Inc. (Nikkei BP), in cooperation with Japan's Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI), hosted a preview symposium on June 22 for the upcoming Eighth Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD8). Thousands of participants from African nations, Japan, and other nations will gather in Tunis on August 27 and 28 for TICAD8.



Digital, Demographic, Green

Japan's Minister of Economy, Trade and Industry Koichi Hagiuda cited three African strengths in his opening remarks: broadening digital revolution, promising demographic, and new opportunities for green growth.

In the Spirit of Business

Kazushige Nobutani, President, Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) that spirit, reported JETRO president Kazushige Nobutani, permeated the Second Japan-Africa Public-Private Economic Forum, which JETRO cohosted in Nairobi in May 2022.

SESSION 1 Start-up Business Models for Tapping African Potential

A key developmental challenge in Africa is supply chain inefficiencies that raise costs and impinge on affordable access to food for consumers. The Nairobi-based e-commerce start-up Twiga Foods is using mobile apps to streamline food distribution with a cashless, business-to-business (B2B) supply platform.

roadside kiosks. Most of these retailers have mobile phones, which allow them to access our services and allow us to locate them with global positioning system coordinates."



Panelists (from left): Toshiyuki Abe, General Manager, Middle East and Africa Office, Shofu; Hajime Aota, Senior General Manager, New Venture Business Development and R&D Strategy Section, Technical Research and Development Center, Yanaha Motor; Renji Morita, CEO, Unchordlight Kenya; Moderator: Nobuhiko Ichimiya, Managing Director, Asia Africa Invest Consulting (AACC) Nigeria

SESSION 2 Localized Responses to Emerging Demand

Representatives of four Japanese companies described their companies' work in shaping localized responses to emerging demand in African nations. Moderating the session was Yuko Yasunaga, the head of the UNIDO Investment and Technology Promotion Office in Tokyo.

Yokogawa Electric's Takashi Hasegawa discussed how his company has established locally based operations to absorb inward investment and how it is hiring and training Nigerian human resources to accommodate technology transfers and purchasing equipment and services from local suppliers to contribute to industrial diversification.

Needs and Opportunities

Gerd Müller, Director General, United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) UNIDO's Director General Gerd Müller lauded TICAD for mobilizing international investment for Africa's development.

A Reconfirmation of Promise

Kazuchika Iwata, Member, House of Representatives, Parliamentary Vice-Minister, METI Parliamentary Vice-Minister Kazuchika Iwata delivered closing remarks at the TICAD8 Preview Symposium.



support for African industrial development. Müller explained, meanwhile, that UNIDO's Investment and Technology Promotion Office, Tokyo, has been instrumental in channeling Japanese investment and technology to developing nations in Africa and elsewhere. That has included, he offered, health and hygiene technology for addressing the Covid-19 pandemic in 10 African nations. Müller cast Africa's population growth in the context of growing needs for employment, for access to clean energy, for food and water. And he cast those needs in the context of business opportunities.



at the TICAD8 preview symposium. A month before the preview event, Iwata represented the Japanese government at the Investing in African Mining Indaba conference in Cape Town. The TICAD8 preview symposium, he remarked, had served as gratifying confirmation of the dynamism that he had sensed in South Africa. He expressed fervent hope for contributions to sustainable African development through Japanese products and technologies adapted to African needs and concluded with a call for everyone concerned to help make the most of TICAD8.



Moderator: Yuko Yasunaga, Director, Head, UNIDO Investment and Technology Promotion Office in Tokyo

spillage. Sato described how Ajinomoto has won over West African consumers with a powdered daddawa product that retains the flavor of the original and is odor free, hygienic, and stable.

KEYNOTE

**A Medical and Agricultural Response to Africa's Crisis**

**Junichi Yamada**, Executive Senior Vice President, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)



African nations face a composite crisis, observed Yamada, in the socioeconomic effects of the Covid-19 pandemic and diminished access to grain and fertilizer on account of Russia's invasion of Ukraine. He introduced JICA initiatives in the medical and agricultural realms for alleviating the crisis.

Yamada also introduced a successful JICA initiative in the agricultural realm, the Coalition for African Rice Development (CARD). JICA launched CARD with the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa in 2008. CARD's sub-one goal was to double rice production in sub-Saharan Africa to 28 million tons by 2018, and it exceeded that target by more than 3 million tons. The CARD participants have established a phase two goal of increasing production to 56 million tons by 2030. Their measures for tackling that goal include coping with climate change with improved strains of rice and irrigation.

