# FINANCIAL TIMES

## Coffee culture war

Starbucks' new boss caught in the Crosshairs — BROOKE MASTERS, PAGE 15

# Embittered oligarchs

Riches frozen, ostracised in the west



#### Truth antisocial

Short stay on Twitter clone reveals a sad Trump — JEMIMA KELLY, PAGE 14

#### Seeds of doubt **Putin disdain** for grain deal

Vladimir Putin greets attendees at the Eastern Economic Forum in Vladivos-tok yesterday. Russia's president used the event to cast doubt on the grain deal signed with Ukraine that had eased a global food crisis.

global food crisis.
Blaming global shortages on the deal rather than on Moscow's invasion of Ukraine, Putin said that shipments had been hijacked by rich EU nations. "It may be worth considering how to limit [food exports] along this route," he said.
UN data show that of the 87 cargoes under the deal, 57 have gone to non-EU countries, including China, Egypt, India, Iran, Lebanon and Turkey.
Deal at risk nage 2

Deal at risk page 2 Scholz battles page 3



# Brainard adds to chorus of Fed hawks urging inflation vigilance

Vice-chair speaks out ● Expectations of big rate rise grow ● Price-wage cycle feared

A leading Federal Reserve official has warned that the US central bank must hold its nerve as it tries to tame soaring inflation, adding her name to a long list of policymakers sounding a hawkish note on future rate rises. Lael Brainard, vice-chair of the Fed,

reinforced expectations that the US cen-tral bank would opt for a third consecutive 0.75 percentage point rate rise at its meeting this month, when she said: "We are in this for as long as it takes to get inflation down". Brainard said the Fed had to ma

public confidence in its ability to keep inflation in check in the long-run. But she added that at some point the risk of overtightening monetary policy would

become more of a focus. The forceful intervention from Brainard, generally seen as a dove on monetary policy, comes as investors ramped up their bets on another 0.75 percentage point increase when the Fed meets on Sep-

Futures markets yesterday implied an 81 per cent chance that the Fed would

opt for another large increase. Expectations of further big rate rises have propelled the dollar higher in recent months, contributing to down-

ward pressure on other currencies. A measure of the dollar against six peers has jumped almost 15 per cent so far this year. Sterling has slumped by the same magnitude to hover near its weak-

between the Fed's tightening programme and the Bank of Japan's contin-uing implementation of ultra-loose monetary policy has driven the yen to its lowest level in 24 years. The currency has tumbled by a fifth this year to pass

through Y144 against the dollar.

Brainard said recent rate rises had started to cool some sectors of the US economy but she warned that it would take many months of low inflation before the central bank considered

moving to a less aggressive approach.

The Fed would need to see "several months of low monthly inflation readings to be confident" that price growth was moving towards the central bank's 2per cent target, she added.

Resinged's focus on inflation expects.

Brainard's focus on inflation expecta-tions underscores the Fed's fear that



to maintain

ability to keep inflation in check in the long-run

vicious cycle, with companies raising prices and workers demanding higher wages. That could force the Fed to take even more aggressive action. The US labour market remains tight, Fed vice-chair Lael Brainard says the Fed has

persistently high inflation will result in a

The US labour market remains tight, with August's unemployment rate at 3.7 per cent – near a multi-decade low. Thomas Barkin, president of the Richmond Fed, told the Financial Times he had a "bias in general towards moving more quickly [on interest rates] rather than more slowly, as long as you don't inadvertenly break something." Echoing chair Jay Powell's hawkish message last month, Brainard yesterday said that monetary policy would need to be restrictive "for some time to provide confidence that inflation is moving down to target".

#### Briefing

- ▶ Boost for Musk in Twitter pullout bid Tesla chief Elon Musk has won a victory in his legal battle to ditch his \$44bn purchase of the social media group, after a Delaware judge said she would consider recent whistleblower allegations. → PAGE 5
- ► Truss borrowing spree batters poun Sterling has touched a 37-year low to the dollar markets braced for new UK premier Liz Truss: embark on a huge borrowing spree to fund an energy rescue. PAGE 3; ROBERT SHRIMSLEY, PAGE:
- August exports have missed forecasts, shrinking the country's trade surplus as demand from overseas flattened and another wave of Covid-19 restrictions at home disrupted production and logistics.— PAGE 4
- Microsoft invests in Kalanick food grou Microsoft in Wests in Kala Microsoft is the first US-based investor in Uber known to have backed the "dark kitchen" start-up run by the ride-hailing group's co-founder Travis Kalanick.— PAGE 5
- Brussels seeks to halve energy rates A draft proposal from the European Commission seeks to move ahead with a windfall levy on powe companies by setting a threshold at less than half
- 'Humongous challenge' in Pakistan Prime minister Shehbaz Sharif has warned that his country faces severe struggles as catastrophic floods the government and ex-leader Imran Khan .- PAGE 4
- Repsol to sell chunk of exploration arm Spain's biggest oil company has said it will sell a 25 per cent stake to US energy and infrastructure investor EIG for \$4.8bn as it seeks to raise funds for renewables investments.— PAGE 6; LEX, PAGE 16



#### Song catalogue investor dances to a different tune

Australia	A\$7.00(inc GST)
China	RMB30
Hong Kong	HK\$33
India	Rup220
Indonesia	Rp45,000
Japan	¥650(inc JCT)
Korea	W4,500
Malaysia	RM11.50
Pakistan	Rupee 350
Philippines	Peso 140
Singapore	\$\$5.80(inc GST)
Taiwan	NT\$140
Thailand	Bht140
Vietnam	US\$4.50

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# Kardashian's latest makeover takes shape with private equity venture

MARK VANDEVELDE - NEW YORK

Kim Kardashian has launched a pri-vate equity firm to buy stakes in media and consumer companies as she aims to convert her celebrity and influence with 329mn Instagram followers into financial returns.

financial returns.

The new firm, SKKY Partners, is a collaboration between the reality TV star turned business mogul and Jay Samonus, a former Carlyle Group executive who has carved out a niche investing in celebrity-backed ventures.

It reflects the increasing financial sophistication of a generation of entertainers who have greeted fragmenting audiences and the rise of online platforms as an opportunity to monetise their personal brands without ceding value to the media companies that once served as gatekeepers.

STOCK MARKETS

Sammons is a pioneer of the strategy.

At Carlyle, he took a multibillion-dollar private equity firm into the unfamiliar world of show business, reaping strong returns from star-studded deals, including an investment in the headphone maker Beats by Dre.

But his 2019 acquisition of a stake in Big Machine Records attracted criticism when one of the label's biggest stars, Taylor Swift, complained that the deal had handed control of the master recordings of six of her multi-platinum albums to a man she viewed as her nemesis, the music executive Scooter Braun. Sammons' latest venture aligns him with a family that has provided a steady stream of drama after attaining fame in 2007 with the reality TV show Keeping Up with the Kardashians.

Since then, they have proved adept at monetising their ability to add a sheen

of celebrity to consumer brands, including shapewear label Skims and KKW, a make-up brand in which cosmetics maker Coty invested at a \$1bn valuation in 2020.

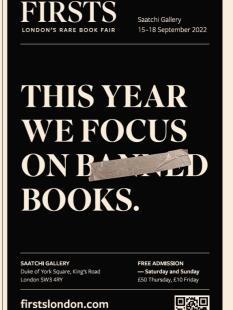
SKKY announced its arrival in a tweet, stating that its "target sectors include consumer products, digital and ecommerce, consumer media, hospitality and luxury". The firm did not respond to a request for comment. No funds have been raised, according to the Wall Street Journal, which disclosed that Kardashlain's mother, Kirs Jenner, would also be a partner.

Other firms have tested institutional demand for celebrity-backed investments. Marcy Venture Partners, a firm co-founded by the rapper Jay Z, last year began raising money for a second institutional fund with a target of \$200mm,

began raising money for a second mea-tutional fund with a target of \$200mn

#### World Markets

			CURRENCIES						GOVERNMENT BONDS			
	Prev	%chg	Pair	Sep 7	Prev	Pair	Sep 7	Prev	Yield (%)	Sep 7	Prev	
	3908.19	0.87	\$/€	0.995	0.991	€/\$	1.005	1.010	US 2 yr	3.46	3.51	
	11544.91	1.05	\$/£	1.147	1.153	£/\$	0.872	0.867	US 10 yr	3.28	3.34	
	31145.30	0.71	£/€	0.868	0.859	€/£	1.153	1.164	US 30 yr	3.44	3.48	
	1635.12	-0.54	¥/\$	144.495	142.715	¥/€	143.750	141.352	UK 2 yr	3.05	3.24	
	3500.14	0.19	¥/£	165.679	164.536	£ inde	x 77.596	77.300	UK 10 yr	3.03	3.10	
	7300.44	-0.86	SFr/€	0.977	0.975	SFr/£	1.126	1.134	UK 30 yr	3.37	3.41	
	4005.61	-0.72	CRYPTO						JPN 2 yr	-0.09	-0.09	
Ī	6104.61	0.02	CRIPIO		Sec	. 7	Prev	%chg	JPN 10 yr	0.24	0.24	
	12871.44	0.35	Ritcoin (\$)		10006		19796 95	0.52	JPN 30 yr	1.30	1.25	





Nikkei	27430.30	27626.51	-0.71
Hang Seng	19044.30	19202.73	-0.83
MSCI World \$	2584.97	2596.70	-0.45
MSCI EM \$	965.24	967.80	-0.26
MSCI ACWI \$	602.32	604.93	-0.43
FT Wilshire 2500	5088.86	5111.53	-0.44
FT Wilshire 5000	39749.62	39931.75	-0.46

recom (#7	10000.00	10700.00	v.vv	GER 2 vr	1.08	1.09	-0.0
thereum	1543.09	1557.70	-0.94				
				GER 10 yr	1.57	1.64	-0.0
OMMODITIES				GER 30 yr	1.67	1.75	-0.0
	Sep 7	Prev	%chg				
il WTI \$	83.15	86.88	-4.29				
il Brent \$	89.22	92.83	-3.89			rices are latest	for editio
old \$	1702.60	1710.95	-0.49		Dat	a provided by N	Aorningst
					A Milden	C	



#### INTERNATIONAL

# Putin puts grain deal with Ukraine at risk

brokered in July, not war, caused global shortages

POLINA IVANOVA — BERLIN ROMAN OLEARCHYK — KYIV HENRY FOY D BRUSSELS Vladimir Putin has criticised a grain deal signed with Ukraine that unblocked agricultural products trapped in the country by his govern-ment's military assault, threatening an agreement that had eased a growing glo-

bal food crisis.

In a speech yesterday, the Russian president blamed global grain short-ages, which have particularly affected poorer countries, on the terms of the deal brokered in July rather than on the

Ukraine, a biggrain exporter.

He claimed that grain shipments released by the deal, which ended Russia's blockade of Ukraine's Black Sea ports in the Odesa region and enabled cargo vessels carrying grain and other food to restart deliveries, were not head

ing to poor countries.
"If we exclude Turkey as an inter diary country, then practically all the grain exported from Ukraine is sent not to the poorest developing countries but to EU countries," Putin said at an economic forum in the far-eastern Russian

"It may be worth considering how to limit the export of grain and other food along this route," he said, adding that he would discuss the issue with his

counterpart in Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. All Black Sea grain shipments are logged by the UN, which brokered the deal. According to its public logs, have been transported from Ukrainian

'Practically all the grain exported from Ukraine is [not sent] to the poorest developing countries'

ports on 87 ship voyages since the deal

was penned.
Of these, 30 have travelled to the EU, while 57 shipments have gone to other countries including China, Egypt, India, Iran and Lebanon, and 32 of those to

of grain from Ukraine come from the [UN] World Food Programme," said at the US state department. He said in previous years Ukraine had contributed about half of WFP annual food supplies.

Ukrainian's infrastructure minister described the Russian leader's claims as "fake". Oleksandr Kubrakov said in a tweet: "Threats and fakes are typical for ussian politics." Putin's remarks were part of his

broader attempt to reframe the narra-tive around the invasion of Ukraine and the fallout for Russia. He presented the war as beneficial for Russia in political terms, and not as damaging economi-cally as most observers believe it to be.

Russia's economy, Putin said, would

year, although most economists believe the drop will be many times sharper after sweeping sanctions roiled its sup ply chains and left it isolated from the

We have not lost anything," Putin said. "The main gain has been the strengthening of our sovereignty." Sanc-tions, he said, were harming the west more than Russia. He claimed Moscow was finding it easy to find other buyers,

for example in China. Ursula von der Leyen, pres European Commission, said yesterday Russian pipeline gas now accounted for just 9 per cent of the EU's gas imports, down from 40 per cent before the war. "Our work is paying off," she said.

Fossil fuel

## Germany turns to coal for a third of its electricity

VALENTINA ROMEI — LONDON MARTIN ARNOLD — FRANKFUR

Germany is relying on highly polluting coal for almost a third of its electricity, as the impact of government policies and the war in Ukraine leads producers in Europe's largest economy to use less gas and nuclear energy

In the first six months of the year, Germany generated 82.6 kilowatt/hours from coal, up 17 per cent from the same period last year, according to data from Destatis, the national statistics office, ublished yesterday. The leap means almost a third of German electricity generation now comes from coal-fired plants, up from 27 per cent last year.

Production from natural gas, which has tripled in price to e235 per megawatt/hour since Russia's invasion in late

February, fell 18 per cent to 11.7 per cent of total generation. Destatis said the shift from gas to coal

Destatis said the shift from gas to coal was sharper in the second quarter. Coal-fired electricity increased by an annual rate of 23 per cent in the three months to June, while electricity generation from natural gas fell 19 per cent.

The figures highlight the challenge

facing European governments in meet-ing clean energy goals after the Kremlin announced this week the Nordstream 1 pipeline that takes gas to Germany would remain closed until Europe lifted sanctions on Russian oil.

Germany has been trying to reduce its reliance on coal, which releases almost twice as many emissions as gas and more than 60 times those of nuclear energy, according to the Intergovern-mental Panel on Climate Change estimates. But generation from nuclear energy has already halved after three of energy has already naived after three of the six nuclear plants in operation at the end of 2021 were closed in the first half of this year. Berlin said on Monday it would keep on standby two of its remaining three nuclear sites, which were due to close at the end of the year.

A bright spot was the rise in the use of renewable energy. The proportion of power generated from wind rose 18 per cent to 25 per cent of the total, and from



The UK generates about 40 per cent of its power from gas

#### UK household electricity prices have surged ahead of European peers

Weighted average household electricity price\* (€ per kWh)



seholds for gas has risen across Europe, ries considerably from country to country



# Energy UK bills higher than for European neighbours

ALAN SMITH AND DAVID SHEPPARD

The average UK household electricity price is at least 30 per cent higher than in many of its European neighbours, with the country's greater reliance on natural gas for power generation hitting consumers hard.

Europe is experiencing a continent-wide energy crisis caused by reduced oil and gas flows from Russia, but the direct impact on households varies widely depending on the energy mix of the country, according to electricity and gas pricing from Energy Prices, a Dutch onsultancy. Levels of government support, pric

ing mechanisms and taxation are ing mechanisms and taxation are also important factors, with countries such as France capping the amount electricity prices can rise. The EU has proposed a cap on Russian gas prices and a levy on energy companies to protect households and businesses, and many European countries have announced indi-vidual measures such as tax cuts.

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has

shifted the energy axis. There can be no other way out of this other than government intervention," said Sumit Bose founder of Future Net Zero, a low-car

bon advocacy group

But the cost of electricity is still expected to rise across Europe this win-ter as high gas prices continue to feed through to the power market, while sup-plies from other sources are down due to pies roin other sources are down due to issues such as widespread maintenance problems at France's nuclear power plants and dry weather conditions

The UK generates about 40 per cent of its electricity from burning natural gas after moving faster than many peers

to reduce its reliance on coal.

While that helped cut the country's emissions — coal generates about twice emissions – coal generates about whee as much CO<sub>2</sub> as gas when burnt – it has left the UK more exposed to surging gas prices after Russia cut supplies in retali-ation for western sanctions imposed after its full-scale invasion of Ukraine. The UK's household electricity price

is about 30 per cent higher than Italy,

the next most expensive country. That is partly down to various levies the UK government adds to bills to support nent adds to bills to support renewable power and poorer house-holds. The UK has said it is less exposed holds. The UK has said it is less exposed to Russian gas cuts because it has no direct pipeline connections to the coun-try, but cannot completely escape increases in wholesale prices. The data shown for each country are a

weighted average that reflects do energy supply. Some households in the UK and Europe have recently signed new energy contracts, while others continue to pay prices according to previous supplier agreements. As a result, new supplier agreements. As a result, new contracts are likely to be more expen-sive than the average prices shown here. In the UK, the price cap that governs most household energy bills was set to

rise about 80 per cent in October, but Liz Truss, the new prime minister, is set to introduce a price freeze that will cap typical household bills at £2,500 a year.

Higher wholesale prices are expected to feed through to household bills in

In gas, households in the Netherlands In gas, households in the Netherlands pay the highest costs followed by Germany. Both countries were heavily reliant on Russian supplies. The Netherlands has also largely shut down the Groningen gasfield, which was once Europe's largest, because its depletion was causing earthquakes in the town. The UK has the third most expensive brusshold are prices dentite by whole-brusshold are prices dentite by whole-

household gas prices, despite the whole sale price trading at a lower level than er level than sale price trading at a lower level than the European benchmark for most of this summer, primarily as a result of the UK's higher level of liquefied natural gas import capacity and domestic produc-tion from the North Sea. UK companies have been sending imported LNG to mainland Europe via pipeline to help countries fill their storage facilities. Hungary had the lowest household

gas costs by a large margin until August The country has secured a number of deals with Russia. But Hungary has still seen gas import costs rise as prices have soared and is removing subsidised price caps on household usage above the average rate of consumption. Power levv

# Brussels proposes windfall tax trigger below market rate

Brussels is seeking to move ahead with a windfall levy on European electricity companies by setting a threshold at less than half the current market rates.

In draft proposals, the European Comimpose a levy on revenues generated by non-gas electricity producers when market prices exceed €200/MWh. The

market prices exceed €200/MWh. The current spot price for electricity in cermany, the regional benchmark, is, above €450/MWh. Excess revenues would be redistributed to help companies and households.

Wholesale electricity prices have rocketed because they are pegged to the price of gas, whether or not the power is produced from gas or other sources. Gas prices are about 10 times higher than they have been compared with averages over the past decade as a result of Russever the Russe

produced from gas or other sources. Gas prices are about 10 times higher than they have been compared with averages over the past decade as a result of Russia's supply cuts in response to western support for Ukraine.

Ursula von der Leyen, commission president, said yesterday that low-carbon energy producers were making "enormous revenues, revenues they never calculated, revenues they never calculated, revenues they enever calculated, revenues they cannot invest as fast". These "unexpected profires" should be channelled to member states to support vulnerable consumers and businesses, she said.

The windfall tax is part of a set of five measures put to member states in response to the widening energy crisis.

The proposals include a mandatory reduction in peak electricity demand, a price cap on Russian gas, changes to collateral requirements for electricity companies and tweaks to state aid rules to allow governments to bail out companies on the brink of collapse.

An official paper outlining the options did not give specific figures for the level of the windfall threshold, but a senior EU official said they would be set out after an emergency meeting of energy ministers tomorrow. The preliminary draft suggested that the cut to peak electricity uses should be set at 5per cent.

The Kremlin warned on Monday that gas supplies through the Nord Stream 1 pipeline would be halted until sanctions were lifted. Gas imports from Russia to the EU have fallen from about 40 per

were lifted. Gas imports from Russia to the EU have fallen from about 40 per cent of the bloc's total usage last year to

cent of the bloc's total usage last year to about 9 per cent. Henning Gloystein, director of energy and climate at Eurasia Group, said a C200/MWh limit on non-gas power gen-erators was "sufficiently high to achieve the intended demand reduction . . . this winter, while giving industry and small consumers at least some assurance that costs won't spiral up further". Several EU diplomats and analysts said a blanket threshold for non-gas

producers did not account for coal pro ducers incurring higher costs than wind or solar power generators. The use of coal in the EU has been rising to com-

pensate for gas cuts.

EU capitals generally favour plans to encourage reductions in demand but are split on how to address surging energy. One senior diplomat said the plan had been "well met" but several states, including Poland, Greece and Italy, oppose a specific price cap on Russian gas, fearing Moscow will impose further supply cuts.



FINANCIAL TIMES

# Norway willing to discuss EU gas price cap, says premier

Norway is open to discussing potential long-term gas agreements and price caps with European partners to help alleviate the energy crisis, its prime

ardising energy supplies as Europe pre-pared for a tough winter.

Some oil and gas executives outside
Norway have argued that the wealthy nation should do more to help Europe ahead of a tough winter. Stere said the responsibility for any deals lay with

## Farmers warn of winter food shortages and cost increases

Farmers and food producers in Europe have warned of seasonal shortages and big price increases across a wide range of everyday products this winter, as they called for government support to

Pekka Pesonen, secretary-general of Copa-Cogeca, said European shoppers would face even higher prices and short-ages of many fruit and vegetables this winter. "It is something we have never seen before," he said "Nobody saw this coming and having such wide conse-

in the EU, has become one of the biggest winners of the fallout from Moscow's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, replacing

full-scale invasion of Ukraine, replacing Russia as Europe's biggest supplier of gas and as a significant seller of oil and electricity across the continent.

"fully understand that Europe now has a profound debate about how energy markets work, how they can secure more affordable prices for citizens, families, industries, how this shortfall of gas after [Russian president Vladimir] Putin's aggression can be handled," said Jonas Gahr Store, prime minister. "Norway is not closing doors to any such discussion."

But Store warned the EU and member state governments had to be careful not to adopt measures that ended up jeop-

companies such as requinor, the state of group. Equinor and other companies are in discussion with customers about potential long-term contracts that could lock in a gas price lower than the present level but higher than that of a year as add people familiar with the talks. Asked whether Norway could agree to a voluntary price cap, Stere said. "I am not closing the door to any ideas that can take Europe forward. It is in Nor-

am not closing the door to any ideas that can take Europe forward. It is in Norway's profound interest that we reduce instability, that we increase reliability for our allies and partners."

He said Norway had increased gas supplies to Europe by 10 per cent this year and it wanted to be recognised as a "predictable and long-term" partner. Additional reporting by David Sheppard and Tom Wilson in London

Copa-Cogeca, the EU farmers' union, and FoodDrink Europe and PFP, two of the big food producer associations, said their members had begun to close operations and reduce output, as they asked for the food chain to be exempt from

any European plans to ration energy. "The latest increases in energy prices, "The latest increases in energy prices, especially natural gas and electricity, threaten the continuity of agri-food protection cycles and therefore the ability to continue delivering essential agricultural commodities, food products and feed materials, "they said.

Energy prices have surged due to Vladimir Putin's war in Ukraine, with Russia reducing gas flows to the continent in retaliation for sanctions.

Energy is used throughout food pro-duction from fertiliser to harvesting to refrigeration. Butter prices in the EU have surged 80 per cent in the year to

July, with milk powder up more than 50 per cent and beef up 28 per cent, according to European Commission data. But farmers say costs are rising ever faster. Many fruit and vegetable growers are

Many fruit and vegetable growers are reducing plantings for the next harvest, with some saying the higher cost of operating their greenhouses outwelped the money they could make. Alexander Formsma, energy special-sit at Glastuinbouw Nederland, which represents the sector, said: "You will probably not see lit crops of tomatos and cucumbers in the winter, because it is not financially feasible."

Thursday 8 September 2022 FINANCIAL TIMES

#### INTERNATIONAL

# Scholz battles to allay German fears about impact of Russia's energy war

Chancellor concedes times are tough but assures town hall meeting country will survive winter

GUY CHAZAN — ESSEN

Germany's legions of clubs and associations are, according to Thomas Schröer, the "glue holding society together", How, he asked, would the government prevent them being killed off by soaring energy costs?
Schröer, 60, posed the question at a town hall meeting in the western city of Essen last week that revealed the deep angst felt by ordinary Germans exposed to one of the worst energy crunches in their country's history.
The man they wanted answers from was Olaf Scholz, Germany's chancellor. In power for less than three months when Russia's invasion of Ukraine threatened Europe's energy security, he must now figure out how to keep the lights on this winter while staving off a lights on this winter while staving off a cost of living crisis that could plunge

cost of Iwing crisis that could plunge millions into poverty. What, asked many of the 150 people gathered in a university building in Essen, was Scholz doing to prevent Ger-mans becoming collateral damage in Russia's energy war with the west? Such concerns intensified after Mos-

cow announced a complete halt to gas flows through the Nord Stream 1 pipeline. That pushed benchmark European gas prices up by 35 per cent when mar kets reopened on Monday. Both gas and German year-ahead electricity prices are trading at roughly 10 times their

2019 levels. Responding to Schröer, Scholz acknowledged that times were tough for Germany's 620,000 registered societies, which cater for everyone from scything enthusiasts to rabbit breeders. They

which cater for everyone from scything enthusiasts to rabbit breeders. They were also hard for hospitals, care homes, bakeries and all small businesses. "Everyone's worried about the next bill," he said.

But Germany now had, he said, enough alternatives lined up ahead of the heating season. "Even if it's tight, we'll get through winter," he said, cling higher storage levels than in 2021.
"That's a huge achievement... A year agoit wouldn't have been possible."

A softly spoken Social Democrat, Scholz won last September's election on a modest programme of tweaks to Germany's welfare state, a push to green the economy and a promise of more "respect" for working people. Instead he has become a war chancellor, seizing on the dislocation caused by Russia's invasion to drive through farreaching policy changes. Calling the war a Zeitenwende, or turning point, Scholz broke with decades of political orthodoxy by announcing a massive rise in military spending, and pledging to send Ukraine weapons and wean Germany off its dependence on Russian energy. Yet since then, Germany's economic problems have mounted. With Russian gas flows declining, Scholz has been forced to search for substitute supplies



energy crisis

while battling inflation, preventing a recession and protecting millions of hard-pressed consumers from soaring energy bills.

In a heated debate in parliament yesterday over who was to blame for the country's energy crisis, Friedrich Mera, leader of the opposition Christian Democrats, accused the government of failing to think strategically by idling its remaining nuclear power stations.

Scholz blamed the "irresponsible policy" of the previous government, in particular its "decision to exit coal and nuclear energy", which increased Germany's reliance on Russian gas. Scholz was finance minister during the previous grand coalition between his SDP and the centre-right CDU.

On Sunday he announced a new e65bn programme of relief measures, to be funded partly through a levy on energy companies' windfall profits. It contains big one-off payments to pensioners and students, an expansion of housing and child allowance and higher welfare handouts, as well as modest tax cuts for the middle classes.

Scholz has promised to revive — in

one form or another — the popular summer travel scheme that allowed Germans to ride all local and regional buses, trams and trains for just €9 a month. But the town hall in Essen, a big city in Germany's Ruhr industrial heartland, served a warning that some of his policies remain controversial with the wider public. Some people appeared alarmed by the rise in defence spending, with one woman criticising the new €100h investment fund for the armed forces. "How can you just shake that out of your sleeve... when there's so little money for welfare and education and low-income families?" she saked, adding: "How will you ensure that we can get out of this militarism again? ... How do we create a world where things are more peaceful?"

Bernhard Funke, a pensioner from the nearby city of Duisburg, took issue with the heavy weapons Germany has sent to Ukraine, saying an escalation of the war could lead to a "nuclear plant exploding" or "atomic weapons being deployed ... isn't the risk too great?"

The chancellor replied that if other countries behaved like Russia and tried

e territory from their neighbours,

'Even if it's tight, we'll get through winter. A year ago it wouldn't

have been possible' Olaf Scholz

to seize territory from their neighbours, 
"we'll have 300 years of war".

Scholz defended his support for 
Ukraine, insisting he would do his 
utmost to avoid a direct confrontation 
between Moscow and the west.

"I found him very authentic," said 
Petra Haberhausen, a dental assistant, 
of Scholz. "I'm glad we've got someone 
like him in charge."

But others expressed disappointment at 
this remarks about the issue uppermost in their minds — energy. "There 
wasn't enough detail," said Offried 
Priegnitz, a retired hospital manager. 
Scholz said his government had 
pushed for the building of import terminals for liquefied natural gas. It was 
expanding renewable power, helping 
companies switch from gas to oil and 
restarting coal-fired power stations. 
But among the audience in Essen, big 
fears remained. "A lot of people — pensioners, students, people with large famlines — are going to be wondering if they 
should heat or eat this winter," said I slabchausen. "I would never have thought 
such a thing was possible in Germany." 
See FT Big Read and Opinion

## **Concerns over UK** borrowing spree push sterling to 37-year low

Sterling touched a 37-year low against the US dollar yesterday as markets were braced for a big borrowing spree by new UK prime minister Liz Truss's government to fund an energy rescue package for homes and businesses.

Truss, who took office on Tuesday, will Truss, who took office on Tuesday, will today give details of the state intervention, which will see households and companies shielded from soaring bills. Government insiders said the total cost over two winters could hit £150bn.

Truss told the House of Commons she would give people "certainty to make sure that they are able to get through this winter", but ministers were yester-day still trying to finalise the details of

the business support sector.

Average household bills will be capped at about £2,500 a year in a mo capped at about £2,500 a year in a move that could cost £900h over two years, based on assumptions of future wholesale gas prices, with the business package perhaps costing £600h. The cost will be funded by government borrowing, adding to demand in the economy at a time when inflation is above 10 per cent

and the markets are already nervous about rising interest rates. Sterling sank as low as \$1.1406 yester-day, according to data from Bloomberg, its weakest level since 1985 and beyond the low point of the wake of the vote to

its weakest level since 1985 and beyond the low point of the wake of the vote to leave the EU in 2016 and the depths of March 2020, when global markets convulsed in response to the Covid crisis. The pound has now fallen 15 per cent against the dollar this year.

Chris Turner, global head of markets at 1NG, the investment bank, said concerns about the level of borrowing meant that even touching a 57-year low "we do not think sterling is particularly theap at these levels".

Yesterday new chancellor Kwasi Kwarteng met Andrew Balley, Bank of England governor, to try to demonstrate harmony and as much co-ordination between monetary and fiscal policy as possible. Kwarteng would reinstate weekly meetings between the governor and chancellor. Its told leading city figures he would impose fiscal discipline "over the medium term".

Balley earlier told MPs there was little that could be done to stop the UK falling into recession this year, saying it would "overwhelmingly be caused by the actions of Russia and the impact on energy prices". Truss told MPs she would not try to

actions of Russia and the Impact on energy prices."

Truss told MPs she would not try to recover some of the cost of the energy bailout by imposing a windfall tax on energy companies, in spite of demands for it from the Labour opposition. "I am against a windfall tax," she told the Commons. "I believe it is the wrong thing to be putting companies off invest-ing in the United Kingdom just when we need to be growing the economy." Robert Shrimsley see Opinion

Rule of law. Document seizure

# Legal experts query Trump-appointed judge's order

Ruling gives former president special status and threatens to delay DoJ investigation

When judge Aileen Cannon approved Donald Trump's request for a court offi-

KIRAN STACEY - WASHINGTON

Khardori, a former federal prosecutor, said: "She is explicit that she views Trump's legal status as a former presi-dent as categorically distinct from others and requiring a bespoke legal analysis." Norm Eisen, a former White House lawyer, said: "For special consideration to be given to someone because

the DOJ said in an earlier court filing that it had already reviewed all of the documents in question. But it is now unclear what officials can do with the information they have gleaned.

"That importion:

"That injunction is extraordinary." said Jennifer Rodgers, a former federal prosecutor and lecturer at Columbia Law School. "If DoJ officials saw a name

role in overseeing a case involving the man who appointed her. Brad Moss, a partner at Mark Zaid, the law firm, said: "Time and again the

decision carves out exceptions to issues of jurisdiction and judicial authority

Inflation fight

# Canada warns of further rate rises following sharp increase

Canada's central bank raised its key interest rate by 0.75 percentage points to 3.25 per cent and warned of further increases in its fight to prevent high inflation from becoming entrenched.

omitted such language in a short release yesterday. Canada's inflation rate moderated

slightly in July as a result of lower petrol prices, but consumer prices were still up 7.6 per cent that month against a year earlier, Statistics Canada reported last

cial to review documents he may have taken illegally from the White House, she explicitly gave special treatment to the man who put heir in place.

"As a function of plaintiff's former position as president of the United States, the stigma associated with selzure is in a league of its own," Cannon wrote in her decision.

"A future indictment, based to any degree on property that ought to be returned, would result in reputational harm of a decidedly different order of magnitude," said the Trump-appointed judge in Florida's southern district.

Many legal experts were surprised

judge in Florida's southern district.

Many legal experts were surprised when Cannon on Monday ordered the appointment of a so-called special master to look over the documents seized in an EBI search of Trump's Mar-a-Lago estate last month. The documents, of which 103 were marked as classified, are central to the Department of Justice's probe into whether the former president mishandled government information on leaving office.

Inquiries are likely to be held up while a special master is appointed and carries out a review. But some legal experts warn of wider ramifications. Ankush

everyone is equal under the law."

The Doj inquiry into whether Trump mishandled classified information after leaving office is the most immediate legal threat he faces. He is also under scrutiny from Congress for his role in fomenting last year's attack on the US Capitol and by a grand jury in Georgia over his attempts to overturn the state's 2020 election result.

When FBI agents carried out the search they seized 27 boxes containing thousands of documents, including \$4 marked "secret" and is "top secret".

Trump then requested a special mas-

Trump then requested a special mas-ter to consider whether any of those documents were subject to attorney-client privilege or the privilege granted to members of the executive branch to

to members of the executive branch to communicate privately. Before this week, Trump's request looked to have backfired, resulting in the justice department having to dis-close far more than it otherwise would have about what he kept at his resort. Cannon's decision not only hands him

a legal victory but has the potential to hold up the inquiry indefinitely, given she has told officials to stop using the documents until further notice.

reach out to that person now and question them? Can they review subpoenas relating to them?"
Bill Barr, Trump's former attorney-general, told rox News on Tuesday the ruling was "totally wrong".
But the element of the order that has caused most consternation is that in justifying her decision, Cannon has given Trump almost unique legal status. The notion was central to her argument that an unusual intervention was warranted even before charges had been brought.



Raid: a police officer keeps watch

ness' than any other criminal suspect at this stage in a criminal investigation." The DoJ now faces a decision over whether to appeal. Some believe it has solid grounds to do so but point out that six of the 11 active judges on the court where an appeal would be heard were appointed by Trump. Even if the government lost an appeal or decided not to proceed, it should still be able to proceed with the case using documents approved by a special mas-ter, experts said. Rodgers of Columbia said: "Trump's lawvers have had a sood week but I don't

lawyers have had a good week but I don't think at the end of the day it makes

think at the end of the day it makes much of a difference except by pushing everything back a little bit."

But others believe Cannon has paved the way for judges sympathetic to Trump to put up similar legal hurdles, even to dragthe case out indefinitely.

Khardori, the former federal prosecu tor, said: "This potentially points to more obstacles along these lines. It tells us a lot about what it will be like for the government to try and litigate this investigation in this political and legal

Jemima Kelly see The FT View page

The rise brings the key interest rate above 5 per cent for the first time since mid-2008 and into so-called restrictive territory, where monetary policy hampers economic growth.

"Given the outlook for inflation, the Governing Council still judges that the policy interest rate will need to rise truther," the Bank of Canadas said in a statement yesterday. "Quantitative tightening is complementing increases in the policy rate."

The BoC said it would assess how much higher interest rates would need to rise to return to its inflation target of 2 per cent.

The rate increases is the central bank's.

2 per cent.
The rate increase is the central bank's

The rate increase is the central bank's fifth this year, and was in line with economists' expectations, according to Refinitiv polling.

It brings the cumulative tightening so far this year to 5 percentage points — "the fastest pace since the mid-1990s", said Bank of Montreal economist Beniamin Reitzes.

jamin Reitzes.

BoC governor Tiff Macklem had
previously spoken about a so-called
soft landing where the bank would
attempt to curb inflation without causing a recession. The central bank The central bank said it remained concerned about "a further broadening of price pressures", particularly in services. The bank's core measures of inflation moved up to a range of 5-5.5 per cent in luly.

tion moved up to a range of 5-5.5 per cent in July. "The longer this continues, the greater the risk that elevated inflation becomes entrenched," the bank said. Officials highlighted that indicators of domestic demand — consumption and business investment – remained "very

strong". Yesterday's rate rise comes after the BoC caught some market observers off guard in July by raising its key interest rate by 1 percentage point to 2.5 per cent. This was the largest rate increase

since 1998. "This is a short and sweet statement that buys time for them to reassess the outlook with new forecasts and surveys of inflation expectations into the Octo-ber decisions," said Derek Holt, the head of capital markets economics at Scotia-bank.

Scotiabank and the Bank of Montreal both expect a 0.5 percentage point rate rise from the BoC at its next scheduled meeting on October 26.

Children's books

senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, a think-tank. "In the smaller cities there is a gaping

she said. "They're not treating us like

2.3 per cent, or less than half the previ-

Legal threat

## Gulf states warn Netflix over 'un-Islamic' content

Gulf states led by Saudi Arabia have threatened legal action against stream-ing group Netflix if it continues to broadcast shows they deem un-

The statement from a Saudi-led committee of the Gulf Cooperation Council follows a campaign in local media accusing the leading streaming content provider in the region of promoting "homosexuality".

Legal Notices

The statement did not elaborate as to which shows were problematic, aside from saying that they ran counter to Islam and the law in Guilf countries, and that they included content for children. "The relevant authorities will monitor the platform's compliance with these directives and will take the necessary legal measures if the content continues to broadcast," the statement said. Homosexuality is banned in most Arab countries and is widely viewed by their populations as a taboo. Authorities in several nations periodically crack down on what they consider LGBT+ behaviour or culture, often after media campaigns.

behaviour or culture, otten auer means campaigns.

An official Saudi television channel had aired a report on Tuesday calling on the government to act against Netflix.

"Pay to subscribe to Netflix, and in return your child will watch scenes such as this that violate morality, yes scenes that promote homosexuality among children," a voiceover says, before showing a blurred image of two female cartoon characters kissing.

The scene was taken from Netflix's Jurassic World Camp Cretaceous animated

show. The report separately referred to *Cuties*, a French film about a Muslim girl who joins a dance group and "arouses paedophiles".

who joins a dance group and "arouses paedophiles".

Netflix was forced to apologise in 2020 over promotional material for 2020 over promotional material for 2021 over promotional material for 2021 over promotion for the same particular patterns and sexualising adolescents. The company's shares collapsed early this year after it reported losing subscribers. The shares have recovered on third-quarter earnings and growth in subscriptions, although they are still well below last year's prices. The company has retained its leading position in the Middle East, where it faces competition from regional streaming groups such as Shahid and Starz Play,

Play.
It was not immediately clear what legal measures the Gulf countries could take against Netflix, or how the company intended to react. They already block access to some media companies and sexually explicit content.
Netflix was not available immediately for compari

for comment.

Additional reporting by Alex Barker in

London and Simeon Kerr in Dubai

Hong Kong speech therapists guilty of sedition

A Hong Kong court has convicted five speech therapists of sedition after they published a series of illustrated chil-dren's books about cartoon animals, in a case critics say highlights tightening restrictions on freedoms.

ries about a "sheep village" that was bul-lied and attacked.

Prosecutors alleged the stories were allegories that amounted to "indoctri-nating" children to support separatism and hatred of Beiling.
The speech therapists face up to two years in prison, with sentencing expected on Saturday.
"Seditious intention stems not merely from the words, but from the words with the proscribed effects intended to result in the mind of children," said riong Kondistrict judge Kwok Wai-kin as he handed down his verdict yesterday. The therapists' defence lawyers had argued the offence charged was "uncon-stitutional on the ground that it is incon-

The disbanded General Union of Hong Kong Speech Therapists, an industry group, in 2020 and 2021 published stories about a "sheep village" that was bullied and attacked.

sistent with their freedom of expression, speech and publication".

The case has been seen as a sign of vanishing freedoms in the financial hub since Beijing imposed a national security law in 2020 after mass pro-demoracy protests the previous year. Hong Kong courts have taken an increasingly tough line against democracy activists.

Media mogul Jimmy Lai, the 74-year-old founder of the pro-democracy newspaper Apple Daily, lost a bid last week to prevent national security officers from searching his mobile phones, including journalistic materials, a decision that



could be a precedent for other cases. Lai was recently denied a jury trial. A non-jury trial was also ordered for 47 opposition politicians accused of sub-version in connection with attempts to select candidates to run in an election for the Legislative Council, the city's de facto parliament. two years aco. Many

select candidates to run in an election for the Legislative council, the city's de facto parliament, two years ago. Many in the group have been held in custody since 2021 and 29 of them have indicated they would plead guilty. Thomas E Kellogg, executive director of the Centre for Asian Law at Georgetown University, said the speech therapists' case represented "a significant expansion of the category of seditions speech . . . [as it] criminalises speech that comments indirectly on politics". Ronson Chan, chair of the Hong Kong Journalists Association, was arrested yesterday for allegedly obstructing a police officer and causing disorder in a public place. Chan was held while covering a news event, according to channel the first place of the covering and the construction of the covering and the planned to leave Hong Kong in late September to attend a journalism programme in the UK.