JICA's medical activity in Africa, Yamada related, includes support for building a network of centers for combating infectious disease. That support is helping strengthen laboratories across the continent and train personnel for preventing and treating disease. With the African Export-Import Bank, JICA is supporting the localization of production capacity for pharmaceuticals, including vaccines.

**For a Rejuvenated African Relationship**

**Osamu Kubota**, Deputy Director-General for Trade, Economic Cooperation and Export of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery Products, METI



W focus," said METI Deputy Director-General Osamu Kubota, "on four priorities: innovation, support for industrialization, realistic measures for promoting 'green growth,' and financial backing for African investment by Japanese corporations." METI and JETRO, Kubota reported, extended their Japan Innovation Bridge (J-Bridge) program to Africa in April 2022. That program introduces participating Japanese corporations to promising start-ups.

local partners. That support, Kubota explained, is through the J-Partnership program and is for products and services that address environmental and other transcendent issues.

A special emphasis in Kubota's talk was METI's Africa-Japan Industrial Human Resource Development Initiative for the Future (AIIF). Activity in that initiative includes mobilizing Japanese companies to offer training curricula through schools and factories in Africa. METI's target is to provide training for 5,000 individuals in the three years to 2024.

Kubota also discussed a METI program for supporting feasibility studies for deploying digital technology in prospective business initiatives in Africa. Further government support is available, he continued, for Japanese companies that develop products and services for Africa with

SESSION 3

**Expansion through Equity Investments**



Toshimitsu Imai, Executive Vice President, Toyota Tsusho

Toyota Tsusho operates in all 54 nations of Africa. It has experienced two turning points there. The first was in 2001, when it acquired Toyota distributorships in Kenya, Angola, and three other nations from a UK company. It subsequently acquired sales outlets in other nations and established a business foundation in East and southern Africa. The second turning point was in 2012. That was when Toyota Tsusho took an equity stake in the French trading company CFAO, which specialized in African business. The CFAO investment secured a presence for Toyota Tsusho in West Africa.

Signifying Africa's rising profile, the first TICAD gathering held there took place in Kenya, and Toyota Tsusho strengthened its African operations by making CFAO a wholly owned subsidiary in 2016 and integrating the two companies' organizations. Toyota Tsusho's African operations employ some 22,000 employees of more than 50 nationalities, who operate as a unified team under the banner "With Africa, For Africa."



Panelists (from left): Kentaro Maekawa, Senior Director, Global Relations Department, NEC; Seiji Ohara, President and CEO, Ohara Pharmaceuticals; Jean-Pierre Ting, Managing Director, Toppan Gravity; Moderator: Mina Arai-Ito, Founder and CEO, ZENMONDO, Special Advisor, Baker McKenzie

SESSION 4

**Sustainability**

Measures for fighting infectious diseases were the subject of remarks by Sumitomo Chemical's Yoshihisa Takasaki. He introduced, for example, a long-lasting insecticidal net for preventing the transmission of malaria. The net is effective for up to three years in protecting people from mosquito bites. Sumitomo Chemical has provided the technology for free since 2003 to a Tanzanian manufacturer, which has produced more than 300 million nets. The nets have contributed greatly not only to reducing the incidence of malaria in Africa and in other regions but also to creating jobs through the provision of manufacturing technology.



Yoshihisa Takasaki, Manager, Sustainability Department, Sumitomo Chemical

Shohel Hara, the director general of JICA's Private Sector Partnership and Finance Department, discussed the agency's support



Panelists (from left): Chiharu Oyama, CEO, VIVIA JAPAN; Masaaki Takano, CEO, DG Takano; Moderator: Shohel Hara, Director General, Private Sector Partnership and Finance Department, JICA

for companies that address developmental issues in developing nations. He then moderated a dialogue between two entrepreneurs whose companies are active in Africa, VIVIA JAPAN CEO Chiharu Oyama and DG Takano CEO Masaaki Takano.

VIVIA JAPAN markets skincare and food products produced from moringa trees grown in Ghana. A bout with cancer awakened Oyama to moringa's effectiveness in preventing the recurrence and spread of malignancies. Having verified the medical effectiveness of the "miracle tree" in restoring her wellbeing, she established VIVIA JAPAN to propagate that effectiveness commercially. DG Takano has developed a line of water nozzles that inject air into the waterflow and thereby reduce water consumption more than 90% in washing dishes, hands, and other items. The company has begun supplying the nozzles in Africa, starting with restaurants in parched Botswana, and they have won acclaim for their effectiveness in conserving water.