FINANCIAL TIMES

Yen freefall Tokyo is dropping hints about 'necessary' action as the currency, down a fifth this year, continues its descent O PAGE 8

# Companies & Markets

# Musk cleared to use Twitter whistleblower claims in court

 Judge lets tycoon amend complaint Tesla chief says deal contract invalid

FIGURE 19 AND PART AN

'Zatko's complaint reveals extensive misconduct . . . in Twitter's 202110-K'

year and is represented by Whistle-blower Aid, filed a complaint to authorities in July alleging that the social media group had misled users and regulators about its lax cyber security practices.

Since July, Musk has sought to back out of buying Twitter, arguing it has underestimated the number of bots on the platform and misled regulators on the matter, in breach of the merger agreement struck in April. But last week his team asserted that, if true, Zatko's allegations would constitute fresh grounds to cancel the deal.

In granting the request, McCormick noted that the bar to revise a complaint was "low".

However, she sided with Twitter in keeping the trial date for the week of October 17, instead of granting the deferral to November that Musk had

"I am convinced that even four eeks' delay would risk further harm to

Twitter too great to justify," she wrote The decision could open Twitter up to fresh scrutiny over its cyber security controls, which have previously come under fire after hackers peddling a crypto scam took over the official accounts of hundreds of public figures

crypto scam took over the official accounts of hundreds of public figures and companies in July 2020.

"We are hopeful that winning the motion to amend takes us one step closer to the truth coming out in that courtroom," said Musk lawyer Alex Spiro, following the ruling.

Twitter said: "We look forward to presenting our case in court beginning on Ctober 17 and intend to close the transaction on the price and terms agreed upon with Mr Musk."

In a court filing released on Wednesday alongside the decision, Musk alleged that the grievances Zatko first published in the Washington Post in July revealed Twitter's 2021 annual report to be inaccurate. Musk argues this nullifies the merger contract.

"Zatko's complaint reveals extensive misconduct and misrepresentations in Twitter's 2021 10-K related to Twitter's compliance with binding PTC orders, mass intellectual property violations and inadequate security systems, among other matters," Musk's complaint said.

Twitter has accused Musk of simply getting cold feet over the deal given the

plaints said.

Twitter has accused Musk of simply getting cold feet over the deal given the market downturn, and repeatedly used pretexts 'to find a way out of it.

During Tuesday's hearing, lawyers for Twitter said Zatko had raised his concerns over the company's cyber security practices internally early in 2022 and that these were investigated and "determined to be without merit."

Chancellor McCormick ordered Must be illustrated in the wits own of the control of t

Chancellor McCormick ordered Musk to limit his new discovery demands on Twitter. "Discovery can be made through targeted document discovery and minimal additional experts and fact witnesses," she wrote in her opinion.

# Tuchel tackled New US owners of Chelsea sack head coach after bumpy start to season



The new US owners of Chelsea Foot-ball Club have sacked head coach Thomas Tuchel after a poor start to the season, just over a year after he guided the club to a Champions

League triumph.

Tuchel was dismissed yesterday, hours after chelsea suffered a humiliating defeat at the start of this year's European campaign on Tuesday, losing 1-0 to Dinamo Zagreb.

"As the new ownership group reaches 100 days since taking over the club, and as it continues its hard work to take the club forward, the new owners believe it is the right time to make this transition," Chelsea said.

Firing Tuchel is a big bet by US financier Todd Boehly and private equity group Clearlake Capital after leading the £2.5-bn acquisition in May of Chelsea from sanctioned Russian

t by Clearlake Capital and financier Tocoligarch Roman Abramovich. Chelsea was the biggest spender in Europe during the summer transfer window, splashing out more than £250mm on new players, bolstering the squad with the likes of England forward Raheem Sterling and Wesley Fofana from Leicester City.

Tuchel, who previously managed Paris Saint-Germain, joined Chelsea in january 2021 and led the club to the Champions League final that year, winning the most prestigious club tournament in Europe 1-0 against Manchester City.

Under his leadership, Chelsea also won the Super Cup and the Club World Cup. Those titles meant he would "rightly have a place in Chelsea's history, the club said.

However, the new season has got off to a rocky start. Chelsea have lost two of their opening six fixtures, drawing

their opening six fixtures, drawing ace and winning three. The avamped team has often looked dis-

jointed, while communication between the manager and the players has been deteriorating, according to one person familiar with the matter. Tuchel's own frustrations have been increasingly visible. He was fined and given a one-match touchline ban earlier this season after a pitchside bust-up with Tottenham Hotspur head coach Antonio Conte. He was shown a yellow card during Tuesday's game in Zagreb. In the postmatch press conference, he offered a gloomy assessment of the team. "I don't really know where this performance today comes from ... we are clearly not where we want to be."

Tuchel's dismissal was confirmed after a face-to-face meeting with Boehly and Behdad Eghbali, Clearlake's co-founder, at the club's training ground yesterday morning.

Bookmakers identified Brighton coach Graham Potter as the strong favourite to replace Tuchel.

## **Uber backer** Microsoft bets on Kalanick's CloudKitchens

Microsoft is the first US-based investor in Uber known to have backed Cloud-Kitchens, the "dark kitchen" start-up run by the ride-hailing company's con-troversial co-founder Travis Kalanick,

The investment was part of CloudKitchens' \$850mn funding round that closed in November 2021, a combination of debt and equity that valued the Los Angeles-based company at \$15bn, the people said.

people said.

Since receiving the cash boost, Cloud-Kitchens has been able to supercharge its growth globally, as reported by the Financial Times on Tuesday, with more

its growth globally, as reported by the Financial Times on Tuesday, with more than 4,000 employees across the US, Latin America, the UK and the Middle East. CloudKitchens buys or leases warehousing space, converting the premises into dark kitchens—units that can be rented by restaurant businesses to cook food to be sold via delivery apps such as DoorDash or Uber Eats. CloudKitchens has also started using surplus space in the facilities to store convenience goods, such as pet food or over-the-counter medicine. Microsoft's involvement follows its investment of about \$100 mm in Uber in 2015, when the ride-hailing service as available of the counter medicine. Microsoft's involvement follows its investment of about \$100 mm in Uber in 2015, when the ride-hailing service was raughed at about \$500 h. But the software company's decision to again support Kalanick, whose exit from Uber in 2017 was prompted by a series of ethical scandals and management failings, appears to set Microsoft apart from the other major Silicon Valley investors who last backed the entrepreneur. Four former employees told the Financial Times that CloudKitchens suffered from many of the cultural susues that were found at Uber and was experiencing a high staff attrition rate as a result. One ex-senior figure, who had also previously worked at Uber, described CloudKitchens s'the most toxic place I've ever seen or experienced".

Another former employee said: "If the yant to be a sucressful commany.

enced."

Another former employee said: "If
they want to be a successful company,
there needs to be a very big cultural
change. People need to be valued as people within the company." CloudKitchens declined to comment on its culture.
Microsoft and CloudKitchens declined to comment. Initial details of

#### Business will be reluctant to pay the price of supersonic flight



executives, dealmakers and time-starved travel-lers. If you could save three lers. It you could save three hours flying from London to New York on a supersonic jet, but knew your journey would generate two to eight times the carbon of a flight on a

to eight times the carbon of a flight on a conventional aircraft, would you do it?

Two weeks ago, American Airlines put down an undisclosed deposit for 20 supersonic aircraft being developed by Colorado start-up Boom. Blake Scholl, Boom's Tounder, believes there are enough of you out there to fill "hundreds if not thousands of these aero-names" tampot on sure. planes". I am not so sure.

Twenty years ago, when Concorde was guzzling twice the fuel of a 747 to carry a quarter of the passengers, com-panies did not have to measure their carbon footprints. Today they are under pressure from investors, regulators and customers to reduce the climate impact

Even assuming Boom overcomes the noise problem, supersonic travel will be one of the least green and most expen-

sive options for air passengers.

Dan Rutherford, aviation programme director of the International Council on Clean Transportation, calculated that flying on a Boom-like supersonic jet powered by conventional jet fuel would emit eight times the carbon of an econo-

my-class passenger on a subsonic plane, or twice the carbon attributed to someone in business class. Boom says its Overture will fly on 100 per cent sustainable aviation fuels, although it does not yet have an engine. A very clean SAF would enable it to generate up to 24 per cent fewer carbon emissions per seak fun than aircraft flying on conventional fuel, according to a study by the ICCT and Masachusetts Institute of Technology. But that research also concludes that supersonic's non-carbon climate impact, from agents such as nitrogen oxide and water vapour, could be worse because of the higher altitude at which these aircraft fly.

over, if Overture can fly on SAE so can other aircraft. All conventional jet engines are capable of flying on 100 per cent sustaina-

per cent sustainable fuel, with a few The executive travel minor tweaks. It is regulators that outlook is not what it was have restricted use when Boom was launched per cent. m's claim to in 2014, thanks to the rise

Boom's claim to sustainability also of videoconferencing presumes that there will be enough reasonably priced green fuel to power the aircraft, which is due to fly in 2029. But that is far from certain. Iata, the airline industry trade body, estimates that aviation uses roughly 450bn litres of fuel a year. Cur rent investment plans suggest produc-tion of only 5bn SAF by 2025, Iata says.

It notes that effective government incentives could take this to 30bn a yearby 2030, still far short of the industry's needs. That shortfall means that SAF is likely to be more expensive than jet fuel for some time.

Conventional fuel accounts for

roughly 30 per cent of an airline's oper-ating costs. Why would carriers use a

more costly option for a supersonic air-craft that will consume significantly more fuel than a modern subsonic air-craft? My guess is that they won't.

Even if a carrier did go down that path, tickets would have to be so prohib-tively priced, that only a select few could afford them.

High fuel costs and the small size of a very niche market contributed to the grounding of Concorde in 2003, according to John Strickland, an avia-tion consultant who was involved in net-work planning for the British Airways ork planning for the British Airways

"We could only make it work on the "We could only make it work on the London to New York route by getting premium traffic," he said. "It was a very small number of people doing repeat business" such as executives, dealmak-ers and "a few celebrities". Since then, the economics of super-sonic travel have not obviously changed, but much else has, For a start, the business-travel outlook is not what it was whan Economics and super-

it was when Boom was launched in 2014, thanks to the rise of videoconferencing post-Covid. And those passen-gers who once prized time savings over cost have to factor in the environmental

cost have to factor in the environmental impact of their journeys.

"Clients will say, "We don't want you using it. It's bad for our carbon foot-print," said one mergers and acquisitions lawyer who often used Concorde.

"I can see major investment banks simply saying their bankers will not use the aircraft."

Elving faster than the speed of sound.

the aircraft."

Flying faster than the speed of sound is a thrilling concept. But business travellers will have to weigh up whether saving a few hours' journey time is really worth the damage that could be done to their reputations, and to the

peggy.hollinger@ft.com



#### **COMPANIES & MARKETS**

# Repsol offloads a quarter of upstream unit

Sale to EIG for \$4.8bn will bolster the Spanish group's renewables shift

Repsol will sell a 25 per cent stake in its exploration and production operations to EIG for \$4.8bn as Spain's biggest oil company seeks to raise funds for renewables investments.

The deal, the result of an approach by the US energy and infrastructure investor, is one of the most creative efforts by a sector keen to transition to greener forms of energy while providing needed hydrocarbons.

Repsol said the deal, which values its upstream arm at about \$19bn, just under the company's market cap of \$194.bh, would 'crystallise value' in the division while freeing up capital to scale up renewables investments. Josu jon Imaz, chief executive, said: "Our ambition is to lead the energy transitio. This pioneering agreement allows us to maintain the strategic direction of the upstream unit!" while effecting the "transformation of the company and its multi-energy profile to achieve zero net emissions by 2050". Repsol in 2019 was among the first in the sector to set a net zero target and has begun building wind, solar and hydro plants in Spain, the US and Chile. Et G is a big oil and gas investor.

In 2014 it founded Harbour Energy, which is the largest oil and gas producer in the UK's North Sea. The oil industry, which is under pressure to slash emissions by reducing production, is wrestling with how to fund investments in cleaner energy while retaining sufficient profits from legacy assets to continue to pay shareholders. Some investors and industry veterans have called on the biggest companies to spin off their oil and gas divisions, which face a higher cost of capital than pure renewables businesses.

So far, most competitors, including Shell and BP, have argued that they will be better able to succeed as integrated companies.

inpanies. Italian oil group Eni was preparing to

list a minority stake in its retail and renewable power business in June before delaying the offering due to mar-ket conditions.

before delaying the offering due to market conditions.

The Repsol deal is the first attempt by a big oil and gas company to cash in on the value of its entire legacy business. The unit produces an average of 570,000 barrels a day of oil equivalent from fields in the Americas, Europe, Asia and Africa. About 70 per cent of that production is natural gas, prices for which have soared this year.

Biraj Borthataria, head of oil and gas equity research at RBC, described the deal as positive for Repsol and the industry.

see this deal as good for the

sector in unlocking value for the majors," he said.

Despite record profits from soaring oil and gas prices, the value of energy majors legacy businesses has become more uncertain as pressure mounts on fossil fuel producers to curb output.

Repsol, which was advised on the deal by PJF Partners, said it would retain operational control of the unit.

The transaction laid the foundation for a potential initial public offering of the business in the US in 2026 or later.

The transaction would help fund Repsol's long-term plans to build out its low-carbon business, and should be a "significant positive catalyst" for Repsol shares, Borkhataria said.

Travel & leisure

# Cineworld files for US bankruptcy protection

ALEXANDRA WHITE — NEW YORK JUDITH EVANS — LONDON

Cineworld, the world's second-largest cinema chain, has filed for bankruptcy protection in the US after buckling under a debt load worsened by pan-

demic closures.

The UK-based owner of chains such as Regal Cinemas said in a filing yesterday that it was seeking to out debt and shore up its balance sheet through a restructuring of its UK, US and Jersey businesses. The process is set to all but wipe out equity holders.

The company has secured a debtor-in-possession financing facility of almost \$2bn from its lenders, which include US investment managers Invesco, Eaton Vance and State Street.

The lenders are expected to take control during the bankruptcy process. Cineword said it would set out further restructuring plans "in due course". Its London-listed shares will not be suspended.

pended.
A deal to reduce the group's debt and lease liabilities, which amounted to almost \$9bn at the end of 2021, would "result in very significant dilution of equity interests in the group", said Cineworld, warning that "there is no guaranthe of any recovery for holders of exist-ing equity interests".

The filing follows a years-long strug-

gle with a debt pile incurred through expansion including the 2017 acquisi-tion of Regal, while ticket sales have been hit by the rise of streaming along with Covid-19 closures. Chief executive

'This latest process is part of our ongoing efforts to strengthen our financial position'

Mooky Greidinger twice agreed rescue packages with lenders to avoid bank-ruptcy during the pandemic.

The group's London-listed shares have shed more than 90 per cent of their value over the past year as the group floundered.

"The pandemic was an incredibly difficult time for our business, with the enforced closure of cinemas and huge disruption to film schedules that has led us to this point," said Greidinger.

## Technology Spotify chief uses Brussels visit to lobby against Apple

JAVIER ESPINOZA — BRUSSELS

The founder of music streaming app Spotify has used a rare visit to Brussels to apply personal pressure on the Euro-pean Commission for a case against Apple's practices to be accelerated.

Swedish billionaire Daniel Ek said he spoke with competition commissioner Margrethe Vestager about what he sees

as Apple's "anti-competitive conduct"
"It's a picture of a company that keeps
zigging and zagging to avoid doing anything", he said, adding that other regulatiming , ne said, adding that other regular tors, including in Japan, the Nether-lands and South Korea, "have come down pretty hard on" Apple over simi-lar issues. He urged the commission to

"I was asking [her] what I can do to "I was asking [her] what I can do to make sure this case moves faster. As an entrepreneur you always want anything to happen yesterday. These regulatory processes take time so, so far, I guess normal but that doesn't mean that one shouldn't try to accelerate them or try to

snouunt try to accelerate them or try to make more progress."

Ek said he hoped his visit would speed the probe against Apple, which has already taken almost four years. "I'm hoping [my visit] raises the awareness and the attention on the



Cash crunch EU smelters launch emergency action to support the strategically important Europear smelting industry as another plant announced big production cuts.

The move to halve smelter output at the Rheinwerk plant near Düsseldorf to 70,000 tonnes a year from next month comes a day after Aluminium Dunkirk, Europe's largest primary smelter for

agenda and that the priority becomes even higher."

even higher."
His remarks followed meetings with senior officials — including Vestager, commissioner Vera Jourova and the cabinet of internal markets commissioner Thierry Breton – to make his case for a speedy resolution on an anti-trust probe against Apple.

Spotify filed a complaint with Euro-pean regulators in 2019 claiming that Apple was taking a 30 per cent cut of its subscription fees for featuring it in the re and denying the streaming service the right to tell its users that

service the right to tell its users that other ways of upgrading were available. The commission formally charged Apple with breaking EU law this year. Ek said that Vestager told him she shared his frustration over the pace of the investigation. The commission did not immediately comment after the vector.

There is no fixed deadline for the commission to issue its final ruling and officials have not indicated when it might be given. Whoever loses the case is likely to appeal to the EU courts.

#### call for help with costs

Germany's Speira is the latest aluminium producer to slash output because of soaring energy costs as the

crisis deepens.

The cuts add to calls for help to save a sector facing an "existential threat a sector facing power prices and come ahead of a meeting of EU energy ministers tomorrow that aims to soften the pain for households and business igh emergency interventions.

In a letter to EU leaders, Eurometaux, the non-ferrous metals trade body, said the industry's problems, which have led to "unprecedented" cuts to smelter production in the past year, would deepen unless the EU intervened. "We are deeply concerned that the winter ahead could deliver a decisive blow to many of our operations" the In a letter to EU leaders,

blow to many of our operations," the body and 40 chief executives warned. The cost of energy has become far higher in Europe than Asia and the US after Russia slashed gas supplies to the continent, which is threatening to wipe out corners of the region's industry. the metal, said it would reduce output by just over a fifth.

by just over a littl.

Speira chief executive Einar Glomnes said energy prices had become too high to maintain production.

"We are facing similar challenges as

many other European aluminium smelters," he said. "This development requires us to curtail 50 per cent of our smelter production until further notice to sustain value for Speira."

The latest wave of cutbacks follows indefinite shutdowns of Norsk Hydro's aluminium smelter in Slovakia and a zinc smelter in the Netherlands run by Nyrstar, which is controlled by

ryistat, which is continued by commodity trading group Trafigura. Europe only accounts for 6 per cent of global aluminium production but the metal is of strategic importance

the mean is of strategic importance because of its use in aerospace, defence and the motor sector, as well as in buildings and to produce drinks cans. "Europe should realise that if we don't produce aluminium, we will be dependent on aluminium that is imported. It will be the same story as

decide whether alumin strategic material."

Known as "solid electricity", aluminium is one of the most vulnerable sectors to the surge in prices that shot up after Russia choked gas supplies to Europe. Before the crisis, electricity was

about 40 per cent of an aluminium smelter's costs with one tonne smelter's costs with one conne taking about 15 megawatt hours of electricity to produce, enough to power the average UK home for about five years. Producers have said it is nearly

impossible to sign long-term powe supply deals when their contracts expire, with electricity prices up more than 10-fold of their average

more than 10-fold of their average over the previous decade. Gas, which is used to generate power, heavily influences electricity prices. Last year Europe produced 4.5mn tonnes of aluminium. That is set to fall to 3.4mn tonnes this year, according to Wood Mackenzie, a consultancy. Harry Dempsey

ongoing efforts to strengthen our financial position and is in pursuit of a delev-eraging that will create a more resilient capital structure and effective busi-

Cineworld plans to discuss improving Us cinema lease terms with landlords and said it expected to emerge from Chapter 11 during the first quarter of 2023. Employees will continue to be paid, while its chains, which also include Cinema City, Picturehouse and Yes Plant will correct whether constants. Planet, will carry out business as usual.

The company, which operates 747 sites and employs about 28,000 people globally, also faces a potential \$1bn payout to Canadian rival Cineplex over an acquisition attempt that was aban-doned in 2020. Cineworld is appealing

against the decision in Canadian courts. It is not the only cinema group facing severe financial difficulties. Lenders to severe financial difficulties. Lenders to Vue International, the Un's third-larg-est cinema chain, took control of the group in a £1bn debt restructuring in July. AMC meanwhile has more than \$5bn of debt.

## Richemont investors brush aside activist plan

cans await recycling at a Speira facility. The group has been forced

Richemont shareholders have rejected activist Bluebell's campaign to shake up the board of the Swiss luxury group, handing a victory to founder Johann Rupert.

In a vote yesterday, shareholders over-whelmingly voted against Francesco Trapani, a luxury executive whom Bluebell had nominated as a board director, preferring Richemont's choice, Wendy Luhabe, who was already on

wendy Luniane, who was arready on the board.

They voted down two other resolu-tions proposed by Bluebell that sought to restore more power to holders of the A shares, which carry fewer voting rights than the B shares owned by Rupert's family holding company.

owned by kupers a secondary.

Bluebell, which has been part of successful campaigns at foodmaker Danone and chemicals group Solvay, had accused Rupert of behaving like a padrone (father-master) who made

most decisions at Richemont while owning only 9.1 per cent. The family holding company's B shares carry 50 per cent of the voting rights in the owner of Cartier and Van Cleef & Arpels. "I'm happy to see that our sharehold-ers trust the management," said Rupert,

Rupert 'does not own the company and must answer to shareholders'

Giuseppe Bivona, Bluebell

who serves as chair of Richemont, after

who serves as chair of Richemont, after the vote, according to Reuters. Richemont's management, as well as shareholder advisory groups ISS and Glass Lewis, had recommended voting against Bluebell's resolutions, including the nomination of Trapani. The company had argued that the former Bulgari and Tiffany & Co executive was too closely associated

with rival LVMH, which owns both brands. Bluebell executive Gluseppe Bivona said the fund planned to continue to push for changes at Richemont. "We are very patient," he said. "We will stay as shareholders as long as it takes for Rupert to realise that he does not own the company and must answer to shareholders." He cast the outcome as a small step

The contract company and mass answer to shareholders.

He cast the outcome as a small step forward as Richement had nominated a board member to represent the A shareholders for the first time, as required by the company's bylaws.

Bluebell had criticised Richemont's strategy and called for the group to focus on jewellery and watches instead of its unprofitable ecommerce operation and fashion brands such as Chloé.

Richemont shares have delivered returns of about 60 per cent in the past five years, compared with roughly 200 per cent at rivals Hermès and LVMH and 80 per cent for Kering, according to

Technology

#### Tencent takes 49.9% passive stake in Ubisoft

Ubisoft shares closed down 17 per cent vesterday after Chinese conglomerate rencent increased its investment in the French gaming group, dashing investor hopes of an imminent takeover of the family-controlled business.

A wave of consolidation in video A wave of consolidation in video gaming over the past three years has led to independent studios being snapped up by technology groups, leading to speculation that the developer of Assassin's Creed would be next.

would be next.

Ubisoft is Europe's second-largest gaming company by market capitalisation and one of the few remaining independent participants making bigbudget titles.

However, the founding Guillamot

However, the founding Guillemot family has protected the company's independence and fended off a raid by media and communications group Viv-ard that began in 2015. an in 2015.

Tuesday, the Chinese tech group agreed to pay €300mn to buy a 49.9 per cent stake in Guillemot Brothers Limited, a vehicle that holds some of the family's shares, but will have only 5 per cent voting rights in the entity and no board representation.

Tencent has the option to increase the 4.5 per cent direct stake it has owned in



the maker of JUSE DATASE.

The deal implies a valuation of €80 per share for Ubsoft, which is significantly higher than the closing price on Tuesday of €43.50.

"The speculative appeal diminishes, in our view," analysts at Kepler Cheuter of the control of the c

The agreement between Ubisoft and Tencent stipulates that Tencent be allowed to increase its direct stake in Ubisoft and launch a full takeover bid should a third party bid for the

pany. e pair would act in concert under a eholders' pact, they said in a joint

Shareholders' pact, they said in a joint statement.

"As a result of this transaction, Ubisoft's governance will remain unchanged and Tencent will not have any operational veto rights," said Ubisoft chief executive Pves Guillemot. Tencent has signed a standstill agreement that it will not sell its Ubisoft shares for five years nor raise its stake past 9.99 per cent for eight years.

"We are excited to expand our engagement with the founders, the Guillemot family," said Tencent president Martin Lau, adding that Tencent planned to "bring some of Ubisoft's most well-known AAA franchises to mobile".

**COMPANIES & MARKETS** 

# Tide is high for Blackstone-backed music rights group Hipgnosis after market turns

Songs fund strays into deeper water as aggressive interest rate increases pose a challenge to its breakneck expansion

ANNA NICOLAOU — NEW YORK

When Merck Mercuriadis, a forme manager of stars such as Beyoncé and Elton John, set up an investment vehicle and floated it on the London Stock Exchange in 2018, he had an audacious

Songs were a better investment than oil or gold as the music streaming busi-ness continued to boom, he said. He had

oil or gold as the music streaming business continued to boom, he said. He had
the "extensive relationships in the
music industry" needed to take advantage of the revolution and, if investors
trusted him with their money, they
could get in on the ground floor.
Hignosis raised more than £1bn and,
for a time, snapped up catalogues at
breakneck pace from the likes of
Blondie and Nell Young.
Since embarking on the buying
frenzy, Hignosis has pledged to transform popular music into a dependable
asset class. The royalties from the songs
it owned would be packaged into a regular income stream in the form of dividends for investors including the
Church of England and Investec's
wealth management arm.
But Higpnosis Songs Fund, which
took shape in an era of rock-bottom
interest rates and soaring stock markets, has since become an example of
what can happen to exotic investments
when the market turns.

To fuel its growth, HSF has repeatedly

what can happen to south investments when the market turns.

To fuel its growth, IRsF has repeatedly tapped investors for cash to make new acquisitions, but it has since burnt through its funds and is unable to raise more because its stock price has fallen.

Pro forma royalty revenues from its catalogue — a measure that strips out the boost from acquisitions — have fallen for the past two years and the cost of servicing its \$600m of debt is rising. It has not bought a new song for more than a year. Some artists who had hoped to sell their catalogues to Mercuriadis are growing impatient. regrowing impatient.
In addition to shareholders of the



In the six months starting October last year — when Blackstone took control of HSM — the London-listed vehicle has reported that "abotted deal expenses" increased to \$1.6mn, four times higher than the previous level. That includes the cost of doing due diligence on potential deals that the fund did not sign. Stephen Schwarzman Blackstone's Stephen Schwarzman Blackstone's

spent about six months trading below HSF's \$2.2bn net asset value — an equity valuation derived from a third-party agent's assessment of the fund's assets, which HSF has presented to investors. That means raising new equity would ditute existing shareholders and as HSF says, "destroy value". HSF pays an annual dividend yield of 4.6 per cent, according to investment bank Stifel, funded by royalties that are naid when sonos are streamed. nlaved

London-listed fund is that a third-party agent has marked up its net asset valuation, allowing it to report strong returns to investors. Barry Massarsky, a veteran music economist who values catalogues, including HSF's, said its 65,413 songs were worth \$2.69bin in March, up from \$2.59bin in September 2021. That was partly because Massarsky concluded that the songs were not decaying

by as much as expected, a person familiar with the matter said.

A higher valuation means the company could borrow more money, which it could potentially use to fund the dividend. HSF can borrow up to 30 per cent of its catalogue's value and, based on the 22-2bn valuation derived from Massarsky's numbers, it could increase debt from \$6.000 min \$4.000 min \$4.000

the limit. If Massarsky were to mark down the fund's value, it would prevent HSF from borrowing more. One reason for doing so would be to factor in the effect of interest rate rises by adjusting the discount rate. Massarsky uses in his calculations. HSF said in July that a 0.5 per cent increase in the discount rate would reduce the value of its catalogue to \$2.02bn, a fall of about 10 per cent.

HSF is still being valued using the

same discount rate as it was a year ago, even after central banks have since embarked on rate rises to stem the

even after central banks have since embarked on rate rises to stem the worst inflation in decades. "If we were to make changes with every ripple in the market, then that would create instability in our market," Nari Matsuura, a partner at Citrin Cooperman, which acquired Massarsky Consulting, said in July. Matsuura told Music Business Worldwide in May that her firm was "protecting all of our clients" by not raising the discount rate because it meant that "valuations will not go down". She told the Financial Times: "We have refreshed our calculation for the current direction of interest rates, and the 8.5 per cent discount rate still accommodates for that rise." If HSF were to face financial difficulties, Blackstone could buy its portfolio either outright or in parts. "There is a scenario where the listed fund has to cut the dividend due to its leverage issues",

женатю where the listed fund has to cut the dividend due to its leverage issues", in which case the share price would suf-fer "severely", Stifel analysts wrote last month.

month.

In any case, Blackstone "comes out on top", the analysts said, given that it can either buy assets at attractive prices or collect fees paid to H5M, the advisory vehicle that sits atop the web of companies. H5M generated \$16.5mn in fees from H5F last year.

The note was titled "Blackstone:

London-listed fund, Mercuriadis has a new investor to answer to: the world's biggest private equity group, Black-

#### Dizzying growth

Dizzying growth

By late August 2021, HSF had run out of frepower.

A month earlier, it had raised £156mn for deals, the ninth time in three years it had tapped investors. But the dizzying pace of fundraising and dealmaking has made it difficult to assess the company's underlying performance. At the time of he July 2021 fundraising, Mercuriadis told investors that he would not ask for more cash for at aleast a year.

Within weeks, he spent the entire haul on songs by artists including the Red Hot Chill Peppers, Kaiser Chiefs and Elliot Lurie, the lead writer for Looking Glass, the early '705 US pop-

During the self-imposed moratorium During the self-imposed moratorium, Mercuriadis turned elsewhere for cash. In October last year, he sold his private management company, The Family (Music), to Blackstone. The vehicle, which is paid advisory fees by the Lon-don-listed fund, was renamed Hipgnosis Songs Management.

Blackstone did not disclose the terms

of its investment in HSM, which is still run by Mercuriadis, who retains a

minority stake.
Blackstone also set up a private \$1bn
fund — with \$350mn of equity and
\$650mn of debt — giving Mercuriadis a
fresh pot of capital to buy more song
copyrights. The fund, called Hipgnosis
Songs Capital, also pays fees to HSM.
However, in recent months, several

artists have complained that Mercuri-adis has failed to complete potential transactions that were being discussed, according to people briefed on the nego-tiations. Mercuriadis blamed the delays on the US Federal Reserve's implement tation of a string of interest rate rises,

Blackstone's bet on song royalties

yand's fund manager, wns: 65,000 songs inc ndie, Chic, Neil Young alogues as well as son a Lipa, Harry Styles an

 Pays fees to HSM Sources: FT research; Stife according to two people briefed on the tussle. The songwriter — who asked to remain anonymous because negotius that they had approached schwarzman about a stalled deal to buy their catalogue, the people said. "We have a fiduciary responsibility to our investors to always ensure our underwriting is accurate," Mercuriadis said. "Changes in interest rates has meant some deals have had to be under-

There is a scenario where the listed fund has to cut the dividend due to its leverage issues'

written again and re-priced. This is not unique to Hipgnosis or the music indus-try." He added: "We believe in straight communication with the songwriters and we give them the actual facts. Our reputation in the songwriting commu-nity is based on actions not words. We have the trust of the songwriting community and are their preferred choice because we have made our success with

them and not at their expense." Blackstone declined to comment.

#### Difficulties mount

Mercuriadis has used Blackstone's \$1bn fund to sign deals with Leonard Cohen Justin Timberlake, Nile Rodgers, Nelly Furtado and country singer Kenny Chesney. He will also use it to buy Pink Floyd's back catalogue, which he has long coveted, if he wins an auction that is expected to close soon

But his original London-listed fund faces mounting challenges.

To buy more songs, it needs to raise new equity. But it is in effect precluded from doing so because of the decline in its share price. By the time the pause on new fundraising expired, its shares had

on the radio, performed live, covered by another artist or used in a television show, advertisement or video game.

Those yields were attractive when interest rates were near zero but are less enticing when investors can make higher returns than before from lowerrisk assets such as government bonds.

If HSF's costs were to remain constant, its revenues would need to rise about 20 per above their level in 2021 to cover its dividend payment for the year to March 2025, according to Stifel.

"The dividend is one of the key attractions for shareholders," said Sachin Saggar, an analyst at Stifel. "[Higgnosis] would not cut it unless it was a last resort."

HSF said last month that it into

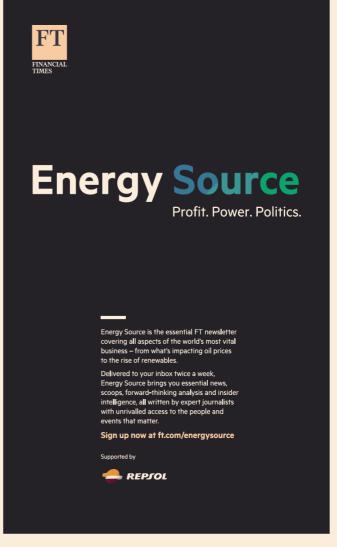
HSF said last month that it intended to keep targeting a 5.25p dividend for heyear to March 2023.

HSF executives believe operating costs will fall because it is not signing deals, and the fund is reviewing its debt structure to cut its interest payments, said a person close to the group.

Executives expect revenues to be boosted by the still live growth in music streaming as well as the impact of the reopening of bars and cubes and the return of live shows after lockdowns, the person said. The company is also in line to receive a windfall from a US court ruling that increased royalty payments.

ruling that increased royalty payments.
But part of the decline in revenues is
probably tied to the "decay" effect, said Saggar. New songs tend to generate higher royalty payments in the first six or so years after they are released. HSF is exposed to newer songs: at the end December, 43 per cent of revenues we generated by songs under 10 years old. sed to newer songs; at the end of





**COMPANIES & MARKETS** 

Currencies. Yield differentials

# Yen hits 1998 low even after Japan's verbal intervention



Rising sum: analysts have warned that the dollar strengthening towards ¥150 did 'not look imp ible' if the rhetoric around the yen remain

Selling in Asian forex spreads as South Korean won reaches its weakest level since 2009

Japan's yen in historic drop

Gulf between US and Japanese yields widens as monetary policy diverges ment bond yield (%)

900 -1,000 1,000

Equities

## AIG lowers valuation of life and asset management unit in listing

NICHOLAS MEGAW AND BROOKE MASTERS — NEW YORK

AIG is planning to cut the valuation of Corebridge, its life and asset management business, by more than 50 per cent as the carved-out company attempts to reopen the US market for initial public offerings with the first major listing since May.

The US insurance group on Tuesday said it aimed to sell Somm Corebridge shares at batterned \$\frac{1}{2}\$ and \$\frac{1}{2}\$ an

shares at between \$21 and \$24 a share raising between \$1.7bn and \$1.9bn. Th company plans to list on the New York Stock Exchange later this month.

Such a price would value the com-pany at between \$13.5bn and \$15.5bn ompared with the \$22.2bn valuation that it secured in an investment from private equity group Blackstone last

The lower price reflects the broader slide in equity prices rather than a material change in Corebridge's business.

The S&P 500 stock index has fallen about 15 per cent since the deal with Blackstone was struck and shares in recently listed companies have been particularly badly hit. The Renaissance IPO index was down 44 per cent in the first eight months of the year. The US IPO market has been almost

'It's a well-known company with a solid business. We

The yen fell further against the dollar yesterday, leaving it down a fifth this vear, as Japan's government stepped up ming an acute sell-off in the currency

Japan's currency declined to ¥144 gainst the dollar, its weakest level since 1998, despite a shift in language by Japa nese officials, which gave the stronges hints to date that they could take action if the currency continues to slide

Finance minister Shunichi Suzuki said yen moves should be stable and reflect economic fundamentals, calling

for stability in currency markets.

"We are concerned that the yen's depreciation has been one-sided," he told reporters. "We will take necessary action if this continues."

He declined to comment when asked

He declined to Comment when asked what the "necessary action" entails. Suzuki made the remarks after the yen continued its descent even after Hirokazu Matsuno, the chief cabinet secretary, expressed "concern" about the yen's rapid moves earlier in the day and issued a similarly worded warning oftenential intervention.

of potential intervention.

But traders said the fundamentals But traders said the fundamentals behind the yen's descent remained the same as they had since March with the market pricing in a widening chasm between tightening monetary policy in the US and the ultra-loose stance of the Bank of Japan.

The Japanese central bank is still pursuing its policy of buying an unlimited amount of government bonds to hold 10-year borrowing costs under 0.25 per cent, which has created a





massive gap against US yields, which are

ow sitting at 3.3 per cent. In a sign that the pressure in Asian currency markets is spreading, the South Korean won also yesterday extended its losses for a fifth consecu-tive session to hit its weakest level since the 2009 global financial crisis, dragged down by the US Federal Reserve's ggressive monetary tightening and eoul's ballooning trade deficits. The South Korean currency fell as

much as 0.9 per cent to Won1,389 per dollar, its weakest level since 2009. Choo Kyung-ho, the country's finance minister, said yesterday that growing uncertainty in the currency markets was not desirable and authorities were closely monitoring the situation for any herd-like behaviour. He added that the stronger dollar was

He added that the stronger dollar was a global phenomenon and South Korea held enough currency reserves to absorb any shock in the foreign exchange market.

Financial regulators also met local bank officials yesterday to discuss the recent market situation.

Concerns about Fed rate rises were fortified by stronger US economic data released on Tuesday, which market par-

ticipants have interpreted as a sign that the central bank's rate-tightening cycle will continue and hence a bet against the

yen remains a relatively safe trade. In an interview with the Financial Times on Tuesday, Thomas Barkin, president of the Fed's Richmond branch, said the US central bank had to branch, said the US central bank had to lift interest rates to a level that restrained economic activity and keep them there until policymakers were "convinced" that rampant inflation was

subsiding.

The yen's dive beyond the ¥144 level against the dollar yesterday came after analysts warned on Tuesday that there was a growing prospect the market would soon test the late 1990s low of ¥147 might be dellar.

¥147 against the dollar.

Japan has not stepped into the currency market by selling the dollar

currency market by selling the dollar and buying the yen since 1998.
Foreign exchange analysts generally push against the theory that the Japanese authorities are likely to intervene to support theyen.
Unilateral action would have only a limited effect and the spectacle of a failed attempt to fight the market could unleash a consequent "feeding frenzy" by speculative

Tadaide, a senior foreign exchange strategist at Daiwa Securities, said the latest verbal warnings were still weaker than in June when the Bank of Japan, the Ministry of Finance and the Financial Services Agency released a rare statement expressing concerns over the sharpness of the yen's fall.

"The comments today were intended to signal intervention but markets still do not think that they will take such an action," Tadaide said, suggesting that the remarks may have actually accelerated the yen's slide as traders became more confident that the government was unlikely to intervene. JPMorgan analyst Benjamin Shatil said that, if the rhetoric around the currency remained unchanged, a move towards ¥150 did "not look impossible". Apart from verbal intervention, the Japanese government and Boj were likely to stand on the sidelines even if the yen weakens further, said Naohiko Baba, Japan economist at Goldman Sachs, "given that there are currently The comments today were intended

Baba, Japan economist at Goldman Sachs, "given that there are currently very limited effective countermeasures at their disposal".

investors that would push the yen lower. While government officials strengthened their tone, Kenta

Our global team gives you market-moving

think the time is right and we are confident'

entirely frozen since the start of the year and Corebridge's offering will be closely watched by bankers and private companies as a test of in ahead of a wider restart. nies as a test of investor appetite

Corebridge was widely seen as a prime candidate to reopen the market, with bankers hopeful that its large size, history of profitability and the backing of its parent company would make it a relatively safe bet compared with the lossmaking tech groups that have dominated IPOs in recent years.

"It's a well-known company with a solid business. We think the time is right and we are confident," said one person

familiar with the process. Corebridge reported revenue of \$16bn in the first six months of 2022, with net income of \$6bn. Just two companies have raised more than \$500mn in US IPOs this year — private equity group TPG in January and healthcare group

ausch & Lombin May. Bausch had also been touted as a strong candidate to reopen the market but priced below its target range, and the poor performance led many compa-nies to put their plans on hold for sev-

mes to put their pains to mout no rear armore months aid it had delayed the listing of Corebridge because of the "high degree of equity market volatil-ity" in May and June. AIG has gone through several bouts of restructuring since its \$1850n taxpayer rescue during the 2008 financial crisis. See Lex

## Oil prices slide on global economic fears despite Opec+ cut in supply

SHOTARO TANI — LONDON JUSTIN JACOBS — HOUSTOI

Oil prices fell yesterday as a renew fear over recession and a strong US dollar weighed on the commodity.