All official titles cited in this text are as of the date of the symposium.



The Nikkei TICAD8 Preview Symposium is supported by Japan Tobacco Inc., Mitsui O.S.K. Lines, Ltd., NEC Corporation, Sampo Japan Insurance Inc., Toppan Inc., Toyota Tsusho Corporation, Yamaha Motor Co., Ltd., Africa Society of Japan, Asia External Representation Office, African Development Bank Group, The Association for Overseas Technical Cooperation and Sustainable Partnerships, KEIZAI DOYUKAI (Japan Association of Corporate Executives), Japan Business Council for Africa, Japan External Trade Organization, Japan International Cooperation Agency, Kaidanren, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan

With the cooperation of JTB Corp.

**African Development**

**Politics Frustration over poverty and lack of jobs threatens return to 'one-man rule', says Heba Saleh**

**How arrested development dented faith in Tunisian democracy**



Protests over job shortages have been frequent in Tunisia since the uprising that overthrew dictator Zein al-Abidine Ben Ali, in 2011. Rising unemployment and falling living standards have fuelled disillusionment with the country's democratic experiment among many Tunisians.

services and economic prospects, that Tunisians expected under a new democratic era. People in long-neglected inland provinces and the poorer neighborhoods of coastal cities remain marginalised, facing high unemployment.

"Our demands have all been related to jobs and development," says Khalifa Bouhawah, an unemployed university graduate and one of the leaders of the Kamour movement, which halted oil and gas production in 2017 and 2020 at the crucial Kamour plant in Tataouine, southern Tunisia, as part of a campaign for jobs.

This month, Tunisia hosts the Tokyo International Conference on African Development, led by the government of Japan and co-hosted by the World Bank and African Union Commission. But Bouhawah notes: "Development here is very limited and the state of hospitals remains poor. Unemployment has grown and young men are migrating to Europe, leaving behind women, children and the old."

**Shutdown: protesters have twice halted production of oil and gas at the Kamour plant**  
Fathi Nassif/AP/Wide World

Until Saeid seized power, Tunisia had been seen as the only example of a successful democratic transition among the Arab countries that rose up against dictatorship in 2011.

Olfa Lamoulou, Tunisia director of International Alert, a non-governmental peace-building organisation, says little has changed there in the past 10 years.

"The province of Kasserine, for instance, still has the three poorest districts in the country where the poverty rate is above 50 per cent," she says. "In Kasserine, Tataouine and Kairouan provinces, when the Covid crisis started,

is at 40 per cent among youths between 18 and 34."

Bouhawah points out that the closest well-equipped hospital for anyone needing serious medical care in Tataouine is 250km away. "We produce 40 per cent of the country's oil production, but there is no decent public hospital and, if you need an MRI, you have to travel to another province," he says.

Protesters halted production at Kamour for four months in 2020, only ending the blockade when the government agreed to provide work for 4,000 people, and loans to 120 others to buy livestock. Most of the jobs, however, are temporary, in areas such as cleaning, security and gardening for public-sector companies.

Lamoulou says such "precarious" low-paid work was also common under Ben Ali's regime. "There was no break with the past," she says. "These are structural problems that relate to social and regional inequalities and that require new development strategies."

solve any problem" and are just aimed at soothing public anger. "Democracy is only real if it extends to social and economic areas," she argues. "It's not just about having elections every five years."

Marks and others are sceptical that Saeid will be able to tackle the entrenched social and economic problems. He is seeking a loan from the IMF that will require austerity measures, which are likely to run into popular resistance.

Meeting expectations for jobs and development will be his "Achilles heel", says Lamoulou, pointing to the protests of the past decade.

Bouhawah, who was handed a two-year sentence by a military court for his role in the Kamour protests, says he aims to leave Tunisia once he has successfully appealed against the ruling.

"I know governing a country in these economic conditions is very difficult, but going back to one-man rule is even more dangerous," he says. "To muzzle the press and every free voice will not be

'Democracy is only real if it extends to social and economic areas [not...]