Brent crude, the international oil benchmark, fell as low as \$88.50 a barrel, a 4.6 per cent drop on the day, and a seven-month low dating back to before the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

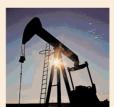
before the Russian invasion of Ukraine.
This was also the first time Brent had
dropped below the \$90 a barrel level
since February.
West Texas Intermediate, the US
marker, fell as much as 5.2 per cent to
\$82.37 a barrel, the lowest since January.

\$82.57 a barrel, the lowest since January, Yesterday's fresh falls come only days after Opee-'s decision on Monday to cut crude supply to prop up prices, which came despite calls from western govern-ments battling to curb inflation in the face of a mounting global energy crisis. The producer group will cut 100,000 barrels aday from supply from Cotober. While only a fraction of the Comp. 1/2 of Jameste it reversed on

100mn b/d oil market, it reversed an earlier increase of the same amount agreed last month following a visit to Ieddah by President Joe Biden.

The decision came after a decline in oil prices in recent weeks amid growing fears of recession in Europe and weaker oil demand from China because of its Covid-19 lockdowns.

Covid-19 lockdowns.
The message from Opec+ was it will protect oil prices, and crude rallied following that on Monday. But a drop in potential demand because of recession continues to weigh on traders.
"The spectre of a demand-sapping recession across the western world is closer to becoming reality as soaring



Oil has hit lows dating back to before

inflation and rising interest rates dents consumption," said Stephen Brennock of PVM, a brokerage. "Simply put, the [Opec+] cut is being inferred by market players as a clear sign of the deteriorat-ing demand outlook."

ing demand outlook."
The strength of the US dollar, which is typically seen as a headwind to commodity prices, is also weighing on 01. The US Dollar index, which tracks the greenback against a basket of currencies, has lit a two-decade high.
"Any rallies continue to get sold," analysts at ollytics said. "The Opec cut was ignored." The strong dollar "continues to be the major headwind for most commodities," they added. The drop in prices is being cheered by the Biden administration, however, as midterm elections loom in November. Despite pledges to shift the US economy off fossil fuels, Biden has pushed domestic suppliers to increase output while releasing record amounts of crude

omy oft fossil fuels, Biden has pushed domestic suppliers to increase output while releasing record amounts of crude from the nation's strategic stockpile in a bid to tame soaring prices at the pump. The US national average petrol price has fallen sharply in recent weeks to \$3.76 a gallon after topping \$5 a gallon in lune.

'We are

yen's depreciation

has been one-sided'

concerned that the

## China's biggest four banks feel property crisis pinch as overdue loans leap 50%

China's biggest four banks have been hit by a more than 50 per cent increase in overdue loans from the property sector over the past year as the real estate market's liquidity crunch spills

China's top lenders — the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China, China Construction Bank, Agricultural Bank of China and Bank of China — last week reported combined overdue property loans of Rmbis-66m (\$20bn) at the end of June, up from Rmb9obn (\$13bn) at the same time flast year.

The rise in bad loans from the deteriorating property crisis is

deteriorating property crisis is worsening asset quality across China's Rmb367.7tn banking industry. Beyond bad debts, the banks are also

suffering from weakening loan demand from their best corporate and retail clients as growth slows in the world's second-biggest economy.

"We see multiyear structural [return on equity] decline as banks retreat from the property sector amid stalled projects, mortgage boycotts and height-

ened regulations," Macquarie analyst
Dexter Hsu wrote in a note to clients.
China's "Big Four" lenders are
systemically important institutions and
the backbone of China's financial sector.
They are among the world's biggest
banks, holding about 36 per cent of the
country's deposits and issuing a third of
its loans. The size and relatively stable
health of the Big Four banks has given

'We have no incentive to beef up lending even though the regulator asked us to do so'

Chinese authorities confidence as they try to orchestrate a soft landing for failing companies in the property sector, which accounts for about 30 per cent of

which accounts for about 30 per cent of gross domestic product.

However, Hsu said that, while banks' loans to developers accounted for 4-9 per cent of their total loans, it will probably become "the major source" of new non-performing loans in the next two years, driving up banks' credit costs.

"We believe the real exposure to

developers could be much bigger than reported because they extended credits to the developers via proprietary investments and off balance sheet credits like wealth management products, trust products, private funds and private bonds," he added.

Exacerbating the gloomy picture, Beijing's economic planners have called on state banks to take an earnings hit by offering lower interest rates to support homebuyers and businesses.

A senior official at one of the Big Four lenders said that the state of the current property market meant that the banks

property market meant that the banks had "no incentive" to boost lending to the sector in spite of pressure from Bei-

jing.
"Our cost of capital is still too high. We have no incentive to beef up lending even though the regulator asked us to do so. The more loans we issue, the more [non-performing loans] we will have,"

the person said.

According to the exchange filings,
Agricultural Bank of China and China Construction Bank were the worst affected, suffering increases in bad loans to the sector of 152 per cent and 97 per cent from a year ago, respectively.

**COMPANIES & MARKETS** 

#### The day in the markets

#### What you need to know

US stocks and bonds attract buyers as traders assess outlook for rate rises
 Moves follow downbeat China export and German Industrial output data
 Short-dated UK gilts rally ahead of

US stocks and government bond prices rose yesterday as traders attempted to decipher messaging about the future

decipher messaging about the future path of monetary policy against a gloomy conomic backdrop. Wall Street's broad 58,P 500 Share index was up 08 per cent by early afternoon in New York while the Nasdag Composite, which is stacked full of fach stocks that are more sensitive to interest rate changes, was up 1 per cent. In bond markets, the yield on the 10-year US Treasury note — seen as a proxy for borrowing costs around the world—fell 6 basis points to 328 per cent as the debt instruments' price increased.

Treasuries had sold off along with UK gilts in the previous session after a positive survey on the services industry in the world's largest economy fuelled expectations of aggressive monetary policy tightening by the US Federal Reserve.

Reserve.
Markets are pricing in the possibility of
the Fed raising interest rates by 0.75
percentage points at its late-September
meeting, which would mark the third
consecutive increase of such magnitude.
Elsewhere, short-dated UK gilts railled

# UK government bond yields ease from recent highs 10-year gilt yield % 06:01 09:00 10:00 11:00 12:00 13:00 14:00 15:44

the newly appointed UK prime minister, was poised to announce a package this week to alleviate the pressure of soaring energy prices on households and businesses, which some analysts believe could reduce near-term inflationary

"I think it's a short-term recovery" said

from China, showing that it had exported less than expected in August. The figures were a "sign that slowing global growth and the normalisation of consumption patterns is weighing on demand for Chinese goods", wrote Sheana Yue, China economist at Capital Economics.

## The Great Reversal brings us a warning of high inflation era

# John Plender

# Markets Insight

his is not the 1970s or so we are confidently assured by respectable economists. Granted, as we confront soaring levels of inflation,

Granted, as we contront the advanced differences between then and now.

But the UK's strikes in rail, mail and rubbish collection point to one overwhelming similarity – namely, that stagilation creates winners and losers. When national real income is squeezed by oil price shocks as in the 1970s or current food and energy price shocks, rival claimants in the economy compete ferociously to reclaim lost income. A wage price spiral results. Economist Milton Friedman remarked that inflation is "always and everywhere a monetary phenomenon". Clearly, money is an important component in the inflationary process. Yet strikes in the UK and the tightness of labour markets around the developed world suggest that no explanation of

workers have a higher propensity to consume than owners of capital who have higher savings rates. This prompted endemically expansionary monetary policies.

Central banks did not lean against the booms but eased aggressively and persistently during busts. This bias to loose policy was further entrenched after the financial crisis by the asset purchasing programmes of the central banks.

William White, former head of the monetary and economic department in the Bank for international settlements, argued that central banks have systematically ignored supply-side shocks and

No explanation of inflation can be complete without reference to the struggle between labour and capital



yesterday with the two-year yield sliding 15bp to just over 3 per cent while the yield on the 10-year bond lost 7bp to 3.03

Markets update

change on day

10-year Tre

•

36

0-year Gilt

compared with 0.8 per cent growth in the previous month, another report showed. The pan-regional Stoxx Europe 600 share Index fell 0.6 per cent. Hong Kong's Hang Seng slid 0.8 per cent. Ian Johnston

**•** 

al Times (Asia), Thursda
inflation can be complete without
reference to the distributional power
struggle between labour and capital.
While central bankers congratulated
themselves on delivering low and stable
inflation during the so-called Great
Moderation in the three decades
before the financial crisis of 2007-09,
distinflation was in reality the result of
the global labour market shock arising
from bringing China, India and the eastern Europeans into the global economy.
This ensured a long-term downwant
trend in labour's share of national
income. Productivity gains were seized
entirely by capital. The disinflationary
impetus was reinforced by the wider
ramifications of globalisation.
Weakness in returns to labour held
back consumption and output because

ay, September 8, 2022
in the Covid-19 pandemic failed to grasp how much supply potential had been reduced by illness and lockdowns.
In effect, they have repeated the mistake of US Federal Reserve chair Arthur Burns, who in the 1970s argued that the oil prices shock was merely transitory while ignoring the second-round impact, notably in the labour market.
Fed chair Jay Powell indicated at the central bankers' Jackson Hole annual jamborce last month that it was belatedly not be case, asying that the employment costs of reducing inflation were likely to increase with delay, adding "we must keep at it until the job is done".
The difficulty here is that both private and public sector debt are at higher levels than before the financial crisis so the output and employment costs of

Crisis to a Great Reversal into a higher inflation environment. It is also a world in which the toxic combination of the debt trap and the shrinkage of central bank balance sheets will greatly increase the risk of financial crises.

While commercial bank balance sheets are in better shape than in 2008, under-regulated, opaque non-banks are apotential systemic threat as the failure last year of the Archegos family offici indicated. A vital lesson of history is that after an "everything bubble", leverage or borrowing turns out to be far greater than everyone assumed at the time.

john.plender@ft.com



#### Wall Street

Twitter railled following news that Elon Musk's legal team would be able to include a whistleblower's claims in its include a whistleblower's claims in its countersuit against the social media

The Tesla boss, who is trying to back out of buying the network, will now be able to include allegations from Twitter's former security chief, who claimed that the network misled regulators over its cyber security precautions and fake

accounts.

However, the Delaware judge sided with Twitter in keeping the October date for a trial that will determine whether Musk will have to pay a hefty premium to buy the platform.

Entertainment group Imax, known for this impractive movie screens is allied on

Entertainment group imax, known for its immersive movie screens, railled on news that it would be returning more money to investors through a \$200mm boost to its share repurchase programme. An earnings miss sent Korn Ferry lower with the executive recruiter forecasting earnings per share of \$128-51.45 for its fiscal second quarter, which was below the \$1.50 that analysts polled by Refinitiv had expected.

the \$150 time to the softer projection on 'global inflation, rising interest rates and escalating eopolitical trensions', which made gauging the present level of risk 'difficult to quantify', the company said.

#### Europe

France's **Ubisoft** fell sharply on news that Tencent had acquired a minority stake in the video-game producer in a move that appeared to scupper hopes of an outright

The Chinese conglomerate's

The Chinese conglomerate's investment amounted to 6300mn and implied a valuation of 680 per Ubisoft share — almost double the 644 average for the stock this year.
But CIII said Tencent's stake suggested a 7ull takeout of the Assassin's Creed publisher was now unlikely.
Sweden's Caso Ohison dived after Kristofer Tonström, chief executive, admitted that strategic bets made by the home-improvement chain "did not meet our expectations".
For the three months ending July 31, it

low levels".

A bearish verdict by Bank of America weighed on Nel as the broker reinstate coverage on the Norwegian renewable-energy group with an "underperform" rating.

#### London

GB Group surged after replying to GTCR's statement, which confirmed that the US private equity firm was considering a possible cash offer for the identity

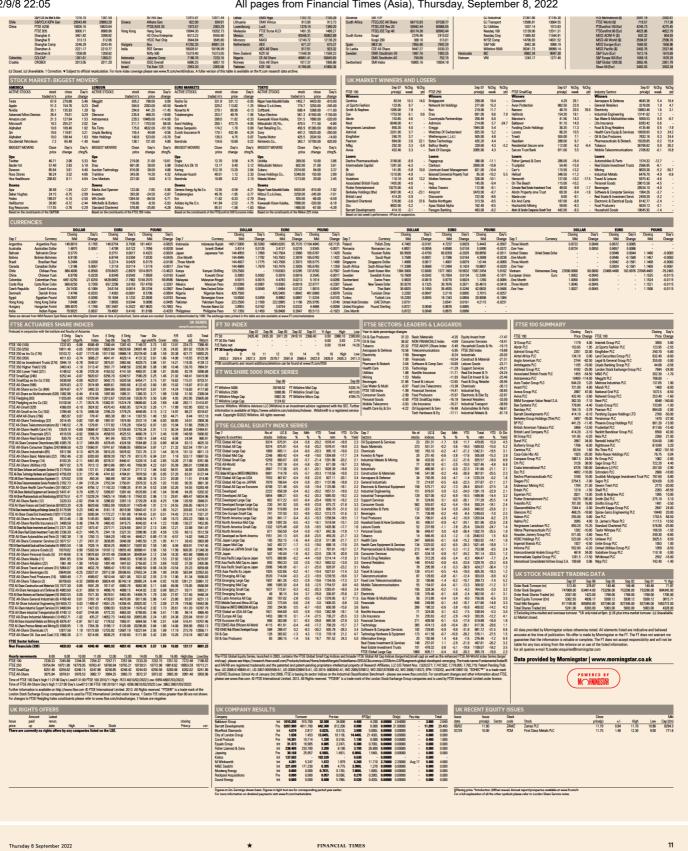
verification specialist.
Citi said it understood why GB was attractive, regarding it "as a quality ass

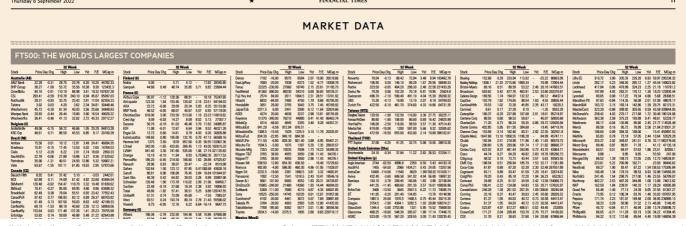
Citi said it understood why GB was attractive, regarding it "as a quality asset" and "a strong player in growing markets with good cash generation and a track record of outstanding profitable growth". Brokers Stifel and Liberum, highlighting recent deals in the fraud and ID verification space, said the news may idea to other approaches and an offer that would probably be a healthy premium to GB's current share price. Auto and cycling retailer Halfords railled off the back of a trading update described as "reassuring" by RBC Europe. Like-for-like sales for the 20-week period ending August 19 were slightly ahead of the broker's estimates, helped by a better than expected performance in its retail business.

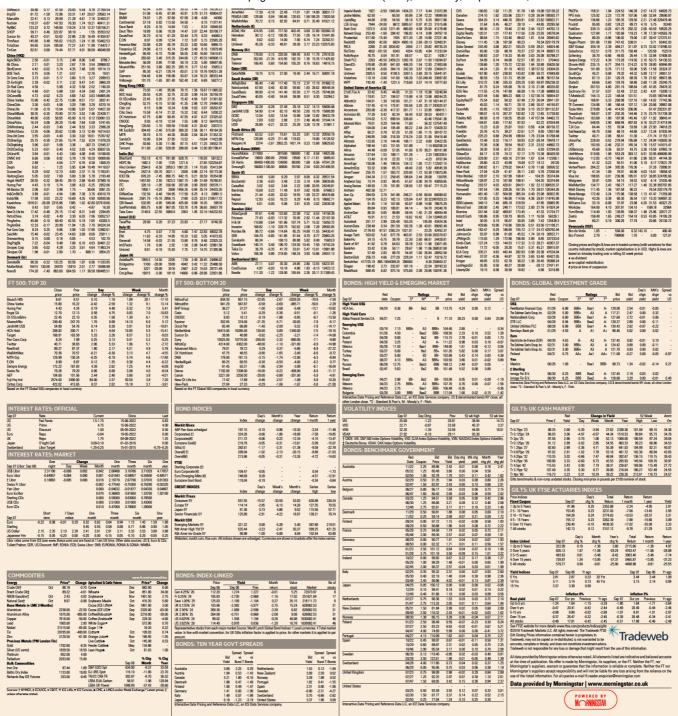
Advertising group M&C Saatchi sank after posting a 94 per cent fall in pre-tax profits owing to the impact of 'ongoing takeover transaction costs', it said.
Saatchi has been the subject of takeover interest this year from Next Fifteen, a communications and marketing consultancy, and AdvancedAdVT, a vehicle linked to Vin Murtra, who is the ad group's largest shareholder. Ray Douglas



FINANCIAL TIMES Thursday 8 September 2022 MARKET DATA WORLD MARKETS AT A GLANCE ous day's trading (%) FTSE 100 £per€ Oil Brent \$ Sep FTSE Eurofirst 300 Gold \$ -0.54% -0.86% -0.49% -0.83% -0.5209 -0.81% 1.048 Stock Market m AMERICAS World in the **EUROPE** Year > -11.45% ay ×-0.71% • IPC FTSE Eurofirst 300 u lbex 35 \* Hang Seng Nasdaq Composite New York Mexico City Europe Madrid Hong Kong FTSE Straits Times 11,665.83 Year > -23.37% Month > -7.23% nth 🛰 -7.31% Year > -5.23% Year 4-7.319 Year 4-24.49% Dow Jones Industrial New York ◆ Bo São Paulo CAC 40 FTSE MIB Shanghai Con Shanghai BSE Se 7055.90 6826.50 5277.50 2844.75 3572.76 9455.91 112203.35 1153.43 19088.15 Cyprus Czech Republic Denmark Egypt Estonia Finland France Philippines Poland Portugal 14677.20 1633.87 3391.38 9251.11 2435.30 7300.44 6585.26 4005.61 6056.86 10703.46 425.30 3500.14 1188.30 9357.11 397.11 1635.12 3200.33 2474.00 1433.11 Manila Wig PSI 20 Romania







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Z ★ FINANCIAL TIMES Thursday 8 September 2022

ARTS

# Witnesses to the trauma of



Donmar Warehouse, London

The Narcissist
Chichester Festival Theatre, Chicheste
West Sussex

I, Joan Shakespeare's Globe, London

#### paruuun



'm starting to hear those speeches again," says a character in Silence.
"The same tactics now being used

He could be speaking for several plays recently opened on the UK stage, which confront the dangers of exploiting difference and suspicion. Silence, The Marcissist and I, Joan are very different beasts dramatically, but through each courses a deep and restless concern about a political and cultural milieu that so readily turns to stirring up division and enmity

In Silence, the focus is the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947 and the legacy of that harrowing period 75 years later. It's impossible to overstate the trauma: millions were displaced overnight; the bloodshed and violence were horrific. And behind those bleak statistics were individuals: people who often buried the experience in their memo-

ries, reluctant to open old wounds.
It's those voices we hear in Kavita
Puri's play. Adapted for the stage by four
authors — Sonali Bhattacharyya, Gurpreet Kaur Bhatti, Ishy Din and Alexande Mead in the stage and action with preet Kaur Bhatti, Ishy Din and Alexan-dra Wood — In a co-production with Tara Theatre, from Puri's award-winning radio series and book Partition Voices: Untold British Stories, it delivers testimony from eldeirly Hindus, Mus-lims and Sikhs about what they endured. A fictitious framework introduces a young journalist, Mina, who acts as a sounding board. She also voices the

other silence that the play is intent on breaking: the shameful role of Britain.
"We never talk about the legacy of
empire," she says. That's something that
plays such as this (and Small Island at the

National Theatre) are addressing.

As testimony, it is a moving and immensely powerful piece of theatre. As drama, however, it is more limited. The framework and structure are fairly stiff and oblige Nimmi Harasgama's Mina to spend a lot of time nodding along. Rose Revitt's set of hanging sheets makes for fluid scene changes and echoes the makeshift walls in a refugee camp, but it also restricts the playing space. And there's a difficulty in balancing a range of stories with time to explore them fully - any one of the characters could have a play to themselves.

But it's in the detail of the individual

testimonies that the evening finds its power. "I can't understand," says one elderly man. "Old friends in the morn-ing, then wanting us dead in the afternoon." There are stories of bravery and kindness too, all delivered with quiet care in Abdul Shayek's production. The significance of the show lies in its

The significance of the show lies in its existence and its repetition. In dramatisation, the stories live on. They raise questions about borders and belonging, address responsibility for the past and urge care for the present. "This is our shared heritage," writes Puri in the programme. "It is British history."
To September 17, dommarwarchous.com, then Truat Theatre. Sentember 22-0-41 To September 17, donmarwarehouse.com then Tara Theatre, September 22-Oct 1,

Recent US political history drives Chris-topher Shinn's new play, The Narcissist. "Optimistic candidates cannot win any more," says Jim, a seasoned spin-doctor called in to advise a Democrat hopeful. This bleak assertion is born of





Top: Kavita Puri's 'Silence' tells the story of partition in 1947. e: Isobel Thom centre, as Joan in 'I, Joan experience: having worked on the losing side in the 2016 election, Jim believes that democracy is forever changed by

side in the 2016 election, Jim believes that democracy is forever changed by rolling news and social media and that any successful candidate must harmate he anger and frustration of voters. It's that splintered and toxic public arena that shinn seeks to potrary, and this gripping, if fitful, play is at its best when opening out on stage the weird mix of hyperconnectivity and loneliness that can characterise contemporary living. In Josh Seymour's staging, Jasmine Swan's clewer set expresses this: characters pon up in illuminated boxes above the stage, just as messages and calls flash up on our phones, shinn's sharp, witty script, likewise, is frequently disrupted, emphasising the absence of proper communication.

Throughout, Harry Lloyd's Jim is never fully present – always distracted by events elsewhere. And as the battle for attention shifts from Claire Skinner's beautifully observed politician, to Jim's co-writer on a book, to his opioid-adicted brother, the question of who merits the "narcissist" title keeps swinging around, is it Jim'? The senator! His relatives? Or is it the scourge of endemic

around. Is it Jim? The senator? His re tives? Or is it the scourge of enden individualism?

All of this is spot on and topical, as is se concern about cynical politics that

exploit a superficial age. The casualty however, is personal depth. Lloyd is excellent as the brittle, intense and con-flicted Jim, as is Stuart Thompson as the enigmatic would-be actor who hooks up with him. But the very structure of the drama works against engagement with other characters. This is particularly troubling with Jim's brother (Simon Lennon), whose addiction story needs more space. Still, it's a play that grapples intelligently with the deeply fractured and fractious nature of our times and

Before it even opened, Charlie Jose-phine's I, Joan fell foul of that seething public arena that Christopher Shinn public arena that Christopher Shinn describes in The Narcissic Ance shake-speare's Globe announced that the play would present Joan of Arc as non-binary, the theatre was pitched pell-mell into the culture wars, prompting the playwright (who also identifies as they) to observe, "For those who want to see Joan as a strong young feminist woman, they can still see Joan like that . . . Nothing is being taken away, only expanded." In practice, that is very much the feel of the play. This is clearly not the

searches for hope. To Sept 24, cft.org.uk

definitive Joan — it is a Joan: a character, a version, an exploration. It's a reminder a version, an exploration. It's a reminder that the story has been told and shaped by playwrights many times before. It's a "what if?" that seeks to reconsider his-"what it?" that seeks to reconsider his-tory and whose stories get told. It's also a joyous and celebratory piece of theatre, defined by a generous and inclusive spirit that, on opening night, had the audience bouncing with delight. That this is an imaginative endeavour

is emphasised from the start in Ilinca Radulian's exuberant production. Iso-bel Thom — who is outstanding in this debut professional role – arrives by sliding down the curved wooden wall that dominates the stage. This Joan doesn't fit the expectations of class and gender, but their rebellion has an innocence to it: "I am here, to share my story, to receive God, and to offer you love," they cry. "None of us fit these man-

The battle for Joan to express truth fully the complexity of that identity becomes spliced with the fight for France, which is sketched in symbolically and with a light touch: the court is presented as a bunch of squabbling offi-cials presided over by Jolyon Coy's frivo-lous and bored Dauphin; the battles are conducted as dance (choreographed by lognific factors).

nnifer Jackson). This is often vivid and funny, but it This is often vivid and funny, but it makes for some uncomfortable muddiness in the overlaps with the original story: after the first battle, for example, Joan is horrified by the slaughter, but soon seems to accept it. Meanwhile the only close relationship in the play is that between Joan and Adam Gillen's fellow outsider, Thomas, and the play moves into blunter polemic towards the end. More subtlety would enricht it. But this is a boldly significant piece of theatre: a rallying cry for inclusivity, delivered in a joyous, optimistic style.

To October 22 shakespearesglobe.com



er and Harry Lloyd in 'The Narcissist'

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FINANCIAL TIMES

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TORONTO



# Mixed bill of ballet and belly laughs

DANCE

Les Ballets Trockadero de Monte Carlo
Peacock Theatre, London

Louise Levene

Are we having fun yet? To judge from my inbox, half the shows in production are hoping to explore domestic vio-lence, BLM, climate change and the cost of living crisis via the expressive medium of dance. Les Ballets Trockadero de Monte Carlo, who began their two-month UK tour with a two-week residency at the Peacock Theatre on Tuesday, have a far more serious, far more challenging agenda: pleasure.

Both London programmes are a tried and tested mix of old favourites and and tested mix of old favourites and novelties crafted with the Trocks' unique blend of balletomania and belly laughs. The first mixed bill opens with Swan Lake act two led by Takaomi Yoshino in the guise of Varvara Laptopova ("awarded first prize at the Pan-Siberian Pestival for artistic misinterpretation") making her British debut. Trocks hallerinas have consistently

pretation") making her British debut. Trocks ballerinas have consistently amazed audiences with the strength and quality of their pointework since their first teetering pas de bourrée off-off Broadway in 1974, but in the 55 years I have been watching them I've seldom seen an Odette as technically assured as the Vaganova-trained Yoshino; feathery beaten steps, freeze-frame balances — and finny.

beaten steps, itexec-tamenandfump.
His loyal corps of swans deliver their sight gags with tireless wit. Robert Carter (aka Olga Supphozova) has been delivering the same jokes for 27 years but i still laugh out loud. His arthritic, applause-hungry Dying Swan was a

triumph of physical comedy, his entire body seeming to change size and shape at will.

at will.

Swans (living and dead) are the backbone of the first mixed bill, but the
Trocks' repertoire is extensive, ranging
from a send-up of Leonid Ladvovsky's
Walpurgisnacht ("a specimen of Soviet
balletic camp") to Nightrawlers, a hilarious spoof of Jerome Robbins' Chopin

Lablet of the Archestockell, behan lous spoot of Jerome Robbins Chopin ballet In the Night, wickedly choreo-graphed by founding Trock Peter Anas-tos, a parodist of genius. Written as a companion piece to his equally hilarious Yes, Virginia, Another Piano Ballet, Nightres, rightly, Another relates banel, rightly, recrawlers features the mysterious comings and goings of three couples in evening dress, gleefully sending up Robbins' mix-and-match pairwork and

half-glimpsed love tragedies.

The ballerinas inevitably hog the limelight but every Trock also has a male alter ego: Jacques D'aniels, Boris Dumbkopf and the legendary Legupski brothers. The Trocks' danseurs provide a pin-sharp pastiche of all this — think Vladimir Vasiliev with a pinch of Tsiska-ridze. Mismatched couples offer an easy laugh but Jake Speakman, a fun-size porteur dwarfed by his Amazonian bal-lerinas (Duane Gosa and Joshua Thake) in the pitch-perfect Swan Lake pas de trois, is a painful reminder of just how hard it can be to dead-lift 100lbs (let alone 140).

As Siegfried in Swan Lake act two. mitri Legupski (Giovanni Goffredo) makes his way centre stage with that teasing, foot-dragging walk (© R Nureyev) as if about to dazzle us with a Nureyev) as if about to dazzle us with a solo variation, only to keep right on going and exit via the opposite wing. The Nureyev gala, only a few blocks away in Drury Lane, showcases the many aspects of male classical dancing – flashy, refined, introspective – and the preening powerplay between tights and tutu. The Trocks play exactly the same game – but they alway if for laughs.

same game – but they play it for laughs.

To September 17 then touring to October 29, trockadero.org



**Robert Carter** as Olga Supphozova in 'The Dying Swan' -

Thursday 8 September 2022 FINANCIAL TIMES 13

Rather than prompting a revolt against Putin, sanctions have left the tycoons increasingly angry at western governments, impotent at home and scrambling to cling on to what remains of their wealth. By Max Seddon and Polina Ivanova

# Russia's melancholy oligarchs

US's most senior envoy to Kyiv, with a proposal.
Fridman — who grew up in Lviv, in western Ukraine, but has Russian and Israeli passports and made most of his estimated \$1.50m fortune in Russia—would donate part of his wealth towards repairing damage from the war. In return, the US would help him avoid the sanctions that were being imposed on oligarchs, which western policymakers hoped would force them to break with Russian president Vladimir Putth.

to break with Russian president Vladimir Putin. After Kvien raised questions about Fridman's proposal, the conversation quickly became heated, according to three people familiar with the matter. Fridman began shouting and swearing at Kvien and insisted that he had no power to influence Putin.

"He spoke of his love of his native Ukraine," says one of the people. "But then he went emotional, definitely. 'You want to take away all my money!" Kvien told Fridman their con

tion was over and hung up the phone Fridman wrote Kvien a text message to

Fridman wrote Kvien a text message to apologise, but received no response.

The state department said it would not comment on "diplomatic discussions". Fridman has denied that he ever spoke to Kvien, lobbied the US to help him avoid sanctions or offered to help Ukraine's reconstruction efforts.

Since Putin launched the invasion of Ukraine, dozens of Russian tycoons have had their western bank accounts frozen and some have been forced to give up their stakes in western companies and lost their Mediterranean mansions. But six months later, there is little sign

that the sanctions have pressured the oligarchs into starting a "palace coup"

Instead, they have had a very differ ent impact. Increasingly angry at west-ern governments, Russia's oligarchs are scrambling for ways to cling on to what remains of their wealth — including through the sorts of buyout proposals

remains of their wealth — including Inrough the sorts of buyout proposals that Fridman presented.

Many of the oligarchs who once enjoyed spending time in the west are now resigned to returning to Russian Those in Moscow have quietly accepted their diminished status in the country.

Through interviews with seven Russian tycoons under sanctions — as well as senior bankers, current and former senior executives at major companies, ex-officials, and friends and family — the picture that emerges is of a group of ligarchs opposed to Putin's war and resentful that it has ruined their fortunes. However, they are also simultaneously embittered at the west, which they believe has scapegoated them for events beyond their control.

"To do a palace coup and overthrow the tsar, you need to be in the palace first. None of these people are there," says one Russian businessman under sanctions. "How's Fridman supposed for the president's decisions from the UK? And if Fridman was in his house in Moscow, he till wouldn't have any contact with the president. How could he affect his decisions."

At least 21 Russian businessman effort to over-

tact with the president. How could ne affect his decisions?"
At least 21 Russian businessmen are now suing the EU in an effort to over-turn sanctions against them, according to filings at the European Court of Jus-tice in Luxembourg and people familiar with the matter.

Privately, some admit that these legal actions may not be enough to win them back their assets in the west. Yet many are set on challenging the sanctions to the end — most notably Fridman and his business partner Petr Aven, who both became notorious for waging brutal courtroom battles, rang-ing from the City of London to the oil-fields of Siberia.

ing from the City of London to the oil-fields of Siberia.

"The guys are really pissed off and frustrated," says a senior banker, who knows the two oligarchs well. "They are energetic people and fighters but it's a very difficult fight."

#### Escaping the Kremlin's eve

Just months after he first took office in 2000, Putingathered the country's most prominent oligarchs in the Kremlin's ornate Hall of the Order of St Catherine to explain the new rules by which business would operate in his Russia. They could keep the fortunes they amassed in often murky privatisations, he told them, as long as they stayed at "arm's "from politics.

When he summoned a group of leading



Oligarch Mikhail Fridman, above has proposed donating part of his fortune to Ukraine to get him lifted.

summoned to the Kremlin on February 24, after Vladimir Putin ordered

troops to enter Ukraine. Right: Petr Aven, Fridman's business partner, is suing the EU over

oligarchs to the same room on the day of the invasion of Ukraine in February Aven was one of only two members of the semibankirschina – the seven bank-ers who funded Boris Yeltsin's re-elec-tion as president in 1996 – still in the country. Others, who had challenged

country. Others, who had challenged Putin, were long sone: some in exile, like former oil baron Mikhail Khodorko-vsky, or dead, like Boris Berezovsky. The televised tirade at the business-men meekly lined up in alphabetical order was a sign of how subservient they have become during Duti-time dear it. rder was a sign of how subservient they ave become during Putin's two decades

Of all the oligarchs, Fridman and Aven had done the most to establish themselves in the west. Backed by fortunes made in Russia's oil, banking, retail and telecoms industries, they set up private equity firm LetterOne in London in 2013, creating a new empire in Europe that includes UK health food retailer Holland & Barrett, German energy group Wintershall Dea and Spalm's Dia supermarket.
Fridman bought a £65mm property in north London and had received indefinite leave to remain in the UK before losing that status under the sanctions; he was also considering applying for UK citzenship before the war. Aven, on the other hand, houses his £300mm modern art collection in his Surrey mansion and St James pied 4 terre.

art collection in his Surrey mansion and St James pied-4 terre.
For Pridman, establishing himself in London meant he had finally arrived on the world stage, says a former business associate. "Fridman always hated Russia. He couldn't stand living there. He wanted to get out and move to the west at the first opportunity to do business there," the person says. "He wants to be aman of the world."
Yet the UK and EU sanctions have frozen Fridman and Aven's stakes in their

the UK and EU sanctions have fro-idman and Aven's stakes in their anies and limited their access to a — although the US has not bed sanctions on them. The oli-s have resigned from LetterOne's

board and surrendered control to a

board and surrendered control to a team scrambling to save the assets. "Everything which we were building for 30 years is now completely ruined. And we have to somehow start a new life." Aventold the Financial Times in March. Alexel Kuzmichev, their partner in LetterOne, was on a sking holiday in Switzerland in March when the EU imposed sanctions on him. It left him stranded in the country, unable to rejoin his family in France, but also unwilling to return to Russia, according to two people familiar with the matter.

The UK's National Crime Agency raided Aven's home in May as part of an investigation into potential sanctions violations over more than £5mn in funds that he transferred to UK accounts from Austria hours before the sanctions came into force. Aven declined to comment on the allegations. While he appeals against the sanctions imposed on him, Aven has been restricted to spending no more than £2,500 a month on his living expenses.

'To do a palace coup and overthrow the tsar, you need to be in the palace first. None of these people are there'

people are there
although in July a judge relaxed a freezing order on some of his accounts
used to cover bills. Aven's regular
monthly expenditure is £140,000, mot
of which pays for the upkeep and security of his art collection.

Even for the oligarchs whose energies
have been focused on the west, it has
been impossible to escape the Kremlin's
eye if they still own a major business in
Russia. According to a 2019 report by
Department of Justice special counsel
Robert Mueller on Russian Interference
in the US presidential election, Aven
said he was one of about 50 oligarchs
who took "implicit directives" from
Putin at quarterly meetings where they
would usually discuss the economy –
including ways to keep Alfa-Bank, the
bank he co- owns, safe froms anctions.

Aven denies saying Putin ever gave
him "implict directives" and calins the
FBI misrepresented what he told them.

ilm "implicit directives" and ciaims the BI misrepresented what he told them. Oligarchs under sanctions who emain outside the country regularly

field calls from the Kremlin en ing them to return home since the inv sion, according to two people who have received such calls and several others familiar with the approaches.

Many have also argued that sanctions

are pushing them back to Russia. people decide, 'Do I really neeu an uno. I'll go back to Moscow where I can hap-pily go around restaurants and feel

fine'," says one busines he argues, are forcing elites to become even closer to the Kremlin even if they might prefer to distance themselv

'The guys

are really

pissed off

frustrated.

They are

energetic

people and

fighters but

it's a verv difficult fight

and

might prefer to distance themselves.
Some people in western policy circles share that scepticism about sanctions.
"There are two kinds of oligarchs in Russia," asys Michael McFaul, a former US ambassador to Moscow. "There are the 1990s oligarchs, and we're all very proud when we sanction them and their yachts get taken. But let's be clear: those guys have zero influence over Vladimir Putin." The typical member of the newer cohort "is a really rich guy and he's close to Putin, but he's a really rich guy because he's close to Putin, McFaul adds. "So he [also] has no leverage to pressure him to stop the war."

#### Speaking out

With their options closed off by the sanctions, the oligarchs feel they are trapped between accepting their fate in Russia or facing reprisal for speaking out against the war.

"They say they are scared of being poisoned, but what they are really worried about losing is their money and reputations" they worked so hard to cultivate, says a senior Russian businessman. Now, "they don't know how to act in that situation", the businessman adds. "They are totally disoriented."

When asked why they had not done more to speak out against the war, several oligarchs pointed to the case of banker oleg Tinkov. The eccentric tycoon said he was forced to sell his stake in his bank Tinkoff in a "fire sale" in May after denouncing Putin and the "crazy war" on Instagram.

Tinkov told interviewer Yuri Dud that Fridman called him and said: "You've really lost your mind. You should have sold first before saying anything."

Fridman, who declined to comment on the call, has described the war as a "tragedy" but said more explicit critisms would but his emblorees in Russia

"tragedy" but said more explicit criti cism would put his employees in Russia Most oligarchs have limited their pub

nents to the EU's High C lic statements to the EU's High Court in Luxembourg, where their lawsuits continue to pile up. "I could do something useful and resist the state takeover of the economy. But I don't have any assets any more," another person who attended the meeting with Putin says. "Now i spend all my time suing the EU."

The Russians who have filed appeals aroue that the leeal instifications used to

argue that the legal justifications used to impose travel bans and freezes of their assets inside the EU are groundless or flawed. Many of the case files justifying the sanctions provided by the EU, according to documents seen by the FT and people familiar with the matter pear to be hastily put together from ws articles and social media posts.

The intense pressure on the EU and

allies such as the US and the UK to move quickly on sanctions after the invasion meant officials had to cut corners while drawing up lists of individuals to be targeted, people involved in the process told the FT.

told the FT.

Peter Stano, foreign policy spokesperson for the European Commission,
insists the sanctions have been "based
on the criteria set out in the relevant

on the criteria set out in the relevant sanctions regime, on the available evidence and on the agreement by all member states."

With the EU court cases likely to drag on for years, however, some oligarchs have embraced the idea of a buyout mechanism — that the tycons could give up some of their wealth to Ukraine in exchange for lifting the sanctions.

Apart from Fridman, several other Russian businessmen have also reached to to Kiyo Hoffering a similar quid pro quo, according to people familiar with the matter. "If you had a rule that they give up 50 per cent [of their wealth] to support Ukraine and they keep the other 50 per cent, every single one of them would come running, "asys the senior Russian businessman. "The problem is they have no way out. You need to give them some direction and something towork towards."

In Ukraine, however, they face a seep-roical audience. Fridman co- owns extensive assets in the country, including mobile carrier Kyivstar, one of the country's largest banks, now called Sense Bank, and a bottled water business. Butthose contributions have not been enough to win over Ukrainan president with the matter. "Ukraine is not using sanctions as a bargaining tool. This is a matter of principle," says Rostislav Shurma, deputy head of Zelenskyy's office. "The main goal of sanctions is to stop the war, not find some conditions to agree to lift them." Zelenskyy has said he will only agree if Fridman denounces Paule, weath of the control of the conditions to agree to lift them." Zelenskyy has said he will only agree if Fridman denounces Paule.

speaks out more forcefully against the war and rips up his Russian passport, according to a person close to him. Fridman denies ever discussing

Fridman denies ever discussing receiving Ukrainian citizenship with the

But there is little sympathy in Kyiv for the plight of the oligarchs. "The 24th, the pight of the oligarchs. "The 24th, 25th, 26th, 28th of February — that was when it was necessary to determine where you are," says Oleksiy Danilov, chair of Ukraine's security council, referring to the very early days of the war. "On the side of light? Or on the side

Additional reporting by Roman Olean

Pakistan's perfect storm is an urgent call to action

#### The FT View



FINANCIAL TIMES

# Devastating floods have hit

a country riven by financial and political crises

Sections of the Yangtze river dried up, forest fires burnt across France and the falling level of America's Lake Mead revealed long-lost human remains. This summer has been heavy with examples of what a warming climate will mean to of what a warming climate will mean to our future. Nowhere else, however, has suffered the extremes of Pakistan, which has gone from 50C to devastating floods in months, even as it wrestles with financial and political crises. One-third of Pakistan is under water.