Since 2011, a succession of weak coalition governments has failed to deliver the jobs, or the improvements to state

Economic growth averaged just 1.8 per cent between 2011 and 2020, when it shrank 9.3 per cent because of the

there wasn't a single intensive-care bed or intensive-care specialist. In some parts of Kasserine town, unemployment

new public policies and a real redistribution of wealth." She says the temporary jobs "do not

elections'

accepted by young people and the educated. They won't accept it from their own fathers, let alone the state."



## Making Living Easier Every Day



**KENYA E-COMMERCE AWARDS 2022**

Best e-Commerce Team & Best Customer Service



**Africa Supply Chain Excellence Awards**

Most Innovative Supply Chain Projects and Operations



Best Operator in the Mobile/e-Commerce Category

This year, Copia has won more awards in its category than any other company in Africa.

We remain dedicated to being the number one e-Commerce choice for the African Mass Market.

[copiaglobal.com](http://copiaglobal.com) [Copia Global](https://www.linkedin.com/company/copia-global)

# Global capital and young workers could power transition in Africa

### OPINION

Paul Collier

Africa has a huge and rapidly expanding young workforce. And those young workers need productive jobs.

We know what is needed to generate these jobs: enterprise. Not informal microenterprises, such as smallholder farms. It is organisations with enough formal structure to raise finance for investment, and sufficient managerial competence to reap the productivity gains from scale and specialisation.

Yet Africa is desperately short of such organisations. They exist in Europe, North America and China, where workforces are ageing and shrinking. Meanwhile, the young workers with the energy and appetite for adapting to new technologies are in Africa.

For decades, African leaders kept their countries trapped in the slow lane, building networks around patronage. Many businesses that entered Africa in these conditions bribed their way into local monopolies and contrived to take the resulting high profits out of the continent. Once expectations became anchored around patronage and privilege, they become self-fulfilling.

Breaking free of these expectations is challenging. But, recently, a few governments have done so. There are influential models of successful transitions, such as the transformation of Singapore under its long-serving first prime minister Lee Kuan Yew, who jailed corrupt colleagues to make change credible.

But Africa today is different to Singapore of the 1960s.

The government of landlocked

Rwanda, for example, crafted an ingenious pathway around tourism: high-quality short holidays piggybacked on attending conferences. Rwanda is now the third-most popular destination in Africa for conferences—and tourism is job-intensive. An equivalent pathway for Ghana, coastal and resource-rich, will exploit different opportunities.

These transitions offer huge long-term potential for international business. Their success is also existentially important for the west to deflect African governments from alternative options.

But transitions are precarious. Once Covid-19 hit, Rwanda closed its borders. It contained the spread of the virus and ensured that more than 60 per cent of its population of 13m are vaccinated—on a par with European levels. The country has since reopened and aims to double tourism receipts to \$800m by 2024. However, the shock illustrates that transitions need underpinning.

Rwanda's airline, hotels, game parks

provide similar assistance. The need for such support remains acute: they are short of private sector organisational capital and can ill-afford Covid-inflicted bankruptcies. Yet, during the pandemic, this capital was not sufficiently forthcoming.

In the wake of Covid disruption, business opportunities are becoming apparent around the world: some businesses should be allowed to close, but many should be financed to survive, and others marked for rapid expansion.

Providing similar assistance for African transitions is a massive global public good: they need support to enable them to become the role models that will inspire other countries.

Fortunately, there is a way of linking the fiscal resources of affluent governments with many of those businesses in Africa which, in the global public interest, they should be financing. The money involved would be trivial both absolutely and relative to the likely pay-off.

Between them, the governments of affluent countries own about 40 development finance institutions, most doing business with African enterprises. If they pooled information, they could rapidly estimate the total cost of the necessary support and report it publicly to the G20, the international financial institutions, and the African Union. A coalition of willing states could commit to share the modest sums involved.

This would set a precedent: African transitions would be safeguarded against derailments beyond domestic control. This would make the continent more appealing to global investors and help prime it for growth.

*Paul Collier is Professor of Economics and Public Policy at the Blavatnik School of Government, Oxford University, and a director of The International Growth Centre*

"We know what is needed to generate jobs: enterprise," says economist Prof Paul Collier



and other businesses faced the same financial stresses as those in advanced economies. Affluent governments provided huge fiscal support for their businesses. Now, as Covid recedes, the patterns of demand and costs have so changed that some companies will close. But, having preserved the organisational capacity of business, other enterprises will be well-positioned to grow, helping to offset job losses.