More than 1,000 people have died and the cost will exceed initial estimates of \$10bn by far. It is a devastating illustra-tion of the need to invest in adaptation to a changing climate, with general les-sons on how the international commu-nity should respond and specific chal-lenges for Pakistan.

Within Pakistan there are two clear lessons: forecasting and evacuations. There were some predictions of very high rainfall, but even to the extent fore-casters got it right, it did not translate ernmental awareness. Nor did

into governmental awareness. Nor did the rain's ferocity trigger effective evac-uations that could have saved lives. Pakistan's dysfunctional political sys-tem over decades has prevented the development of a governance structure with the resources and planning capac-ity to handle disasters of such magni-tude. The country failed properly to improve infrastructure after severe floods in 2010. Its fractured politics look set to continue with a push from Imran Khan, ousted as prime minister in April, for early elections. He is riding a wave of Khan, ousted as prime minister in April, for early elections. He is riding a wave of populist anger, strengthened by austerity measures required as part of a \$1.1bn IMF bailout package. The country's plight has lessons for others. There is a tendency to think of adaptation to climate change in terms of "hard" infrastructure: dams to hold

back floodwaters or seawalls to keep the oceans at bay. However, "soft" adaptation such as improved flood forecasting and evacuation are as important. This should be a priority for developing nations exposed to climate change.

nations exposed to climate change.
That is not to deny the need for physical infrastructure, which costs money.
There is anger among leaders in the developing world about rich countries' failure to provide resources for investment in adaptation. Their attitude, understandably, is that industrialised countries caused the problem with two centuries of carbon emissions, and they should pay to fix the damage. There will be vocal complaints, again, at the upcoming G20 summit in Indonesia and

upcoming G20 summit in indonessa and the COP27 climate talks in Egy the ir demands, too much focus on liability for the problem may get in the way of addressing it. Rich countries are reluctant to take on an open-ended liability, but their efforts to escape liabilities ignore their clear self-interest in bol-

stering climate-adaptation in countries such as Pakistan, a fragile, nuclear-armed state caught between china and the US in a volatile region. Adaptation spending often faces less forecasting and

should be a

priority for nations exposed to climate

overt political opposition than efforts to phase out fossil fuels. Financing projects phase out fossil fuels. Financing projects such as flood defences is the expertise of multilateral development banks. Rich countries should meet their responsibilities by, for example, subsidising concessional loans for adaptation on a mas-

cessional loans for adaptation on a massive scale.

In Pakistan, the challenge is complicated by the country's debt crisis. Floods will only exacerbate Pakistan's economic problems, creating risks that current IMF support is not enough to achieve debt sustainability. It is none-theless important to keep the issues distinct: Pakistan should not be denied investment in climate adaptation because of fears cash will be diverted to shore up its short-term finances. Pakistanis desperately need help now, but they need a future as well.

#### **Opinion US politics**

# Trump's Truth Social is the saddest site online



Jemima Kelly



oo many things get called Orwellian these days. Poor George Orwell — a man who advised writers to "never use a metaph simile, or other figure of speech which you are used to seeing in print" — must be, to use another tired cliché, turning in his grave. But over on Truth Social Donald Trump's Twitter-mimicking social media platform, it is hard to keep the bleak irony and doublespeak of Nineteen Eighty-Four from drifting

"Now that the FBI and DOJ have been caught in a massive and determi been caught in a massive and determi-native Election Rigging Scam, are they going to change the results of the 2020 Presidential Election? They should!!!" the former president "Truthed" on Monday. He "ReTruthed" it (shared it

again) on Tuesday. The former president was kicked off

While it sells itself as a platform that is all about different viewpoints, only one seems to be heard

both Twitter and Facebook in the aftermath of the January 6 US Capitol riots. Now he is forced to share his thoughts and feelings in the form of

thoughts and feelings in the form of these "Truths", though with a 500-character limit — almost double the length of a tweet — he can be slightly more verbose and exclamative. Trump's "Truths", "ReTruths" and "Quote-Truths" appear not on a time-line or a news feed, but on a "Truth Feed" — no matter whether what he, or anyone else, is saying is actually true or not.

or anyone else, is saying is actually true or not.

But things aren't going so well for the platform. This week it emerged that the blank-cheque company — or Spac—that was meant to merge with and give a \$1.5 m cash injection to the Trump Media & Technology Group, which runs Truth Social, has failed to get the financial backing for an extension to complete the deal. Meanwhile, the platform has been barred from Google Play because of its failure tho moderate violent content, and the US Patent and Trademark Office has

cial footing" and that "any assertion to the contrary is knowingly false bartalk maliciously designed to harm Truth Social investors".

Still, in between "Truths" about the Green New Deal Fake Infrastructure Bill" and "the latest Witch Hunt against me", Trump took to the platform this week to try to encourage people to buy ads on it. These feel like add, desperate times – for Trump and the platform.

Spending time on the site is an unpleasant experience. It seems to be a total trj-off of Trvitter, but with a

unpleasant experience. It seems to be a total rip-off of Twitter, but with a much lower budget and without some basic functionalities. When you click on a "Truth", for instance, you are unable to see whether or not you have already liked or "ReTruthed" it your self, or whether anyone has "Quote Truthed" it. There is also no direct

nessaging capability on the app. And while it sells itself as a "Big Tent" platform that is all about allow-ing for different viewpoints, there seems to be only one heard on the plat-form. The same hashtags trend fre-#DefundTheFBI January6th, #IAMMAGA. It might be 2022, just two months before mid-term elections that Republicans look likely to win, but you wouldn't know it over on Truth Social.

Trump only follows three accounts Trump only follows three accounts, two of which are official Truth Social ones and the other of which belongs to John Daly — a golfer and personal friend of the former president whose profile picture shows him sandwiched between two Hooters waitresses several decades his junior. Trump has just over \_tum followers on the halform over 4mn followers on the platform. That compares to the almost 90mn he had on Twitter. His most popular "Truths" produce tens of thousands of engagements – a fraction of the 4.7mn likes and shares he got for his 2020 "I WON THIS ELECTION, BY A LOT!"

WON THIS ELECTION, BY A LOTItweet.
Watching Trump's activity last
Tuesday, on the day pictures from the
Fell's raid of his Mar-a-Lago home
were made public, felt like watching
someone having a very public meltdown, with him plaintively asking at
one point: "Why are people so mean?"
During a radio interview on Sunday,
Trump's former communications
director Anthony Scaramoci said that
"something's eating." Trump. I rather
get that impression too. The Trump
you see on Truth Social seems less like a
formidable former president energetically planning his comeback, and more
like a rather pathetic, unhappy 76year-old man, shouting into the wind.

## Letters

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## A low and stable expansion in the money supply is the key

Martin Wolf writes that "calibrating monetary tightening is particularly difficult today, because it involves raising short-term rates and shrinking [central bank] balance sheets at the same time" (Opinion, August 31).

Wolf had earlier said in the same piece that "lack of attention to monetary data" partly explained why central banks persisted with "ultra-loose policies for too long". Arguably, monetary data give carriabanks a method of assessing the right levels of their key instruments for the achievement of inflation objectives. These instruments include debt management policies, where such

policies tend nowadays to be called "quantitative easing" and "tightenia as well as the setting of short-term

rates.

Indeed, rapid growth of broad mo mucea, rapid growth of broad mor was one of the considerations which alerted Wolf to potential inflation dangers in a remarkably percipient article in May 2020 — "Why inflation might follow the pandemic" (Opinion May 20 2020). A remarkable feature of the US economy at present is that broad money growth has come to an almost complete halt, as is noticed in one of Wolf's charts. Using the M3 numbers prepared by the Shadow Government

Statistics consultancy (and mostly derived from Federal Reserve numbers), the quantity of money rose by less than 1 per cent in the six months to July. With inflation proceeding at a rate roughly eight times higher, real money balances are being squeezed. The stock market is down, housing market activity has tumbled and other reliable forward-looking indicators have turned negative. If the Fed follows its announced plans and again increases asset sales, money stagnation might be followed by outright falls in the quantity of money.

In these circumstances it is far from

clear that further large increases in Fed funds rates are appropriate. Today's inflation is the result of the Fed's unduly large asset purchases and excessive money growth from spring 2020 to the end of last year.

We must hope that deflation in 2024 and 2025 is not the result of the Fed's unduly large asset sales and money contraction from summer 2022.

Low and stable, but always positive, growth of the quantity of money is the ideal.

Professor Tim Congdon
Chair, Institute of International Mon
Research, University of Buckingham
Buckinghamshire, UK

# Truss presents false choice

In Kwasi Kwarteng's op-ed (Opinion September 5) he promises "a Truss government would be unashamedly pro-growth". We've had over a decade of cuts to

corporation tax, policies which failed to increase private sector investment. Indeed, the UK is still among the worst rs in the OECD on thi easure. This is an issue of even greater concern given the loom recession and when businesses

crying out for support with their sky-high energy bills. Kwarteng echoes Liz Truss's own comments at the weekend that economic growth matters more than distribution — which we believe is a false choice. Policymakers must worry about how to drive growth and who

benefits from that growth.

Economic growth and economic
justice go hand in hand. By reducing inequality in our economy and society we can achieve clean, green and fair



growth for all parts of the country.

Jong Un is famous for his ruthless liquidation of opponents and the relentless progress of his

Head, Centre for Economic Justice Institute for Public Policy Research

#### Americans need to debunk their 'Lost Cause' myth

Robert Shrimsley deftly delineates the ways in which myths created by those who lose elections or, in the case of Scotland, referendums, can exert a verful effect ("Tories fall prey to September 1).

Readers in the US still live in the shadow of the ultimate betrayal myth, 157 years after the fact. The "Lost Cause" of the Confederacy

has been portrayed as a noble strugg for freedom rather than what it actually was, a defence of slavery. Only now is a congressional

commission moving at a snail's pace to recommend the removal of Confederate leaders' names from countless military facilities

A portrait of Robert E Lee, leader of the Confederate army, hangs at the US Military Academy at West Point to Peter Hirsch

#### The Downing Street cat is setting records of his own

It has been commented that Liz Truss is the Queen's 15th prime minister ("New UK premier must show boldness with responsibility", FT View,

boldness with responsibility", FT Vie September 6). In a much shorter reign, it is Larry the Cat's fourth prime minister. Quite an achievement and I expect he will see a sixth before he retires.

Wadhurst, East Sussex, UK

#### Pot calling the kettle black?

In your leader "Russia has made worrying inroads into Africa" (FT View, September 5) you list as a source of such worry the fact that Russia of such worry the fact that Kussia
"provides weapons and surveillance to
savoury and unsavoury regimes alike".
This of course is something Atlanticist
powers would simply never do.
David C Speedie
Charlottesville, VA, US

#### OUTLOOK

SEOUL

The shift in North Korea's weather forecasts is telling



Dought sain modes their threaten crop yields and infrastructure, worsening chronic food shortages. A key part of what Kim describes in belligerent terms as his "war to improve nature" are his efforts to improve his country's ability to predict the weather. During a visit to North Korea's Hydrometeorological Service in 2014, he issued guidance aimed at "fundamentally improving" the service to protect people and property. And according to a new study by researchers from the 58 North programme at the Stimson

in a North Korean cultural and linguistic studies journal in 2018, which urges a shift from "just formulaically conveying" the forecasts to relaying weather news "with a formulaically conveying" the forecasts to relaying weather news "with a friendly expression, thoroughly from the position of the viewer", after "sufficiently considering the viewer's psychology". According to the authors Martyn Williams and Rachel Minyoung Lee, weather presenters on North Korean state TV "dramatically changed their presentation style in line with the journal article's suggestions" just a few months later. "Presenters now stand in front of a green-screen with weather information filling the background," they write. "The content of the weather bulletin has also improved and now regularly features animated graphics and maps that better visualise the current conditions." "Looking at the North Korean weather forecast now, the most surprising thing is that it wouldn't have looked entirely out of place on South Korean television," says Williams. "Five years ago, it would have looked like something from 20 or 30 years before."

Lee notes that for Kim, the key to propagand is ins of only to shape citizens' perception of reality, but also its proper in the proper in the proper interest in the proper interest in the proper interest in the proper interest in the level in the level in the proper interest in the level in the level in the proper interest in the level in

dictator wrote in a letter to propaganda officials in 2019. That is why, having maintained that North Korea had not had a single Covid case from early 2020 until late April 2022, korea had not had a single Covid case from early 2020 until late April 2022, state media suddenly pivoted in May to a series of remarkably candid — and slick — broadcasts replete with daily infection figures and health advice. However, having kept viewers onside by recognising reality and conceding a setback, the regime soon snapped back into unreality mode, declaring a lightning "victory" over Covid with a preposterously low death rate. The weather forecast also shows how truth is just as central to propaganda as lies. As Williams points out, the weather is inherently apolitical, as it is not something for which the regime can be blamed. But telling citizens the meteorological truth is not just a public service: it also gives state TV credibility that can be exploited in much more contentious areas such as news.
Kim's emphasis on slick production values, coupled with moments of intense personal vulnerability—such as shedding tears during his speeches — as a means to engender trust among his audience, is shared by social media-savvy celebrities and politicians in the west. They, too, often 12-20220804103507



denied Trump his application for a trademarking of "Truth Social". It has also been reported that the platform owes \$1.6mn to RightForge, the company that hosts the website. Truth Social declined to confirm or deny this report, instead telling me that "Truth Social sion strong finandeny this report, instead telling me that "Truth Social is on strong finan-

if you want a picture of a Trumpian future, imagine being stuck on Truth Social, seeing Trump's Truths and ReTruths popping up on your Truth



Center think-tank in Washington, "the North's increased focus on enhancing the accuracy and speed of weather forecasting extended to improving the content and presentation of weather news on state television". The study cites an article published

not to stray too lar from reality as citizens understand it. "Whether we are posting one slogan or propagating a single propaganda and agitation material, we should not be embellishing it with unrealistic and exaggerated, loud expressions," the

serve up carefully curated "reality" as a prelude to manipulating emotionally engaged audiences for commercial and political gain. Beware those who seek to make the weather.

China's zero-Covid

policy is self-defeating

FINANCIAL TIMES

# Opinion

# How Starbucks became an American punch bag

**Brooke** Masters



verybody hates Starbucks. The left, the right, even some of its millions of customers.

That's the reality that Lax-man Narasimhan will face when he arrives in October to begin six

when he arrives in October to begin six months of understudying founder Howard Schultz as "incoming chief executive" of the \$950n company. The Seattle-Dased chain has long drawn brickbats for its ubiquity, elabo-rate drinks and even the way it roasts coffee. Now it finds itself squarely in the crosshairs of America's culture wars and economic struggles. It has been targeted for unionisation by a resurgent labour movement, and was also sued last week by conservatives challenging its diver sity and inclusion efforts.

Meanwhile, staffing issues and chang-

ing customer preferences have contributed to unpleasant experiences for all in many stores. Outlets designed to fill 1,200 orders daily routinely serve 1,500, and increased customisation has made the task harder. Labour and raw material costs have hit profits and the company's share price is down by 29 per cent this year, below the broader market.

Schultz may have boasted on a recent arnings call that "the Starbucks brand earnings call that "the Starbucks branc has real legitimacy and relevance out side our stores". But the resulting mael-strom of challenges on all sides is proba-bly not what he had in mind.

bly not what he had in mind.
Starbucks, which owns and operates
far more of its outlets than other big
chains, prides itself on treating staff well
and creating an inclusive environment.
In 2018, it shut all its stores for training about implicit racial bias. While man about implicit racial bias. While many US companies have workforce diversity targets, Starbucks has been particularly public about how it links executive pay to meeting those goals. So conservative activists considered it

an attractive target when they were deciding where to file a novel legal chal-lenge to such policies. The shareholder

lawsuit contends that diversity goals lead to illegal discrimination against white job applicants. Starbucks declined to comment.

"We're a small shop and we can't sue everybody all at once," says Scott Shepard of the National Center for Public Policy Research. Starbucks "are so twee and so pleased with themselves

The coffee chain finds itself squarely in the crosshairs of US culture wars and economic struggles

that it seemed like a good place to

But Starbucks' progressive orienta-tion has also made it fertile ground for organised labour. At a time when US popular support for unions is at the highest level since 1965, more than 230 of Starbucks nearly 9,000 stores across the country have voted to unionise since

Starbucks is in some ways emblem

atic of the whole [US] economy...you have highly educated people ending up in low wage jobs," says Joseph Geevarghese of Our Revolution, a progressive political action group. The company, from Schultz on down, has hit back hard. It has resisted signing collective bargaining agreements and recently accused federal labour officials recently accused federal labour officials of working with union leaders to sway ballot results. Starbucks Workers United's claim that the chain illegally fired organising workers and closed unionising stores has resonated with some customers and staff.

some customers and staff.

"Because they are a progressive company, they attract progressive people," says Richard Bensinger, a veteran labour activist who is advising the Starbucks organisers. "Schultz's over-thetop reaction [to the union efforts] has outraged people."

outraged people."
Yet the customers keep on coming.
Same-store sales in the US were up 9 per cent year on year in the last quarter and the unique customer count hit a new record. The company also jumped 22 places in the annual Harris poll of corporate reputations to 43rd among

the 100 most visible US companies. This is testimony to Starbucks' ability to adapt. A gathering place for coffee drinkers when it went public in 1992, the chain now attracts customers with a much wider offering: cold drinks popular with young people account for 75 per cent of beverage sales and nearly half of sales are from drive-through orders. Schultz, who returned to active management in March, has revamped the senior leadership team and the company has been promising to unveil new "game-changer" plans at an investor day next week. The chain has been working for more than a year on updative more more management.

day next week. The chain has been working for more than a year on updating operations to ease the burden on workers and speed upservice. The challenge for Narasimhan will be to pull off the next evolution, knowing that Starbucks' huge size and ubiquitous brand means it will continue to be

a punch bag.

"What's happening in America is bigger than Starbucks," Schultz said in June. "Starbucks unfortunately happens to be the proxy.

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# Why Truss will not unchain

Britannia





he Conservative thinktanks are all a quiver. In
Liz Truss, a new Tory radical is upon us. With her as
prime minister and Kwasi
Kwarteng as chancellor, the Britannia
Unchained crowd are in Downing Street.
The stalled transformation of the British state can resume apace. Bliss it was
in that radical blue dawn to be alive.
It is true that two authors of that 2012
paean to free markets – seen at the time
as a declaration of intent by rising Tory
rightwingers – hold the levers of power.
But there are still reasons for pause.
The election of Boris Johnson,
Michael Gove and all those other dearly
departed leading Tories was meant to
herald a fundamental rewiring of the
British economy. They had correctly
identified multiple maladies including
low productivity and growth, outdated
infrastructure, underfunded and unreformed public services. To that we can
add a flawed energy security strategy.
Johnson's victory created the conditions for are –engineering of the state. As
well as the deregulatory freedoms of
Brexit, there would be levelling up,
a skills revolution, planning reform to
facilitate housebuilding and key infra-

structure and investment in science and technology. Above all, he had a majority of 80 with which to do it.

The pandemic blew the government entirely off course but Johnson's weakness, not least in the face of rebellious MPs, meant the agenda could not be restored. The mandate for change and the majority to match was squandered.