Transitions in Africa required fiscal support from the international community to enable governments to

### Contributors

**Aanu Adeoye**

West Africa correspondent

**Paul Collier**

Professor of economics and public policy

**Kana Inagaki**

Tokyo bureau chief

**David Pilling**

Africa editor

**Heba Saleh**

Cairo correspondent

**Andres Schipani**

East and central Africa correspondent

**Nathalie Kilby**

Commissioning editor

**Steven Bird**

Designer

**Alan Knox**

Picture editor

For advertising details, contact:

**Larry R Kenney**, +44 (0) 7775 921048 and [larry.kenney@ft.com](mailto:larry.kenney@ft.com), or your usual FT representative.

All editorial content in this report is produced by the FT. Our advertisers have no influence over or prior sight of the articles. All FT Reports are available at: [ft.com/reports](http://ft.com/reports)

THE UNIVERSE OF DATA

# Your platform for light-speed research

Statista, founded in 2007 in Germany, has evolved into an ever-expanding universe of self-sourced and aggregated data.

most of which is available exclusively on our platform.

Our Statista products provide a variety of perspectives on individual topics and enable different types of research. Whether you need to get a quick overview of topics or pursue more in-depth analyses that are relevant for your business cosmos – our data gives you precisely what you need while saving you time and effort.

With over one million statistics and more than 80,000 topics from 170 industries, Statista serves as a reliable data basis and starting point for your light-speed research. Let us show you exactly what the Universe of Data can do for you.



<https://bit.ly/34rGcRC>



**statista**  
www.statista.com

ADVERTISEMENT

# Africa's Push for Human Security

Provocative reports issued in February and March 2022 by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) have cast new light on the issue of human security. The UNDP administrator and the JICA president, along with other prominent speakers, discussed that issue at a Nikkei conference in Tokyo on July 13. Their discussions focused on Africa in view of the upcoming Eighth Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD8), which will convene in Tunis on August 27 and 28.

Opening Remarks

**Time for a Redoubled Commitment**

**Keizo Takemi**  
Member, House of Councilors (Japan); Co-Chair, High-Level Advisory Panel for Special Report on Human Security, UNDP



Takemi co-chairs with former Costa Rican president Laura Chinchilla the UNDP's High-level Advisory Panel for the special report on human security. He offered background to the report, which the UNDP administrator Achim Steiner covered in detail in his keynote address.

"The universal values of freedom, democracy, human rights, and rule of law and the international order epitomized by the United Nations," observed Takemi, "have underlain peace and prosperity for the global com-

the disruptions caused by Russia's invasion of Ukraine]. Those very challenges mandate a redoubled commitment to human security based on a forward-looking spirit of pacifism."

Takemi identified two currents in world affairs: One, the traditional preoccupation with national security for sovereign states in the context of an international balance of power, and two, a growing openness to international cooperation in tackling transcendent issues for humankind. Healthcare has been a central emphasis for Takemi in his career, and he devoted special attention in his remarks to the healthcare-related content of the UNDP

Keynote

**Human Security as an SDGs Benchmark**

**Achim Steiner**  
Administrator, UNDP



Human security is declining," intoned UNDP administrator Achim Steiner. "We face unprecedented pressures on our planet from climate change and biodiversity loss that could dismantle the foundation of our world. Multiple countries remain plunged in war, on the edge of famine and plagued by disease. In 2022, up to 323 million people could face acute hunger. The number of people on the brink of starvation in Africa's Sahel region has sky-

Steiner characterized human security as a crucial benchmark for pursuing the UN SDGs. And he emphasized that deploying that benchmark needs to begin with grasping what makes people feel insecure.

"Even before Covid-19, and well before the war in Ukraine, a staggering six out of seven people felt insecure worldwide," Steiner reported, "despite remarkable average progress in economic growth and human development. To a large part this is because our

feeling insecure for combinations of reasons: fear of finding enough food to eat, giving their children a good education, or accessing medicine, for example."

Steiner followed his overview of the factors that engender insecurity with a prescription for addressing those factors. "Doubling down on solidarity is the way forward. . . This is solidarity not in the sense of charity but in the sense of recognizing that in a world where climate change and viruses pay

munity. But they face severe challenges [in report].



**2022: A Critical Year for Human Security**

**Yoshimasa Hayashi**  
Minister for Foreign Affairs (Japan); Member, House of Representatives

"The UNDP and JICA reports on human security signify a watershed in tackling that issue," declared Japanese foreign minister Yoshimasa Hayashi. "Human security is an especially pressing concern in Africa, which contends with severe poverty, is vulnerable to natural disasters, and contends with conflicts and rampant disease. Japan has worked with African counterparts through the TICAD process to help ensure human security there."