Trus's allies now see a second change to fulfill the dream of the Brexit liberals who saw it as a path to low-tax, deregulated economy. She is one of their own and, what's more, she has the clarity and doggedness Johnson lacked. They urge her to move fast, not least because the next election is unlikely to offer such a majority again.

her to move fast, not least because the next election is unlikely to offer such a majority again. We should not doubt her determination but there are reasons to temper expectations. Political realities are about to intrude. This government is entering the business end of the electoral cycle. Her majority is far less solid than its numbers suggest, and she must restore Tory fortunes to build confidence. As the anticipated vast energy support package — a state intervention to rival the furlough — shows, the urgent priorities of voters will take precedence over ideological ambitions. The energy ballout will buy her political space but she still faces category 5 economic hurricanes; inflation, recession risks, rising interest rates and fears for sterling. Her first years will be driven by events beyond her direct control. After inflation, the public's priorities are on public services, be it NHS backlogs, ambulance wait times or a renewed



focus on crime and antisocial behaviour.
Radical NHS reform excites the Tory
think tanks but is difficult, slow and
politically dangerous. Truss rightly sees
improved social care as the key to ending bottlenecks which run through the
system though this may need some
upfront spending. The staffing crisis
probably demands better pay, Quick
wins will come not from violent
upheaval but via unsensational incremental productivity gains. It is no accident that Truss has chosen her most
trusted ally Thérèse Coffey – widely
regarded as a thoughtful and capable
minister –a snew health secretary.
The final point is that Truss's instincts
are different to Team Johnson's and are a
harder sell to already sceptical voters.
While he was an interventionist, she is

While Johnson was an interventionist, she is not striving for transformation built around an active state

not striving for transformation built around an active state. Her rewiring of Britain will be led by the market and, for all the reliance on borrowing now, lower taxes will be based on spending cuts.

There will be some radical projects, most clearly in major reform of the energy market. Another area will be deregulation, notably in financial services where progress has been very slow. But, as the chemicals industry can attest, replacing EU rules with British ones does not always reduce the burden. Along with deregulation, her boldest strides will be around lower tax. Though she might not wish to depict it this way, this is largely a return to the neoliberal growth policies pursued by George Osborne, though minus the useful emphasis on the Chinese or European market or the defictir eduction.

Thus far, her productivity agenda does not go much further than tax and deregulation. She has said little about levelling up and evinces no desire to set the limits of her MPs' radicalism

levelling up and evinces no desire test the limits of her MPs' radicalis ight over planning reform ige is highlighted in a rece

Centre for Policy Studies report examining the priorities and dismay of newly acquired aspirational working-class supporters. Truss will have no difficulty with their demands for lower personal taxation but the report also suggests these voters resent trickle-down tax cuts which overly benefit the better off. They are not laissee. faire Tories. They want state help on the cost of living and a conditions, they do not share the goal of labour market deregulation or Truss's disdain for unproductive Brits. A prominent Tory once disparaged Truss as "Deliveroo Conservative" detached from the concerns of working-class voters. She cannot let that view stick.

Radical reform will have to be largely a post-election agenda. The immediate crises, the need to secure Johnson's broad electoral coalition and a focus on the next election means the rheoric will outrun the reality. Britannia Unchained will have to wait a little longer.

robert.shrimsley@ft.com

# Ezekiel Emanuel hina's catastrophic handling of surges in Covid-19 Cases signals that it is turning inward, with worrying implications for global peace and prosperity. Yet bad as this inward turn is for the world, it will be even were for Chib. worse for China. Beijing's approach to fighting Covid has been a mirror image of Washington's. Early in the pandemic, as the US struggled with public health debates about lockdowns and masking policy, China implemented restrictions that curbed the spread of the virus. The Chinese except the control of th

the spread of the virus. The Chinese economy quickly recovered from its ini-tial dip, and there was popular support for the government's zero-Covid policy. But the emergence of the Omicron variant changed all that. The US and Europe marshalled scientific capacities to produce highly effective vaccines that are allowing the world to transition to endemic Covid. In almost every country except China, people are increasingly leading relatively normal lives.

China's vaunted biotechnology indus try failed to produce an effective vac cine. And its pharmaceutical industry failed to develop a life-saving antiviral such as Pfizer's Paxlovid. Perhaps most such as Pfizer's Paxlovid. Perhaps most damaging of all is Peling's insistence on punitive lockdowns. Rather than phasing out harsh public health measures, Beijing is extending them. Today, over 65mn people are under lockdown, with more than 20 million in Chengdu alone, despite Monday's fatal earthquake. Meanwhile, the government continues to refuse to buy non-Chinese vaccines and therapeutics or abandon lockdowns

> imposes costs that go well beyond the public health sphere

public health sphere

because doing so would acknowledge its own failings.

The zero-Covid policy imposes costs that go well beyond the public health sphere. Youth unemployment is nearly 20 per cent. Exports are dropping. And in June, the IMF and World Bank estimated that strict Covid restrictions are likely to shave a full point off China's 2022 growth target. With the country accounting for a full fifth of global growth, as a sump there will heap significant economic pain on the rest of the world. Since its admission to the World Trade Organization in 2001, China's economy has grown tenfold, largely on the strength of growing exports and foreign investment. But despite the clear historical lesson that China benefits from openess to the world and suffers from openess and the properties of the sum of t

Thailand, India, Mexico and even home. Meanwhile, for universities and other

Meanwhile, for universities and other non-governmental organisations, Bei-jing's inward turn will force new think-ing. Observers increasingly fear the Communist party may actively discour-age students from going abroad. Chi-nese student enrolment, often critical to US undergraduate colleges and professional masters degree programmes, is

likely to suffer.

Geopolitically, China's turn inward means it will endeavour to showcase its accomplishments and belittle the west. In some cases, this will be relatively benign. Just as in the cold war with the Soviet Union, we could see a renewed space race played out in Mars explora-

## The price will be high, but Nato must stay the course on Ukraine

Iens Stoltenberg

he war in Ukraine is enter ing a critical phase. Winter is coming and it will be

And all of us will pay a much higher price if Russia and other authoritarian regimes believe they can invade their neighbours and trample on internaneighbours and trample on interna-tional law with impunity. If Russia stops fighting, there will be peace. If Ukraine stops fighting, it will cease to exist as an independent nation. We have a moral responsibility to support this independent democracy at the heart of help Ukraine prevail as a sovereign independent nation.
Since Russia's illegal annexation of
Crimea in 2014, allied countries have

provided billions of dollars of support for Ukraine's security sector and institu-tions, and trained tens of thousands of troops, including special forces. This helped to make the Ukrainian armed forces stronger, better led and better

dozen new projects to help Ukraine face the winter. And we will continue to help the country strengthen its defence and security sector for the longer term, and transition from Soviet-era weapons to Nato-standard capabilities. Nato is part of the US-led Ukraine

Defense Contact Group, which I will join again this week, with the intention of sending a clear message that we must

severely limiting Russia's access to the advanced semiconductors and chips it needs to power its automotive industry, aircraft and war effort. Our nations are seizing this opportunity to diversify our economies and energy supplies, strengthen our resilience and break free

of Russia's energy blackmail for good.
At the same time, we are making the
most fundamental shift in Nato's deter-

hard. Hard for the Ukrain-ian people and armed forces who are fighting for their free-dom, and hard for those of us who sup-port them. Our unity and solidarity will be seri-

isly tested, as families and busi ously tested, as families and businesses feel the crunch of soaring energy prices and costs of living caused by Russia's brutal invasion. We face a difficult six months, with the threat of energy cuts, disruptions and perhaps even civil unrest. But we must say the course attand up to Yuranny — for Ukraine's sake and for ours.

We do pay a price for our support to Ukraine. But the price we pay is counted in dollars, euros and pounds, while Ukrainians are paying with their lives.

urope. The price we pay in supporting kraine also benefits our own security. Ukraine also benefits our own security. Vladimir Putin has clearly stated that he wants to wipe the country from the map and rewrite the European security order. Russia is temporarily occupying about 20 per cent of Ukraine — four times the size of Belgium, or half of the UK. Emboldened by any success, Russia could risk further aggression against other neighbours, and even an attack on

Nato allies. So we have a choice to make about the so we have a croice to make about the world we want to live in. Nato allies are committed to each nation's right to choose its own destiny. That is why we are providing unprecedented financial, humanitarian and military assistance to

Massive sanctions can only bite the Russian economy harder as time goes on

prepared for Russia's renewed invasion. Since February, allies have rallied to Ukraine's side with unprecedented mili-tary, humanitarian and financial sup-port. In June, Nato leaders agreed a strengthened package of assistance port. In June, Nato leaders agreed a strengthened package of assistance, with fuel, food, medical supplies, mili-tary gear, secure communications and equipment to counter mines and drones. We are preparing more than continue to step up the assistance that Ukraine needs. We see the decisive difference our support is making on the battlefield every day. The Ukrainian army has proved its ability to resist Russian aggression, strike back deep behind enemy lines and impose significant costs on the invading forces.

The massive sanctions Nato allies

imposed, together with the EU, are also having an impact on the Russian econ-omy. They will only bite harder as time goes on, given the departure of talent and capital, and the travel bans and asset freezes on Russia's elites. The Kremlin has cut itself off from its clo and most lucrative oil and gas markets in Europe.

Above all, technology sanctions are

rence and detence since the cold war, significantly enhancing our presence on the eastern flank, putting hundreds of thousands of troops on higher readiness and continuing to invest in cutting-edge capabilities. Nato's security guarantees leave no room for miscalculation in Moscow about our ability to defend every inch of alliance territory. At the same time, they enable allies to support Ukraine's right to self-defence.

There are tough times ahead, but we There are tough times anead, but we have faced tough times together before. The cost of not standing up for our values is always greater. For Ukraine's future and for ours, we must prepare for the winter war and stay the course.

The writer is secretary-general of Nato

tion, Moon landings and space stations. But we can also expect rising tensions over Taiwan, multiple tiny islands claimed by Japan, Taiwan and China, and other faultlines.

and other faultlines.
For much of the world, the end of the pandemic is in sight. But for China, controlling Covid will remain the overriding priority, at great cost. The task now for the US and the rest of the west will be ensuring that the price is not prohibitively high, even if the Chinese government imposes terrible costs on its own

The writer is vice-provost for global initia-tives at the University of Pennsylvania. Scott Moore and Amy Gadsden also contributed to this article



Twitter: @FTLex

#### AIG/Corebridge: only the brave

The market for US listings has been frozen for most of 2022. AlG is offering some modest cheer to Wall Street.

It plans to float its life and retirement insurance business, Corebridge Financial. The US insurance company wants to sell 80mn Corebridge shares at between \$2.17bn and \$1.9bn.

If successful, that would easily make it this year's biggest initial public offering. But would be imitators waiting in the wings should not get too excited. The US equity capital market remains in a deep freeze. Higher interest rates and slipping stock prices mean investors have become picky. Their caution is reflected in the terms of Corebridge would have a market value of just \$15.5bn — or about 50 per cent lower compared with the \$22.2bn valuation it secured from Blackstone in july 2021. The targeted valuation is much lower than Corebridge's adjusted book value — how much it would be worth in a liquidation — which stood at \$210bn at the end of June.

In theory, conditions are now more favourable to insurers than a year ago, interest rates are higher and the threat of the pandemic has recoded.

This should translate into greater investment returns and reduced Covid-19 mortality. The \$&P \$50 life- and-health insurance index is down 4 per cent this year, compared with a decline of 23 per cent for the banks index.

Corebridge boasts decent headline figures. For for the banks index.

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net income of \$2.8bn and revenue of

\$11bn a year ago. Yet much of this increase was the result of \$5.2bn in realised gains tied to Fortitude Re. a reinsurer in which Corebridge owns a minority stake. Premiums, policy fees and net investment income all fell during the first half of 2022. The weak stock market was the main drag. Adjusted returns on average equity — which strip out the Fortitude gain — declined ver 200 basis points to 9.1 per cent

Corebridge is one of the country's largest providers of retirement and

insurance products to institutional buyers and individuals, with \$358bn in

lient assets under management. The shares look cheaply valued. But they will be a steal only if the US stock market can stage a stronger recovery.

#### Ubisoft/Tencent: assassin's screed

The Assasin's Creed computer game series pits people who wish to exercisfree will against determinists who want to control them. The Guillemot brothers, founders of the game's publisher Ubisoft, seemingly fall into the second came.

probables, someters on the games brothers, someters on the games brothers of the second camp. They have bolstered anti-takeover defences by forging closer ties with China's Tencent. Ubisoft shares fell 17 per cent yesterday morning. The deal is at odds with Tencent's strategy of divesting the myriad stakes it holds globally in games-makers. Economic wobbles and an embargo on new releases in China have taken the shine off its most lucrative business. The logic for Ubisoft is straightforward. Delays in new releases and disappointing earnings have weighed on shares. The Guillemots must fear that independent investors would back any bid reprising Vincent Bolloré's drawn-out overtures.

A hostile takeover offer is now unlikely. Tencent is paying 5300mm for

unlikely. Tencent is paying €300mn for a 49.9 per cent economic stake in the unlikely. Tencent is paying €300m for a 49.9 per cent economic stake in the Guillenot family's holding company that owns a combination of shares and derivatives in Ubisoft. The valuation of €80 a share is more than double the latest traded price, but that assumes only the equity holdings — not the derivatives — are counted in the deal.

Tencent was also granted permissio to increase the direct stake it has held to increase the direct stake it has held in Ubisoft since 2018 from 4-5 per cent to 9.99 per cent. Tencent is barred from increasing its direct holding beyond the new limit for eight years.

Tencent will become part of the Guillemot family concert party, which will hold almost a fifth of shares and disease to a support of the Control of the Control

close to a quarter of Ubisoft votes. The partners can be expected to increase their shareholding to 29.9 per cent of shares, just below the level where a

Tech giants are buying games groups in hopes that this will help them build competing metaverses. The message of

#### Brazil elections: real deals

Investors are sanguine about an upcoming presidential election in Brazil, judging from the currency and stock market. The two leading candidates have bigger political differences than economic ones. The

## Changeable stocks and currency Lula leads the race

lbovespa index vs Brazilian real vs dollar 30-day volatility Brazilian presidential election voting intentions (%) Brazil — Ibovespa Index Brazilian real vs dollar
 30-day volatility 105,000 14 100.000 12 Sep 2021 2022 Apr

Argentina Brazil -Honduras

Brazil's big debts

Past presidential elections in Brazil have been marked by wild swings in asset prices. Brazilians are once again gearing up to cast their ballots. But, acrimonious exchanges aside, the campaign has thus far stood out for its relative lack of market volatility. With four weeks to go to the first-round ballot, leftist former president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva remains the frontrunner; but his lead is narrowing. He is polling at 43 per cent while rightwing incumbent Jair Bolsonaro is at 35 per cent, according to a survey. The one-month volatility in the real, a gauge of how much money investors are willing to pay to insure against the currency's swings over the next 30 days, stands at 16.6. That is

well below the level of almost 30 reached at the start of the pandemic in early 2020.

Past elections featured candidates with starkly different economic and fiscal agendas. There is less to differentiate Lula from Bolsonaro economically. Neither is seen as particularly committed to fiscal discribine.

particularly coliminated to isscal discipline.
Lula presided over a commodity supercycle that lifted tens of millions of people out of poverty during his two terms as president from 2002-10. He has been calling for more public spending to fight hunger and inequality. Bolsonaro has already turned on the spending spigot, boostin welfare payments and fuel subsidies.
While the Brazilian real has gained

7 per cent against the dollar this year, fear over a ballooning public deficit could weigh on the currency. Whoever wins will have to deal with a potential global recession, a stagnating economy, high inflation and rising interest rates. Brazil is set to grow 1-2 per cent this year. The budget deficit is expected to widen to 7-5 per cent of GDP, compared with 4-2 per cent in 2021.

The upshot is Brazil is a haven from lofty valuations. The ibovespa stock index is trading at about seven times forward earnings, way below the 10-year average of 11 times. It reached six times earlier this month, the lowest since November 2008.

This makes it a good entry point for bargain hunters.

the Guillemots to Silicon Valley and shareholders hoping to sell out for a quick profit is simple: game over.

#### Cancelled job offers: dream snatcher

Companies that cancel job offers at the last moment obliterate the career dreams of recruits with a few keystrokes. It may reflect desperation, carelessness, or both. UK fintech Revolut has revoked job offers to some graduate recruits, Twitter, Redfin and Coinbase have made similar moves

Other businesses are rethinking how many workers they need. Social media group Snap is shedding a fifth of its workforce. Goldman Sachs has slowed

hiring and threatened to cull staff who underperform.
Companies that are slamming on the brakes often grew fast and hired aggressively during the pandemic. The unemployed inspire immediate sympathy. Workers who join businesses during worsening downturns also have a cross to bear. Entering the labour market during a recession can depress earnings for years. The chance of being in paid work was 7 per cent lower and earnings were 6 per cent lower and earnings were

6 per cent lower after one year than was usual, according to an analysis of three UK recessions by the Institute for Fiscal Studies think-tank.

To be sure, the labour market is still exceptionally tight. For the first time on record, there were more unfilled jobs in the economy than unemployed

workers, the UK's Office for National

workers, the UK's Office for National Statistics said on Monday. The cost of living crisis will prompt some workers to re-enter the labour market. But but workforce is constrained by retirement and high rates of chronic illness. The jobs market has to cool to

The Jobs market has to cool to temper inflation. The Bank of England forecasts that unemployment will rise by two-thirds to more than 6 per cent by 2025. Staffing companies Hays and PageGroup trade on EV-to-ebitda multiples of 6 and 5, roughly half their lorest term vareage.

long-term average.
The tight market will take time to unwind. During its prolonged subjugation in the early 1980s, unemployment more than doubled to nearly 12 per cent. More job offers are likely to be cancelled this autumn.

#### Tullow/Repsol: war on two fronts

Oil exploration and production companies were once valued more highly for finding hydrocarbons than extracting them. No longer.
Tallow's proposed takeover of UK-listed peer Capricom has inspired little enthusiasm. Repsol shareholders have meanwhile greeted a \$4.8 hb E&P stake sale by the Spanish group with studied indifference.

sale by the Spanish group with studied indifference. This may seem odd when an energy crisis is raging in Europe and the value of hydrocarbon reserves have theoretically soared. Surely well-inanced explorers should be scouring the world for fresh supplies? Instead, investors are looking past the Ultraine war to the battle with climate change. Some of Capricom's shareholders can think of better uses for net cash of \$653im than funding Tullow's exploration and its debt repayments. They want a break up rather than a buyout. At the very least a big capital return would be appreciated.

Both companies trade at very low valuations. On an enterprise value-to-forward ebitdia basis, their shares are historically cheap at less than two times, on Bloomberg data. This is despite the heavy emphasis both put on the capital Ps' In their E&P moniker, as Jefferies puts it.

Repsol, the big Spanish energy group, trades at nearly the same multiple. Yesterday, it announced that it would sell a quarter of its upstream oil and san production unit to a US investment.

Yesterday, it announced that it would sell a quarter of its upstream oil and gas production unit to a US investmen group called EIG for \$4.8bn. Repsol optimistically claimed that this put its upstream business on a valuation of \$19bn, not far from its valuation of \$190n, not far from its \$240n enterprise value. There is plenty of P there given Repsol produces about \$70,000 barrels of oil equivalent daily, most of which is natural gas. The share price did not budge on the news. The energy crisis has driven up the prices of oil and gas without greatly improving the outlook for E&Ps. Investors have plenty of doubts about the ESG ethical investment processment. But they have an greater

movement. But they have even greater reservations about fossil-fuel hunters.

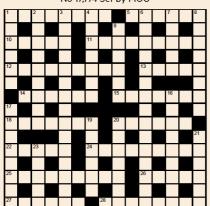


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1 Message saying Mrs Simpson allowed to return (8) 5 Degenerate runs off, finding way out (6)

10 Criticise a society in decline (5) 11 Mysterious giant mice all over the

place (9)
12 Quickly recovered from affair with nobleman, you say? (9)
13 Israelis occasionally leading one a dance (5)

15 Idiot in a helmet? (7) 18 R for Rufus? (7)

to it in ituius? (7)
20 Raged wildly, caught in flagrante delicto (6)
22 Cockney Injured carrying a gun? (5)
24 Doctor I consult about male agony aunt? (9)

aunt? (9)

25 Moo's niece struggling to cut costs (9)

26 Teach gunmen to grab cash? The opposite (5)

27 Hard of hearing? (6)

28 Get rid of scrounger nicking the rum



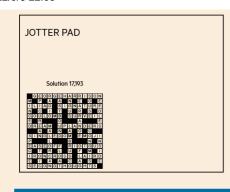


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  3 Work hard have a little snooze?

  3.4.4.4)

  4 State imprisoning English vigilante (7)

  4 State imprisoning English vigilante (7)

  5 Is all over for Erman Raducanu?

  4.3.3.5)

  7 Prasse partner once confronting reactionary group (5)

  8 Thus judges must confine Tory thinker (8)

  9 Top hotel in Paris? (6)

  16 This coffiee has surprisingly rice aroma (9)

  17 American woman in Nice is generous in the extreme (8)

  19 Fraud 7 English drawn to it at end of year (6)

  20 A little quartel eventually break up (7)

  11 Agreed to snort cocaine together (2,4)

  23 Irritable setter encountering delay on vacation (5)

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