Hayashi chaired a virtual TICAD ministerial meeting in March with counterparts from

50 African nations. He reported that he reaffirmed at that meeting Japanese support for achieving the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in Africa. Hayashi noted that the UNDP has cosponsored TICAD since the inaugural gathering in 1993. TICAD8 in Tunis, he explained, "will devote special emphasis to investment in people—to strengthening individuals' capabilities in African nations, to encouraging proactive approaches to social development and nation building, to supporting Africans as they take their destiny into their own hands. We will work to fulfill that emphasis in cooperation with the UNDP and through hands-on fieldwork by JICA."

**Closing Remarks**



**Broadened Solidarity**

**Tetsuo Kondo**  
Director, Representation Office in Tokyo, UNDP

The director of the UNDP Representation Office in Tokyo, Tetsuo Kondo, invoked the principle of freedom from fear and the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. He suggested that the UNDP, JICA, and the Japanese government were honoring the principle through their solidarity in propagating human security.

"Japan bucked the 'aid fatigue' that was taking hold in developed nations in the wake of the Cold War and hosted the first TICAD gathering in 1993. . . . As the world reverts to geopolitical polarization, the resultant strains take their greatest toll on developing nations in Africa and elsewhere. . . . TICAD operates as a 'development conference' in a world buffeted by a new crisis for human security. Fulfilling that role requires broadened solidarity with players in business, civil society, and academia. I am grateful to the speakers at today's gathering for providing valuable hints for TICAD8."

rocketed 10-fold since 2019." Steiner summarized the UNDP report issued in February 2022, *New Threats to Human Security in the Anthropocene: Demanding Greater Solidarity*. He described the crises detailed in the report and the solutions that the report proposes.

development trajectory has set people and planet on a collision course. "That [six people in seven] figure is based on a new, experimental index we developed for this report, using data that covers over 80% of the world's population. People reported

no heed to borders or boundaries, we need to pay more attention to the security of our neighbors if we are to tackle the interconnected threats we now face. . . . At this perilous moment for people and planet, going alone is simply no longer an option."

**Keynote**

**International Solidarity through TICAD8**

**Akihiko Tanaka**  
President, JICA



JICA president Akihiko Tanaka opened his keynote address with a brief eulogy to the late Shinzo Abe. He recalled that Abe, a former prime minister assassinated five days before the Nikkei conference, participated in three TICAD gatherings—the fifth, sixth, and seventh; visited more African nations than any other Japanese prime minister; and made a huge contribution to building ties of trust between Africa and Japan.

Tanaka presented a wide-ranging overview of the challenge of ensuring human security. He urged a holistic perspective on the mechanisms through which threats occur: the physical system, such as natural disasters; the living system, such as infectious diseases; and the social system, such as armed conflict and structural poverty. Those systems, he

noted, fall under the purview of different academic disciplines and require for effective elucidation careful attention to their interaction, especially the interaction of the social system with the other two systems.

"Human security," stressed Tanaka, "is fundamental to the SDGs. The SDGs regimen is explicit about leaving no one behind. That is an expression of commitment to human security. Strengthening human and social resilience is part of the agenda for each of the SDGs. Human security demands an approach, however, that spans all the SDG agendas. We need to adopt an overall perspective in prioritizing objectives and policy."

Tanaka seconded Hayashi's appraisal of the UNDP and JICA reports on human security as a watershed in tackling that issue, and he introduced the salient emphases of the JICA report

*Human Security Today*. That report is the inaugural flagship report from the JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development. It sheds light on the significance of both research and practice in diverse fields, with human security as a core. Calls appear early in the report for tackling the challenge of ensuring human security through three transformations: creating shared values, promoting digital governance, and upgrading global governance.

In closing, Tanaka emphasized that TICAD8 will be an opportunity to foster international solidarity in support of African efforts to build back better from multiple crises and progress towards achieving the SDGs. And he called for cooperation among business, civil society, and government in advancing the cause of human security in Africa and worldwide.

**Panel Discussion**

**What Needs to Happen to Ensure Human Security and What Benefits Can Accrue**



**Opening Talk**

**At the Intersection of Anthropocene Reality and Inequalities**

**Pedro Conceição**  
Director, Human Development Report Office, UNDP

Our motivation for preparing the special report on human security," explained the UNDP's Pedro Conceição, "emerged from our analytical findings. Those findings suggested that people were living in a context of unsettledness, that they were anxious. We felt that the concept of human security would be a useful lens for interpreting what was going on."

The report, related Conceição, quantifies the perceptions of anxiousness about the future. That included the finding, mentioned by Steiner, that six of seven people worldwide are feeling insecure. Accompanying that finding was an incongruous discovery: that feelings of insecurity are highest in places that rank high in conventional measures of standard of living.

"Our report," Conceição summarized, "attributes insecurity to the intersection of Anthropocene reality—adverse results of human activity, such as climate change, an increasing incidence of animal disease communicable to humans, and biodiversity loss—and inequalities. By 'inequalities,' we mean that people who have contributed

the least to the Anthropocene problems frequently suffer the most from those problems. We estimate, for example, that climate change could cause 40 million deaths this century, the vast majority in Africa. The intersection of the Anthropocene reality and inequalities plays out in several dimensions, including food insecurity, violent conflicts, and the displacement of people."

Conceição's talk segued into a prerecorded video address by Abdoulaye Mar Dieye, the UN secretary-general's special coordinator for development in the Sahel, on empowerment, protection, and solidarity. Dieye called the UNDP special report "a godsend." He lauded it for transcending the traditional preoccupation with territorial and military security and calling for basing human security on the triangle of empowerment, protection, and solidarity. "What is even more powerful in the report," Dieye continued, "is the way it positions the principle of personal agency at the heart of that triangle." Agency, he explained, is a matter of people acting on their own rather than as mere beneficiaries.



A panel discussion followed the presentations by Conceição and Dieye. The first round of questions from moderator Yuka Kaino focused on defining the task of ensuring human security. Kicking off the discussion was Osaka University's Toshiya Hoshino. He traced the evolution of the concept of human security since its debut in the UNDP's *Human Development Report* of 1994.

Next up was the executive director of the JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development, Akio Takahara. He offered insights into the challenge of promoting human rights and human dignity in the face of escalating assaults. Takahara cautioned that blindly pursuing development for the sake of development can undermine human dignity. "Only when development evinces respect for cultural diversity," he insisted, "will it advance the cause of human dignity, as well as raising standards of living."

UNDP Crisis Bureau director Asako Okai discussed the need for cross-sectoral, integrated responses to the compounding crisis posed by Covid-19, climate change, conflict, and cost-of-living surges. She lamented the international community's

tendency to remain fragmented in responses and the insufficient investment made in prevention.

Ken Shibusawa fielded a question about the positioning of human security in the "new capitalism" propounded by Japanese prime minister Fumio Kishida. He is a great-great-grandson of the iconic Japanese industrialist of the late-19th and early-20th centuries, Eiichi Shibusawa, and is a proponent of the ethical capitalism that his ancestor exemplified.

Kaino's next round of questions shifted the discussion's focus to the benefits that can accrue from nurturing human security. She started by asking Hoshino how human security can serve as a policy guideline for sustainable development. In response, Hoshino suggested that the composite crisis confronting the world spans three categories: Earth's limitations, national and social divisions, and the abuse of scientific innovation. He advocated a sense of urgency in addressing issues in all three categories and praised the UNDP for underlining that urgency with the imaginative "Don't Choose Extinction" campaign (<https://dontchooextinction.com/en/>).

Takahara cited the importance of endogenous nature in achieving human

Panelists from left: **Toshiya Hoshino**, Professor, Osaka School of International Public Policy, Osaka University / **Akio Takahara**, Executive Director, JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development / **Asako Okai**, Assistant Secretary-General, United Nations, Director, UNDP Crisis Bureau / **Ken Shibusawa**, CEO, Shibusawa and Company, Steering Group Member, UNDP SDG Impact Moderator: **Yuka Kaino**

security and the need for collaboration among various players to enhance social resilience. Okai touched on ways that the UNDP can encourage sustainable and equitable approaches to tapping Africa's resources.

Shibusawa, a vice chairman of the Africa Project Team at the Japan Association of Corporate Executives, responded to a question about an African initiative proposed by the team. "Our Africa Project Team issued a proposal in autumn 2021 for a public-private impact investment fund for Africa. The fund will make investments with the intent of achieving positive environmental and social impact. For the impacts to be sustainable, the investments will require reasonable prospects for sound return."

With the cooperation of

**United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)**